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**Collection:** Speechwriting, Office of: Research Office:  
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**Folder Title:** 03/03/1983 Queen Elizabeth II Toast--De Young  
Museum/San Francisco

**Box:** 83

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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection Name** SPEECHWRITING, OFFICE OF: RESEARCH OFFICE  
RECORDS

**Withdrawer**

MJD 3/4/2007

**File Folder** 03/03/1983 QUEEN ELIZABETH II TOAST - DE YOUNG  
MUSEUM, SAN FRANCISCO, CA

**FOIA**

S07-068

**Box Number** 83

3

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
34863 SPEECH DRAFT	PAGE 2 (PARTIAL)		2/24/1983	B1 B3

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

(BAKSHIAN)

MARCH 3, 1983

TOAST: DINNER HONORING QUEEN ELIZABETH  
DEYOUNG MUSEUM

YOUR MAJESTY, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,  
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

YOUR MAJESTY, I WELCOME YOU THIS  
EVENING ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE, AND IN PARTICULAR ON BEHALF OF  
THE PEOPLE OF MY HOME STATE OF  
CALIFORNIA. WE ARE HONORED BY YOUR  
PRESENCE IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN THIS  
STATE.

IT IS FITTING THAT THIS EVENING'S  
BANQUET SHOULD BE HELD IN THIS PLACE AND  
IN THIS CITY. THE DE YOUNG MUSEUM IS  
ONE OF AMERICA'S GREAT CULTURAL  
LANDMARKS.



IT REFLECTS THE DIVERSITY OF OUR PEOPLE WHO HAVE BUILT A UNIQUE NATION FROM MANY CULTURES ON THE FIRM FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY AND LAW WHICH, IN LARGE MEASURE, WE INHERITED FROM BRITAIN. AND IT REPRESENTS A DEDICATION WE SHARE WITH OUR BRITISH COUSINS: THE PEACEFUL FURTHERANCE OF ART AND SCIENCE FOR THE ENRICHMENT AND PROGRESS OF ALL MANKIND.

IT IS ALSO APPROPRIATE TO RECALL THAT, IN A SPECIAL WAY, SAN FRANCISCO -- WHICH HAS BECOME HOME TO SO MANY DIFFERENT PEOPLES -- REPRESENTS THE CULMINATION OF OUR NATIONS' GREAT WARTIME ALLIANCE. OF COURSE, THE LOCAL LINKS TO GREAT BRITAIN GO BACK MUCH FURTHER. ONE OF THE FIRST TITLED TOURISTS TO VISIT THIS AREA -- SIR FRANCIS DRAKE -- ARRIVED LONG BEFORE THE CITY DID. NOT ONLY WAS THERE NO ROOM AT THE INN -- THERE WAS NO INN.



PAGE 3

BUT ITS GREATEST HOURS CAME CENTURIES LATER. IN AUGUST OF 1941, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL SET DOWN IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER THEIR HOPE "TO SEE ESTABLISHED A PEACE WHICH WILL AFFORD TO ALL NATIONS THE MEANS OF DWELLING IN SAFETY WITHIN THEIR OWN BOUNDARIES, AND WHICH WILL AFFORD ASSURANCE THAT ALL THE MEN IN ALL THE LANDS MAY LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN FREEDOM FROM FEAR AND WANT . . ." AND, ALMOST 4 YEARS LATER IN THIS CITY, AMERICA, BRITAIN AND 44 OTHER NATIONS FORMED THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION AS A MEANS OF PUTTING THOSE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER INTO PRACTICE.

UNHAPPILY, SUBSEQUENT EVENTS HAVE CONTINUED TO PUT OUR VALUES AND IDEALS TO THE TEST.

PAGE 4

WE HAVE SEEN CONTINUED WAR, TERRORISM, AND HUMAN OPPRESSION IN TOO MANY QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE. WE ARE CHALLENGED TO RESTRAIN AND REDUCE THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS; YET WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR STRENGTH IN THE FACE OF THE ENORMOUS MILITARY BUILDUP OF OUR ADVERSARIES. AND, NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, WE FACE THE CHALLENGE OF RESTIMULATING ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT REKINDLING INFLATION.

ALL THIS WE CAN DO. WE WILL FIND THE STRENGTH TO MEET THESE DANGERS AND FACE THESE CHALLENGES BECAUSE IT BEATS WITHIN THE HEARTS OF FREE SOCIETIES AND FREE MEN. WE NEED ONLY LOOK ABOUT US FOR INSPIRATION.



THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY AND THIS GREAT STATE  
TESTIFY TO THE POWER AND VISION OF FREE  
MEN INSPIRED BY THE IDEALS AND  
DEDICATION TO LIBERTY OF JOHN LOCKE AND  
THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN STUART MILL  
AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

IN THE WORDS OF A GREAT AMERICAN  
AND WARM FRIEND OF BRITAIN, FRANKLIN  
ROOSEVELT: "THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR  
REALIZATION OF TOMORROW WILL BE OUR  
DOUBTS OF TODAY. LET US MOVE FORWARD  
WITH STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I ASK YOU TO  
HONOR OUR MOST WELCOME GUEST THIS  
EVENING BY JOINING ME IN A TOAST TO HER  
MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

# # #



(NSC/Bakshian)  
February 25, 1983  
5:00 p.m.

MC  
ok m/c  
2/23/83

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: DINNER HONORING QUEEN ELIZABETH II  
DE YOUNG MUSEUM  
THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1983

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, ladies and gentlemen,

Your Majesty, I welcome you this evening on behalf of the American people, and in particular on behalf of the people of my home State of California. We are honored by your presence in our country and in this State.

It is fitting that this evening's banquet should be held in this place and in this city. The De Young Museum is one of America's great cultural landmarks. It reflects the diversity of our people who have built a unique nation from many cultures on the firm foundations of democracy and law which, in large measure, we inherited from Britain. And it represents a dedication we share with our British cousins: the peaceful furtherance of art and science for the enrichment and progress of all mankind.

It is also appropriate to recall that, in a special way, San Francisco -- which has become home to so many different peoples -- represents the culmination of our nations' great wartime alliance. Of course, the local links to Great Britain go back much further. One of the first titled tourists to visit this area -- Sir Francis Drake -- arrived long before the city did. Not only was there no room at the inn -- there was no inn. But its greatest hours came centuries later. In August of 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill set down in the Atlantic Charter their hope "to see established a peace which

will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want . . ." And, almost 4 years later in this city, America, Britain and 44 other nations formed the United Nations Organization as a means of putting those great principles of the Atlantic Charter into practice.

Unhappily, subsequent events have continued to put our values and ideals to the test. We have seen continued war, terrorism, and human oppression in too many quarters of the globe. We are challenged to restrain and reduce the destructive power of nuclear weapons; yet we must maintain our strength in the face of the enormous military buildup of our adversaries. And, nationally and internationally, we face the challenge of restimulating economic growth and development without rekindling inflation.

All this we can do. We will find the strength to meet these dangers and face these challenges because it beats within the hearts of free societies and free men. We need only look about us for inspiration. This beautiful city and this great State testify to the power and vision of free men inspired by the ideals and dedication to liberty of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson and John Stuart Mill and Abraham Lincoln.

In the words of a great American and warm friend of Britain, Franklin Roosevelt: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."



Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to honor our most welcome  
guest this evening by joining me in a toast to Her Majesty the  
Queen.



(NSC/Bakshian)  
February 24, 1983  
11:00 a.m.

*ME 2/24pm*

X

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: DINNER HONORING QUEEN ELIZABETH II  
DE YOUNG MUSEUM  
THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1983

*State toast  
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Queen's dinner  
De Young banquet  
American Art  
Director, 1982  
P. 34 De Young  
Museum*

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*Encyc Americana  
v. 24, p. 196  
San Francisco  
Encyc Americana  
v. 27, p. 440-1  
United Nations  
Charter signed  
at San Francisco  
Conf 1945  
Encyc Americana  
v. 5, p. 210  
Calif. History  
Deaths - SAN FRAN  
Dict of Amer.  
History, v. 2  
p. 369, Drake  
June 15-79  
3 1/2 centuries  
later (almost)  
Encyc Americana  
v. 2, p. 618  
Atlantic Charter  
Aug. 14, 1941  
provision # 6*

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Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to honor our most welcome  
guest this evening by joining me in a toast

To Her Majesty the Queen.

PP. P. 713-4,  
6-8-82, Dorado  
of RR-Q&II

X X

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146. *Postwar Expanding Economy and Full Employment*

ductive than we have ever had before. You know how completely I agree. I want you to know also how much I appreciate the agreement of such Americans as compose your board.

We have been fortunate in finding in Justice Byrnes and Judge Vinson public servants equal to our great tasks. They emphasize, as do the members of your board, that there has been no shrinkage in the stature and the spirit of the American. Indeed, I am sure that Americans who have done so much in the winning of the war have no doubt that we can give victory the rich meaning of full employment in the United States and of assistance to other Nations in their reconstruction. Victory, without the use for abundance of the powers we have developed in production for war, would be, indeed, a hollow victory. We must plan security and abundance together. Such a stronger American economy will be essential to carry out the responsibilities that lie in plans made at Bretton Woods, Hot Springs, and Dumbarton Oaks. Similarly, abundance at home depends upon organization for order and security in the world.

America is fortunate to have such a reaffirmation of the uninterrupted tradition of an advancing America enunciated by men who represent great organizations of labor, industry, and agriculture working together with others who represent the public. As such Americans chosen by the President and confirmed by the Senate, you have well stated the program by which we fight a victorious war and seek a meaningful peace.

Hon. O. Max Gardner,  
Chairman, Advisory Board,  
Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion,  
Washington, D. C.

147. *Anniversary of Attacks on Norway and Denmark*

147 ( Statement on the Anniversary of the  
Attacks on Norway and Denmark.

April 9, 1945

TODAY marks the anniversary of the infamous and ruthless attack on Denmark and Norway. For five long years the Danish and Norwegian peoples have suffered under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. Yet never has their courage lagged. Never have they ceased to resist. Very soon their period of martyrdom will be ended. Then, as the peoples of Denmark and Norway have fought as allies in the common struggle against the forces of aggression, so will they work with the other like-minded Nations to insure the maintenance of world peace and security.

FDR

148 ("Let Us Move Forward with Strong and  
Active Faith" — Undelivered Address Prepared  
for Jefferson Day. April 13, 1945

AMERICANS are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute to the living memory of Thomas Jefferson — one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it clear that I am spelling that word "democrats" with a small *d*.

I wish I had the power, just for this evening, to be present at all of these gatherings.

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world.

(see note at end)



148. *Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day*

As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third President, Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs.

It was he who first sent our Navy into far-distant waters to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was the logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this Nation which Jefferson helped so greatly to build is playing a tremendous part in the battle for the rights of man all over the world.

Today we are part of the vast Allied force — a force composed of flesh and blood and steel and spirit — which is today destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred, in Europe and in Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant U.S.S. *Constitution* — *Old Ironsides* — but that tiny Navy taught Nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean — acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews — was one of those things which, among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could we avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary Corsairs a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility.

Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace — enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars — yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman, and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments.

148. *Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day*

The once powerful, malignant Nazi state is crumbling. The Japanese war lords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

But the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough.

We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible.

Thomas Jefferson, himself a distinguished scientist, once spoke of "the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout the different quarters of the globe."

Today, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another.

Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships — the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you — millions and millions of you — are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

The work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war — an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today, as we move against the terrible scourge of war — as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world — the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:



148. Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

NOTE: This is the latest draft of the President's proposed speech. The last sentence was written into the typed draft in his own hand. The draft was not the final one; the preparation of the final draft was prevented by death. The President died at 4:35 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, April 12, 1945, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

- 5 -

recent travels -- that the other peoples of the world will be with us every step of the way. The thin-blooded timid souls who are now in a minority in our country are also in a minority in the world.

I remember saying, once upon a time in the long, long ago when I was a freshman, that the only thing our people had to fear was fear itself. We were in fear then of economic collapse. We struck back boldly against that fear, and we overcame it.

Today, as we move against an even more terrible scourge, and as we go forward towards the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world -- the contribution of lasting peace -- that little admission of thirteen years ago seems like to me.

I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

Facsimile of last page of the draft for address President Roosevelt planned to deliver on Jefferson Day, 1945. The President was working on this draft on the day before his death, and the last word he wrote for public utterance was the word "faith."

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" OF  
AMERICAN  
HISTORY

United  
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REVISED EDITION

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VOLUME VII

*Tarpley Letter-Zwaanendael Colony*

Charles Scribner's Sons · New York



## UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION

1920, when John L. Lewis became president of the union. One of the ablest leaders in American labor history, Lewis was nevertheless unable to overcome the industry depression and anti-unionism of the 1920's, and by 1930 he headed an organization of less than 100,000 working members. He capitalized on the legislation and spirit of the New Deal and rebuilt the UMWA into one of the most effective but imperially governed unions in the country. During World War II he led a number of unpopular strikes, but these and the postwar welfare fund strike brought labor-management contracts that made the American miner one of the best-paid and best-insured workers in the world. Lewis then took the lead in industry mechanization, which reduced the UMWA's membership by more than two-thirds but improved wages and the competitive position of the industry. He retired in 1960. The tenure of President W. A. Boyle was marked by incompetent autocracy, financial scandal, and the murder in 1969 of Boyle's opponent, Joseph A. Yablonski. In 1972 a reform slate led by Arnold Miller won an election supervised by federal authorities, and instituted a series of reforms to democratize the union and improve job security and safety in the mines.

[McAlister Coleman, *Men and Coal.*]

JOHN HUTCHINSON

**UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE**, held in San Francisco, Apr. 25–June 26, 1945, was attended by fifty countries, forty-six of them signatories of the United Nations Declaration. The conference was held as German surrender in World War II drew near. The purpose was to put into final form the proposals for an international peace organization that were drafted at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944. In naming the 175-member American delegation, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who died shortly before the conference began, evidently had in mind not repeating President Woodrow Wilson's mistake of failing to include members of Congress in the delegation that participated in drafting the League of Nations Covenant after World War I. Roosevelt named Sen. Thomas Connally, Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, Rep. Charles Eaton, and Rep. Sol Bloom to the delegation. The rift between East and West, indications of which had already appeared, made itself felt during the conference. Three main points of contention developed, with respect to each of which the United States and the Soviet Union took opposing stands: the disposition of dependent peoples; regional collective

security arrangements; and the use of the veto in the Security Council. After some acrimony these controversies were resolved (in a manner more favorable, on the whole, to the United States than to the Soviet Union), and the United Nations Charter was unanimously approved on June 26, 1945.

CHARLES S. CAMPBELL

**UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION.** Soon after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor (Dec. 7, 1941), Prime Minister Winston Churchill hastened to Washington, D.C., and with President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced a "Declaration by United Nations," open to all nations, the signatories to which constituted a military alliance against "Hitlerism." The declaration was signed Jan. 1, 1942, by the United States (making its first military alliance since the alliance with France in 1778), the United Kingdom, and twenty-four other "United Nations": the Soviet Union, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, and Yugoslavia. Subsequent signers were Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The declaration reads:

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world

*Declare:*

(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations as which are, or which may be, rendering material



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De Young Museum

# AMERICAN ART DIRECTORY

49th EDITION

Edited and Compiled by  
JAQUES CATTELL PRESS

R. R. BOWKER COMPANY  
New York & London



and art works centering around the theme of perception, which are designed to be manipulated and appreciated at a variety of levels by both children and adults. Average Annual Attendance: 500,000. Mem: 1500; dues \$25  
**Income:** Financed by city and state appropriation, private foundations and corporation contributions  
**Exhibitions:** (1980-81) Photography From the Microscope, Light & Air  
**Publications:** The Exploratorium Magazine, monthly; exhibition catalogs  
**Activities:** Classes for adults, children and teachers; lect open to the public; concerts; tours; book traveling exhibitions, 3-4 per year; originate traveling exhibitions; museum shop selling books, magazines, reproductions, prints, slides and science related material

#### M FINE ARTS MUSEUMS OF SAN FRANCISCO, M H de Young Memorial

Museum and California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Lincoln Park, 94121. Tel 415-558-2881. *Pres* Walter S Newman; *Secy* Delores Malone; *Dir* Ian M White; *Deputy Dir for Admin* Stephen Dykes; *Deputy Dir Education & Exhib* T K Seligman; *Deputy Dir Operations* Gus Teller; *Cur Painting* Thomas P Lee; *Cur American Decorative Arts* Donald L Stover; *Cur Prints & Drawings* Robert F Johnson; *Development Officer* Harold Kaufman; *Mgr of Exhibitions* Debra Pughe; *Cur Interpretation* Renee Dreyfus; *Asst Cur Prints & Drawings* Maxine Rosston; *Cur in Charge of Art School* James Stevenson; *Asst to Dir* Martha Williams; *Cur in Charge Department Textiles* Anna Bennet; *Registrar de Young Museum* DeRenne Coerr; *Registrar Legion of Honor* Paula March; *Public Relations Officer* Gail Dockett; *Public Information Officer* Charles Long; *Conservator Paper* Robert Futernick; *Conservator Painting* Teri Oikawa-Picante; *Conservator Furniture* Gene Munsch; *Ednah Root Cur of American Art* Margaretta Lovell; *Conservator Textiles* Birgitte Anderton  
 Open Wed - Sun 10 AM - 5 PM. Admis adults \$1.50, youth \$.50. Estab 1895 to provide museums of historic art from ancient Egypt to the 20th century. Two separate buildings are maintained, one in the Golden Gate Park (de Young Museum) with 65 galleries, and the other in Lincoln Park (California Palace of the Legion of Honor) with 22 galleries. Average Annual Attendance: 800,000. Mem: 45,000; dues patron \$1000, sponsor \$500, donor \$250, supporting \$100, sustaining \$50, participating \$30, individual \$20, senior & junior \$10  
**Income:** \$4,000,000 (financed by endowment, membership, city appropriations)  
**Purchases:** St John the Baptist Preaching, by Mattia Preti, Italian 1613-1699  
**Collections:** American painting and decorative arts; ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome; Europe from the middle ages; graphic arts of all schools and eras; primitive arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas  
**Exhibitions:** The Art of Louis Comfort Tiffany; The Search For Alexander; Treasures of the Vatican Museums Treasures of Early Irish Art; Treasure of Tutankhamun  
**Publications:** Triptych, bi-monthly magazine; exhibition and collection catalogues; members' calendar  
**Activities:** Classes for adults and children; dramatic programs; docent training; lect open to the public; concerts; gallery talks; tours; artmobile; individual paintings and original art objects are lent to other museums; book traveling exhibitions; originate traveling exhibitions to other museums; museum shop sells books, magazines, reproductions, prints, and slides

L **Library, Golden Gate Park, 94118. Tel 415-558-2887. Librn** Jane Nelson  
 Estab 1955 to serve museum staff in research on collections, conservation, acquisition, interpretations. Graphic arts are housed in the Achenbach Foundation Library in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor  
**Income:** Financed by membership and city appropriation  
**Library Holdings:** Vols 30,000; Per subs 100; AV — Slides  
**Special Subjects:** American Indian Art, African, American, French and Oceanic art

O **The Museum Society, c/o de Young Museum, Golden Gate Park, 94118. Tel 415-752-2800. Chmn** Cathy Bellis; *1st VChmn* Gail Merriam; *2nd VChmn* Sylvia Hunter; *Secy* Jane Otto; *Treas* William A Stimson II; *General Mgr* Nativity D'Souza; *Executive Secy* Alice S Fischer; *Membership Coordr* Ann Knauber; *Mgr de Young Bookshop* Leroy Dutro; *Mgr Legion Bookshop* Lewis Thomas  
 Open Wed - Sun 10 AM - 5 PM. Admis adults \$1.50, juniors 5-17 and senior citizens \$.50, children under 5 free. Estab 1971 as a membership organization for Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Mem: 45,000; dues \$10 to \$1000; annual meeting in May  
**Income:** \$2,770,000 (financed by membership and bookshop revenues)  
**Publications:** Triptych, bimonthly magazine  
**Activities:** Museum shop sells books, reproductions, prints and slides

M **GALERIA DE LA RAZA, Studio 24,\* 2851 & 2857 24th St, 94110. Tel 415-826-8009. Co-Dir** Ralph Maradiaga; *Co-Dir* Rene Yanez; *Cur & Education Coordinator* Carmen Lomas Garza; *Cur & Education Coordinator* Maria V Pinedo

Open Wed - Sun 1 - 5 PM, Galeria; Mon - Fri noon - 6 PM, Studio 24. Estab 1969 as a community gallery and museum to exhibit works by Chicano-Latino artists, contemporary as well as cultural folk art. Average Annual Attendance: 35,000  
**Income:** Financed by NEA, California Arts Council and private foundations  
**Exhibitions:** Changing monthly with one traveling per year  
**Publications:** Exhibition catalogs, small publications, yearly calendar, children's coloring book and postcards  
**Activities:** Art classes for adults and children; galeria tours, some lectures; small outlet for books, posters, T-shirts and other culture materials

L **Chicano-Latino Arts Resource Library, 2857 24th St, 94110. Dir** Maria V Pinedo  
 Open Mon - Fri Noon - 6 PM. Estab 1978 as a reference and archive of Chicano and Latino arts  
**Income:** \$1000  
**Purchases:** \$500  
**Library Holdings:** Vols 100; Per subs 5; AV — Slides; Other — Clipping files, exhibition catalogs, memorabilia, original art works, pamphlets, photographs, prints, reproductions  
**Special Subjects:** El Dia de Los Muertos artifacts and resources  
**Collections:** Chicano and Latino murals; Chicano Latino Youth; car clubs

O **LA MAMELLE INC, 70 12th St, Box 3123 Rincon, 94119. Tel 415-431-7524. Pres** Carl E Loeffler  
 Estab 1975 to support network for contemporary art. gallery houses new contemporary art

**Income:** Financed by endowment, membership and state appropriation  
**Collections:** Artists books Marginal works Video art  
**Exhibitions:** Davi-Det-Hompson; Ecart; Photography and Language; Recorded Works; Rubber Stamp Art; Endre Tot; West Coast Conceptual Photographers; Women in the Printing Arts; All Xerox  
**Publications:** Art Com, quarterly; Performance Anthology: Source book for a decade of California performance art; Videozine; Audiozine; Correspondence Art: Source Book for the Network of International Postal Art Activity  
**Activities:** Lect open to public; concerts; gallery talks; original objects of art lent; lending collection contains video tapes; traveling exhibitions organized and circulated; sales shop sells books, magazines, original art

L **Contemporary Art Archives, 70 12th St, Box 3123 Rincon, 94119**  
 For reference only

M **MEXICAN MUSEUM, Fort Mason Center, Bldg D, Laguna & Marina Blvd, 94123. Tel 415-441-0404. Founder & Dir** Peter Rodriguez; *Adminr* Alison S Wilbur; *Education Dir* Nora Wagner; *Education Coordr* Bea Carrillo Hocker; *Hispanic Community Coordr* Carmen Carrillo; *Cur of Collections* Gloria Jaramillo

Open Tues - Sun Noon - 5 PM. No admis fee. Estab 1975 to foster the exhibition, conservation and dissemination of Mexican and Mexican American art and culture for all people. Average Annual Attendance: 50,000. Mem: 600  
**Income:** Financed by membership, city and state appropriation, federal grants and corporate support  
**Collections:** Pre-Hispanic; Colonial; Folk; Mexican Fine Arts; Mexican American Fine Arts  
**Exhibitions:** (1981) Rupert Garcia: Portraits/Retratos; Six Mexican Geometric Artists: Coen, Felguerez, Gonzalez, Rojo, Sakai, Sebastian; Two Sources: The Art of Mexican American and Mexican Women Artists: Carmen Lomas Garza, Virginia Jaramillo, Gloria Maya, Licita Fernandez, Esther Gonzalez, Rosa Covarrubias, Julia Lopez; Paintings and Watercolors by Leonel Maciel; Paster Drawings by Carlos Almaraz; Sculpture and Drawings by Manuel Neri; Paintings by Luis Jaso; Drawings by Carlos Chavez Cordova; Day of the Dead Exhibition; Carlos Merida: Works on Paper 1915-1981 (1980) Edmundo Aquino; Christmas in Mexico; Christmas Nativity Scene; Xavier Viramontes  
**Publications:** Newsletter, quarterly  
**Activities:** Outreach Art Program for schools; workshops; lect open to public, 8 visiting lectr per year; tours; exten dept serves San Francisco Bay area; lending collection contains slides and educational kits

M **MUSEO ITALO AMERICANO, 678 Green St, 94133. Tel 415-398-2660.**

*Chmn* Virgil D Dardi; *Pres* Richard P Figone; *1st VPres* James A Scatena; *Secy* Dorothy Casper; *Exec Dir* Giuliana Nardelli Haight; *Dir of Educ* Paola Bagnatori

Open Wed - Sun Noon - 5 PM. No admis fee. Estab 1978 to research, preserve and display works of Italian and Italian-American artists and to foster educational programs for the appreciation of Italian and Italian art, history and culture. The Museo is located on the third floor of Casa Fugazi, a building that has played an active role in San Francisco's Italian-American community. Floorspace is approximately 3600 square feet. Average Annual Attendance: 8000 - 10,000. Mem: 600; annual dues \$25, \$50 and up  
**Income:** Financed by membership and city appropriation  
**Collections:** †Collection consists of work done by Italian-American artists from mid-19th century and objects from ancient Rome  
**Exhibitions:** (1980) Graphic Arts from Italy; Joe DiStefano (paintings & sculpture); Second Italian-American Women Artists Show; John Mancini (painting); Victor Bagno (painting); Mary and Anthony de Bone (mixed media); (1981) Italian-American Artists in California 1850-1925; An Exhibit of Italian-American Art for the Museo's Future Permanent Collection; New Paintings by John Scarro; Paolo Portoghesi's Architectural Studies for the Citta Vallo di Diano Project; Young Emerging Italian-American painters, sculptors and photographers  
**Publications:** Calendar of Events, quarterly  
**Activities:** Classes for adults and children; Italian language classes; lectures open to public, 5 vis lectr per year; concerts; gallery talks; tours; book traveling exhibitions

L **Library, 94133. Admin Asst** Wendy H King  
 Estab 1981 to serve as a resource center of Italian and Italian-American materials  
**Library Holdings:** Vols 50; Per subs 2

M **NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Foot of Polk St, 94109. Tel 415-556-8177. Chief Cur** Karl Kortum; *Cur* Harlan Soeten; *Photograph Librarian* John Maounis

Open daily 10 AM - 5 PM. No admis fee. Estab 1951; museum built in 1939; a terrazo and stainless steel structure with a nautical theme  
**Income:** Financed by federal funding, private support from National Maritime Museum Association and donations  
**Special Subjects:** Maritime history with emphasis on San Francisco & Pacific Coast  
**Collections:** Over 150,000 photographs and negatives of ships and other memorabilia; ship †models; paintings; †recordings; sailing ship and paddlewheeler  
**Publications:** Newsletter; booklets, irregular  
**Activities:** Tours; book traveling exhibitions; sales shop sells books, magazines, reproductions and misc materials

L **Library, Foot of Polk St, 94109. Principal Librn** David Hull  
 Open to the public for research on premises  
**Library Holdings:** Vols 12,000; Micro — Fiche, reels; AV — A-tapes, cassettes, motion pictures; Other — Clipping files, manuscripts, memorabilia, pamphlets, photographs



Bartlett's 14th Edition

d

ROOSEVELT — STEPHENS

b

—are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the Mayflower.<sup>1</sup>

Campaign speech, Boston [November 4, 1944]

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that works both sides of a street. *Ib.*

Perfectionism, no less than isolationism or imperialism or power politics, may obstruct the paths to international peace.

State of the Union Message [January 6, 1945]

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

Fourth Inaugural Address [January 20, 1945]

More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.

Address written for Jefferson Day [April 13, 1945] broadcast<sup>2</sup>

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith. *Ib.*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND WINSTON CHURCHILL

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with

<sup>1</sup> See Address to D.A.R., p. 972a.

<sup>2</sup> President Roosevelt died April 12, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Atlantic Charter, drawn up aboard U.S.S. Augusta in Argentina Bay, Newfoundland [issued August 14, 1941]

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.<sup>1</sup>

*Ib.*

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. *Ib.*

JAMES STEPHENS

1882-1950

I hear a sudden cry of pain! There is a rabbit in a snare.

*The Snare*

Forgive us all our trespasses, Little creatures, everywhere!

*Little Things, st. 5*

In cloud and clod to sing Of everything and anything.

*The Pit of Bliss*

I heard a bird at dawn Singing sweetly on a tree, That the dew was on the lawn, And the wind was on the lea; But I didn't listen to him, For he didn't sing to me.

*The Rivals, st. 1*

<sup>1</sup> See Roosevelt, Message to Congress, January 6, 1941, p. 972b-973a.

a

They fell out over in over pigs.

*In the L*

Women are wise they know less and

*The Crock*

The bad poet is anthologies of verse

*Preface t*

[193

VIRGINIA

188:

In people's eyes, and trudge; in the the carriages, mot vans, sandwich r swinging; brass bar the triumph and strange high singing overhead was what don; this moment i

*M*

Those comfortable asylums which are cally, as the stately

*The Com*

*L*

Trivial personalities the eternity of print

*Ib.*

There is no room of literature in an es

That complete st erature.

*Ib. How It*

The word-coiner thought plunged in and came up dripping

*Ib. A*

The beauty of t edges, one of laught cutting the heart asu

*A Room of*

<sup>1</sup> The talent of this ge certain of survival. — *F in Earnest* [1931]

<sup>2</sup> See Felicia D. Hemans



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WHRC

JOSEPH P. LASH

—  
t: Roosevelt

AND

Churchill

1939-1941

The Partnership That Saved the West

—  
W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC ·

NEW YORK



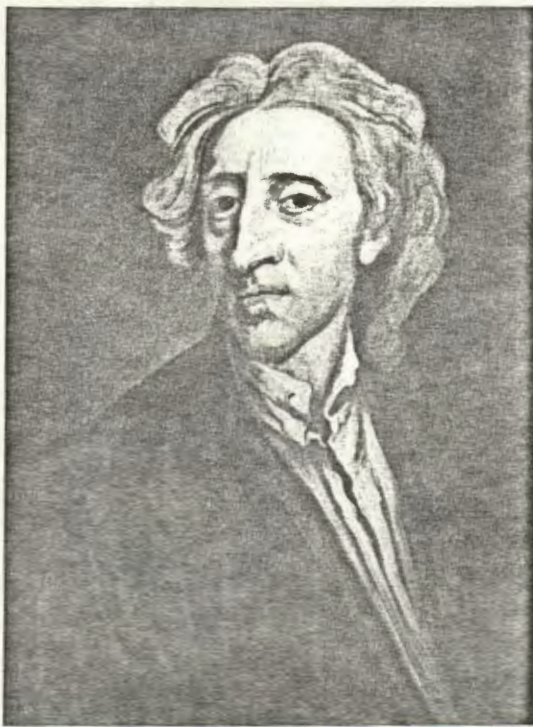
## Introduction

EVERY GENERATION rewrites history and biography in terms of its own interests, values, and styles. The opening of the Roosevelt-Churchill correspondence, of the war-years files of the British foreign office and war cabinet, of the Roosevelt Map Room papers and other previously sealed materials at Hyde Park, as well as of numerous privately held diaries would alone justify a fresh look at the men and events that were so superbly chronicled by Churchill himself and by Robert Sherwood in *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. But there is, too, the new significance that the decline of empire, America's disastrous involvement in Asia, and Watergate give to the actions and decisions of Roosevelt and Churchill, especially in the critical months between the outbreak of war in September, 1939, and Pearl Harbor, when the survival of democracy itself hung in the balance.

As the tributes flooded in on one of his birthdays toward the end of his life, Churchill remarked to his daughters: "I have achieved a great deal to achieve nothing in the end." My first inclination when I read this remarkable statement was to seek an explanation in his unhappy childhood, in the depressions (he called them his "black dog" moods) that perhaps made it impossible for him ever to savor the joy of accomplishment, or to see in it the response of an old man to limitation and mortality. But there is another, more plausible, explanation. Although Churchill bestrode the war years like a twentieth-century colossus, the tides of history had set against the institution he was most concerned to preserve—the structured world of his Victorian youth headed by a powerful monarch, envired by a gleaming empire. Not all his successes as war leader could salvage that world; indeed, his very successes speeded its transformation. There were, nevertheless, majestic achievements. Without Churchill's leadership and the partnership that he established with Roosevelt, it is doubtful that Britain could have survived as an independent nation and the British as a free people.

American interest in this story has been revived because of Vietnam and Watergate. At the height of America's disenchantment with its involvement in Vietnam, I was asked on a television program what the difference was between the presidential usurpations of power that took the United States into the Vietnam war and Roosevelt's road to Pearl Harbor. Was deception and





NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

John Locke, after a portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller

**LOCKE, John (1632–1704), English philosopher.** Locke combined a highly active life with philosophical speculation. Many of his activities are reflected in his philosophical thought. His early scientific interests are reflected in his theories of knowledge and of education. Similarly, the political, social, and economic questions of his day, particularly those of parliamentary versus monarchical dominance in government and of religious toleration, played an important role in the formulation of his theories on government and religion.

#### LIFE

John Locke was born during the reign of Charles I, on Aug. 29, 1632, at Wrington, Somersetshire. His father, a modest landowner and attorney in Somerset, fought for a while in the Royalist Army during the Civil War of 1642–1646. The political and constitutional struggles that had led to this war involved tensions between the King and Parliament. Those tensions, fed by fears of intrigues by Roman Catholics, tended to polarize High Church Anglicans against Puritans. The religious struggles led, late in the century, to an acceptance of toleration of most sects. The constitutional struggles led to parliamentary government, with a corresponding limitation of the monarchy. Both of these issues, toleration and constitutionalism, became important for Locke and later were the subject of some of his writing.

Locke received (1647–1652) a standard classical education at Westminster School. While Locke was still at Westminster, King Charles lost the Civil War, and was tried and executed in 1649. Oliver Cromwell and Parliament ruled England in place of a monarch from 1649 to 1660. In 1652 Locke went up to the University

of Oxford to study at Christ Church. The Puritans were in power and exerted the most influence during Locke's student days at Oxford. They were no more tolerant of other religions than the established church had been earlier. Parliament saw the need for returning to a monarchy, though in a modified and limited form, in 1660, and put Charles II on the throne. Locke was still at Oxford at that time, as a tutor.

At Oxford, both as student and as tutor, Locke was exposed to the standard university curriculum in which he found many faults. While mastering it, he read widely outside its scope. He also came into contact with a number of the new scientists and doctors who later formed the Royal Society, for example, Robert Boyle, who was an especially close friend, Robert Hooke, John Wallis, John Wilkins, and Thomas Sydenham. A friendship with Isaac Newton grew up later. Locke was elected to the Royal Society in 1668. Just as the religious and political debates are reflected in Locke's later writings, so his early interest in science and medicine plays an important role in his published work. His interest in medicine became professional and he studied for and took a bachelor's degree in medicine at Oxford in 1674. He became something of a practitioner in medicine and was frequently consulted by friends for medical advice.

Another facet of Locke's career began in 1668 when he went as secretary to the diplomatic mission of Sir Walter Vane to Brandenburg. More importantly, after returning to Oxford in 1668, Locke met Anthony Ashley Cooper (later Lord Shaftesbury) and joined his household as secretary and family doctor in 1667. Shaftesbury played a prominent role in Charles II's reign. He fell out with the King in 1672 and took an active, even treasonable, role in opposition to him, finally fleeing to Holland, where he died in 1683. Locke's role as secretary to Shaftesbury brought him into the heart of the political struggles during the Restoration period. Shaftesbury's direct influence upon Locke's intellectual development may, in some instances, have been large. However, the events of the time, together with the debates to which Locke listened in Parliament and in the home of Shaftesbury probably played a much greater role in the development of his political views.

When Shaftesbury fled, Locke felt that he too was in jeopardy because of their long association. There were government spies at Christ Church, keeping watch on his activities. As quickly and as secretly as he could, he completed arranging his affairs and sailed to Holland in 1684. He was formally expelled from Christ Church by royal decree shortly after his departure. Locke's political interests and associations were not entirely dormant during his stay in Holland. They were openly renewed when William of Orange became king. Locke returned to England in 1689. He continued, almost to the end of his life, to serve his government and to think and write about a multiplicity of philosophical, political, and religious topics. The life of action went hand in hand with his intellectual theories, though the latter did not always seek to justify the former. His interest in medicine and in science generally and his friendship with many prominent men in government and in science marked Locke as one of the more informed and influential men of the 17th century. Locke died at Oates, Essex, on Oct. 28, 1704.



## INTERPRETATION OF LOCKE'S THOUGHT

A general reassessment of Locke's thought has been under way since 1950, when the Bodleian Library at Oxford acquired a large mass of Locke manuscripts. A number of revisions in the standard interpretation of Locke are required in the light of this new material. It is now possible to trace more clearly the development of his thought. The recovery of two tracts on the role of the civil magistrate in religious practices, written around 1660-1662 (published in 1967), reveals Locke to have been conservative in his political views. Writing in the early years of the Restoration of the monarchy, after the upheavals of the Civil Wars, Locke argued for civil peace by a recognition of the right of the magistrate (in this case, the king) to legislate over religious practices. Liberty requires law and order. The outward form of religious practices is not so important as the true inner and spiritual attitudes, which cannot be legislated by the ruler.

In a later published work, *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689), Locke emphasized the importance of conviction in religion by saying faith is not faith without believing. In that same work, he also modified his earlier defense of the right of the magistrate to legislate outward religious ceremonies, insisting now that no magistrate should enforce the use of any rites or ceremonies in the worship of God. Toleration had become recognized by that time. Writing from the safety of Holland, he could look back upon the attempts by English kings to impose a state religion with fixed rites. Once a government is permitted to introduce anything into religion by means of laws and penalties, Locke observed, there will be no limits to what can be imposed. He carefully drew the boundaries between civil and religious societies.

**Ideas on Religion.** Locke was a religious man. Puritanism is traceable in many of his attitudes. The distinction he had drawn between the inner beliefs that constitute religion and the outward practices characteristic of different religious societies reappeared in *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), in which he insisted that a Christian need only believe in Christ as the Messiah. Many contemporary writers were saying that Christianity was not mysterious, hence that man did not have to go beyond reason in his beliefs. Locke accepted the miracles performed by Jesus but saw them as Jesus' way of showing that he was indeed the Son of God. Works, as well as beliefs, are important; man must live according to God's law, a moral law whose various precepts Jesus illustrated by his life and sermons. The law of nature is identical with the law of God. Man can attain it through reason or through revelation.

Locke had given lectures at Oxford on the law of nature while he was censor of moral philosophy (1664). These lectures were published in 1954. They show that the protection of individual liberty, as well as the delimitations of the proper bounds of freedom, is found in those laws that issue from God's will. Man's rationality and humanity are a function of living in accordance with natural law. No magistrate, whether king or parliament, should violate these laws or make civil laws incompatible with them. Locke nowhere gives any systematic listing of laws of nature, but from those he does cite, it is clear

that they were the embodiment of the Christian morality. He had on several occasions suggested that morality might be demonstrable, in the way that Euclid's geometry is demonstrable, but in the end he refers the seeker to the Bible and to common sense for the discovery of what ought to be done.

**Educational Theory.** Virtue and the laws of nature were two of the more central notions for Locke. Besides their role in his social and political philosophy, they constitute the basis of his views on education. The subject matter of education was not nearly so important for Locke as was the method and moral foundation. His work on education, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), was originally written for a friend, with a particular child in mind. It contains advice on a regimen for promoting the physical health of children, some remarks on a curriculum, and many passages on training the child in the habits and ways of virtue.

In the *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) he had said that a man who tries to live outside civil society and beyond the bounds of the law of nature—for example, a criminal—is like a beast, not a human being. The prime task of education thus becomes the molding of the child into a moral person.

The other main ideas in his book on education call for changes in the teaching of language and the explicit inclusion in the curriculum of books on science by the new scientists. The recommendation for teaching language was not original with Locke. It stressed oral teaching, as others were beginning to do. Interest in language—its structure and its possible use as an instrument for scientific knowledge—was shared by other writers at that time. Locke made the analysis of language—including a study of the meaning of words, and their use and misuse—an integral part of his general philosophy. Other philosophers of language were searching for a universal language that would aid in the acquisition of knowledge. Science as well as philosophy was turning away from the old methods of striving to obtain knowledge through argumentation and the appeal to logical principles. Experience and observation, aided by well-constructed theories, were replacing the armchair use of books and authority.

**Theory of Knowledge.** These changes were reflected in Locke's advice on education. They were also ingredients in his major work of general philosophy, the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). That work ended with a threefold classification of the sciences: of nature, of action, and of signs. The science of signs, which covers Locke's theory of knowledge, sees ideas as signs of things, and words as signs of ideas. According to Locke our ideas ought to be checked against things themselves, and older, unclear notions of physical objects implying hidden essences ought to be discarded. Instead, we should record the coexistence of qualities as observed. The corpuscular theory of matter—that matter consists of tiny insensible particles, which cannot be perceived as discrete entities—formulated by Robert Boyle and others was accepted by Locke. That theory said that the motion and impulse of tiny particles striking our sense organs cause motions in our nerves and brain. The brain is the last stage in the physical process of perception. At that point, the attentive mind finds ideas in its consciousness.



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Americana  
V. 2

**ATLANTIC, BATTLE OF THE**, the name given to the World War II submarine campaign by which Germany attempted to deny the Allies the use of the seas. The leader of the campaign was Adm. Karl Doenitz, the World War I U-boat commander who reestablished Germany's undersea force in 1935. His strategic concept was not to cut the enemy's sea lines of communication but to destroy its merchant shipping.

At the start of the war Doenitz had a trained force of 57 submarines, 39 of which were operational. By early 1943 there were 219 operational boats. The primary unit was the Type VIIC U-boat, of 770 tons displacement, carrying a crew of 44. A total of 659 of these were built.

The submarine campaign ranged over all the oceans, but its major phases were fought in the North Atlantic. The first began in July 1940, after the fall of France enabled Doenitz to use bases on the Bay of Biscay. The merchant tonnage destroyed was less than in later phases of the war, but the losses were serious because Britain was then alone in the war and her merchant marine was smaller than in World War I. Surface escorts were inadequate, but the critical lack, both in numbers and range, was aircraft. Convoy air cover was not possible over one third of the North Atlantic route. This phase ended in late 1941 when Hitler sent U-boats to the Mediterranean to help avert collapse there.

The second phase was the ship slaughter along the Atlantic coast of the United States from January to August 1942, for which the U.S. Navy was unprepared. Losses were the highest in the war, inflicted by the few U-boats Doenitz could send from the Mediterranean. Coastal convoys were organized in May, and Doenitz shifted his U-boats to the Caribbean.

Germany's submarine defeat came in the convoy battles of early 1943. Doenitz' "wolf packs" met their match in the new Allied anti-submarine forces. By May the Battle of the Atlantic was over. Between that month and September the Germans lost 73 U-boats. In August, Allied ships were being built faster than the Germans could sink them.

Thereafter the Germans used submarines as a threat to force the Allies to devote large resources to antisubmarine warfare while advanced types of U-boats, equipped with schnorkels or hydrogen peroxide engines, were developed. Their production came too late.

See *WORLD WAR II—12. Developments in Naval Warfare (Antisubmarine Operations)*.  
JOHN D. HAYES, Rear Admiral, USN (Retired)

**ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA CO.**, The Great, the largest retail grocery chain in the United States. The A&P markets its products mainly on a cash-and-carry, self-service basis. Subsidiaries produce many items, including baked goods, butter, and canned fruit and vegetables. The company operates coffee-roasting and fish-processing plants and has coffee-purchasing offices in Brazil. The A&P has more than 4,600 stores in the United States and Canada which had over \$5 billion annual sales in the mid-1960's. Its headquarters are in New York City. The George Huntington Hartford Foundation, named for the company's founder, owns one third of the firm's stock, and gives aid to medical education and research.

COURTNEY ROBERT HALL  
Author of "History of  
American Industrial Science"

**ATLANTIC CHARTER**, a statement of principles formulated in World War II by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The charter, announced publicly on Aug. 14, 1941, resulted from a series of conferences (August 9-12) between the two leaders aboard the U.S.S. *Augusta* off Newfoundland.

The text of the document reads as follows:

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

*First*, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

*Second*, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

*Third*, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

*Fourth*, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

*Fifth*, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

*Sixth*, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

*Seventh*, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

*Eighth*, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Although not an official document, the Atlantic Charter was employed effectively as a propaganda weapon against the Axis powers during World War II. The United Nations Declaration, signed in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 1, 1942, by the Allies, then numbering 26 states, endorsed the principles of the charter. Subsequently, in 1945, the Charter of the United Nations affirmed some of the points of the Roosevelt-Churchill statement. Prime Minister Churchill and President Eisenhower, in June 1954, reaffirmed the charter's principles.



25 parks that contain stands of redwoods are Big Basin Redwoods State Park, south of San Francisco, and Humboldt Redwoods and Del Norte Coast Redwoods state parks on or near the northern coast.

Places of historical interest preserved by the state include the Old Customs House in Monterey; Sutter's Fort in Sacramento; Fort Tejon near Lebec; Fort Ross, once a Russian trading post, near Jenner; and the site near Truckee where the Donner party became stranded in 1848. The Hearst-San Simeon State Historical Monument near San Simeon preserves the Hispano-Moorish castle and estate of publisher William Randolph Hearst.

**The Mother Lode Country.** The principal gold-bearing vein in the western foothills of the Sierra Nevada, known as the Mother Lode country, is traversed by state Route 49. Starting at Mariposa in the south, it takes the traveler through the old gold-rush towns—Sonora, Columbia, Angels Camp, Placerville, Coloma, and others—to Grass Valley and Nevada City in the north. The many places of interest include the Marshall Gold Discovery State Historic Park at Coloma and the Columbia State Historic Park, which preserves a large area of Columbia's old business district. Angels Camp, in Calaveras county, was immortalized in the stories of Bret Harte and Mark Twain, especially Twain's *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County*.

**The Missions of California.** The 21 Spanish missions founded under the leadership of the Franciscan father Junípero Serra (see section 7. *History*) were spaced out along what became known as El Camino Real ("The Royal Road"). The missions are listed in the order of their location from south to north and their chief features are noted in the list on page 212.

**Indian Reservations.** At the time of Spanish occupation, the Indians of California were divided into 21 linguistic families and into scores of villages, in which different dialects were spoken. Among the better known tribes were the Hoopa or Hupa, Pomo, Modoc, Maidu, Mono, Yurok, and Yuma. Many smaller tribes have become extinct. Indian lands of California are included in 11 principal reservations and many smaller holdings known as rancherías. About half the area of the famed Palm Springs resort in southern California has been developed on Indian-owned lands of the Agua Caliente Reservation.

**Other Places and Activities.** Among California's special events, perhaps the best known is the annual Tournament of Roses, held each January 1 or 2 at Pasadena, scene also of the Rose Bowl football game played the same day. The annual state fair has been held at Sacramento since 1861, and the National Orange Show is headquartered at San Bernardino. Santa Barbara holds its Old Spanish Days Fiesta in August. The Ojai Music Festival is held in May, and the Laguna Beach Festival of Arts in late summer. The *Ramona Pageant*, based on Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona*, is presented annually near Hemet.

Disneyland, opened at Anaheim in 1955, has become one of the nation's most popular tourist centers. Similar in its attraction is the more recently established Pacific Ocean Park, a 30-acre "oceanic wonderland" at Los Angeles. A popular oceanarium overlooks the sea at Palos Verdes.

The state is rich in offerings to sports fans. National League baseball has been played by the Los Angeles Dodgers and San Francisco Giants

since the 1958 season. Professional football is represented by the Los Angeles Rams and the San Francisco Forty-niners of the National Football League. Nationally known horse racing tracks include Bay Meadows at San Mateo and Santa Anita at Arcadia.

For other places and activities of special interest, see separate articles on California cities.

## 7. History

The European discovery of California accompanied the growth of the Spanish empire in the New World. In 1540, Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain (Mexico), sponsored an extensive program of conquest and discovery that included the expedition of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado into what is now the southwestern United States, the exploration of the Gulf of California by Hernando de Alarcón, and a voyage along the coast by the Portuguese-born navigator Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. Cabrillo left the port of Navidad on the west coast of Mexico in June 1542 and reached San Diego Bay on September 28. Some months later the commander died of an injury on the small island of San Miguel in the Santa Barbara Islands, but his chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrello (or Ferrer), sailed as far north as Cape Mendocino before turning back to Navidad.

During the next 60 years, numerous Spanish ships, many of which sailed from the Philippine Islands, visited the California coast. The English navigator and sea raider Francis Drake, on his renowned voyage around the world (1577–1580), entered a harbor of northern California in 1579 and there reconditioned the treasure-laden *Golden Hind*. He also took possession of the land for England, naming it *Nova Albion* ("New England"). A brass plate, thought to be the plate that Drake and his men inscribed and supposedly nailed to a post as evidence of their claim, was found on the seacoast of Marin county in 1936. In 1602–1603, Sebastián Vizcaíno made an extensive survey of the Monterey Bay area as a possible site for a Spanish colony.

**Spanish Settlement.** Although known to the Western World long before the English landed at Jamestown, Va., in 1607, California was not actually colonized until 1769. Its exploration and settlement finally were undertaken partly because of the threat of Russian or British advance down the Pacific coast toward the mines and cities of New Spain. Other factors were the missionary zeal of the Franciscan order of friars, the need for a port of refuge and supply for galleons trading with the Philippines, and the zeal of royal officials for a renewed expansion of the Spanish empire. The leading figures of this enterprise were José de Gálvez, visitor-general of New Spain under the energetic King Charles III; Gaspar de Portolá, governor of Lower California and commander in chief of the undertaking; and the Franciscan father Junípero Serra. Two expeditions went by sea to San Diego (a third ship was lost), and two marched overland from the frontier ports of Loreto and Velicatá in Lower California. The overland expeditions reached San Diego without major difficulties, but the maritime parties suffered greatly from disease.

From their base at San Diego, Portolá and a company of 64 priests, soldiers, muleteers, and Indians marched northward on July 14, 1769, to find the harbor in Monterey Bay surveyed much earlier, in 1602, by Vizcaíno. After breaking a



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VOLUME II

*Chautauqua Movement—Federal Bureau of Investigation*

Charles Scribner's Sons · New York



order was restored. Picked troops from the Army of the Potomac were brought in, and on Aug. 19 drawings proceeded peaceably.

[J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, vol. IV.]  
ELBRIDGE COLBY

**DRAGO DOCTRINE.** After Great Britain, Germany, and Italy undertook by force of arms to compel Venezuela to pay certain claims, in a note dated Dec. 19, 1902, Luis María Drago, Argentina's minister of foreign affairs, sent a protest to the United States. Drago held that in making loans to a foreign state, a capitalist considered conditions and made the terms correspondingly hard. He reasoned that a sovereign state could not have proceedings instituted against it. The payment of its debts was binding, but the debtor government had the right to choose the manner and the time of payment. He denounced armed intervention as a means of collecting debts incurred by an American nation, for the collection of debts by military means implied the occupation of territory in order to make such coercion effective. The public debt of an American state, he maintained, did not justify "armed intervention, nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European power." An amended version of this doctrine was adopted by the Second Hague Conference in 1907. (See also Calvo Doctrine.)

[J. H. Latané, *A History of American Foreign Policy*.]  
WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

**DRAKE AT CALIFORNIA.** Sir Francis Drake, in 1577, left England with an expedition on five ships to open Oriental and Pacific trade and to deliver a blow at Spanish commercial and colonial monopoly. After harassing the Spaniards in the Atlantic Ocean, Drake passed through the Strait of Magellan, and in his one remaining ship, the *Golden Hind*, coursed the Pacific coast of South America, plundering as he went. Prevented by unfavorable winds from sailing west to his goal, the Molucca Islands, Drake, in June 1579, entered a "convenient and fit harborough," apparently Drake's Bay, Calif., to repair his ship. Claiming the land for England and naming it New Albion, Drake remained there thirty-six days, exploring and establishing friendly relations with the Indians. Before departing for the Moluccas, he left nailed to a "firm poste" a brass plate as evidence of England's claim. In 1936 the plate, dated June 17, 1579, was discovered on the western shore of San Francisco Bay, where it had been discarded not long before, its value

unrecognized, after having been brought from the vicinity of Drake's Bay.

[Sir Francis Drake, *The World Encompassed*. Hakluyt Society Publications, vol. XVI; H. R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*.]

CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN  
ROBERT HALE SHIELDS

**DRAKE'S OIL WELL.** E. L. Drake of New Haven, Conn., was sent by the Pennsylvania-Rock Oil Company in 1858 to Titusville, Pa., where he experimented in drilling for petroleum, the first venture of the sort in America. He had many difficulties, his partners lost faith in the project, and his own resources were strained to the limit when, on Aug. 28, 1859, he found oil at a depth of 69.5 feet. It rose to within 10 feet of the surface, and for some time forty barrels were pumped daily, selling at \$20 a barrel. The oil strike caused nationwide excitement and precipitated a rush to the oilfield.

[William T. Brannt, *Petroleum*.]  
ALVIN F. HARLOW

**DRAMA.** See Theater.

**DRAPER'S MEADOWS,** the first settlement west of the great Allegheny divide, on the present site of Blacksburg, Va., was founded in 1748 in the New River section by John Draper, Thomas Ingles, and other Scottish and Irish immigrants from Pennsylvania. On July 8, 1755, the settlement was destroyed by a party of Shawnee Indians. Mrs. William Ingles was carried into captivity on the lower Ohio River but made her escape and returned over 700 miles on foot.

[J. P. Hale, *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers*.]  
JAMES ELLIOTT WALMSLEY

**DREADNOUGHT,** a type of battleship that derived its name from the British warship *Dreadnought*, launched in 1906. This ship, which marked a new era in naval construction and made obsolete every battleship afloat, excelled its predecessors in displacement and speed, as well as in the number of heavy-caliber guns and penetrative power. It had a displacement of 17,900 tons, a speed of 21.6 knots, a cruising radius of 5,800 sea miles, and was protected by 11-inch armor. It was the first battleship to be driven by turbines. Its main battery consisted of ten 12-inch guns, making it the first all-big gun ship in the world. After its launching and until World War I, every battleship



The Mexican War in 1846 brought the U. S. sloop *Cyane*, under Capt. Samuel duPont, into the bay on July 29, 1846. Troops under John C. Frémont disembarked and raised the U. S. flag over the Old Town plaza. U. S. soldiers led by Gen. Stephen W. Kearny had come westward from Kansas and on December 6 fought a costly battle against loyal Californians under Gen. Andrés Pico at San Pasqual, northeast of San Diego.

The town's first newspaper, the *Herald*, was founded in 1851 but failed in 1860, leaving San Diego without a newspaper until 1868, when the present *Union* began to publish. A year earlier, Alonzo E. Horton in effect founded modern San Diego by purchasing an unsuccessful 1,000-acre (405-hectare) development in the present downtown area. Horton built a wharf, laid out streets, gave land to churches, and, in 1870, opened a hotel opposite the new town's plaza.

An 1870 gold strike at Julian, in the mountains to the northeast, and several land booms increased the population rapidly. The Santa Fe Railway arrived in 1885, and the financier John D. Spreckels and others brought added improvements. From a high of 40,000 in the 1880's, however, San Diego dropped in population to 17,000 near the turn of the century, as real-estate enterprises failed. The city's later growth came as a result of U. S. Navy investments, the industrial progress nurtured by several wars, and the city's encouragement of civilian industries.

San Diego's sunny climate was largely responsible for making it a favorite production and testing site of the pioneers of aviation. In 1883, John J. Montgomery flew the first successful glider flights at Otay Mesa, and on Jan. 26, 1911, Glenn H. Curtiss piloted the first successful seaplane flight, taking off from San Diego Bay. Charles Lindbergh had his airplane, *Spirit of St. Louis*, built here in 1927. After World War II, the Atlas missile, a vital cog in the U. S. space program, was assembled in San Diego.

MARCO G. THORNE

City Librarian, San Diego Public Library

Further Reading: Pourade, Richard F., *The History of San Diego*, 6 vols. (Union-Tribune Publishing Company 1961-1967).

**SAN DIMAS**, də'mās, a city in southwestern California, in Los Angeles county, is about 25 miles (40 km) east of the center of Los Angeles. Plastic objects are made. The Voorhis campus of California State Polytechnic College is in the community. The Frank G. Bonelli regional county park is of interest.

San Dimas was founded in 1862 and the community was incorporated as a city in 1960. Government is by council and city manager. Population: 15,692.

**SAN FERNANDO**, fər-nan'dō, a city in southwestern California, in Los Angeles county, is situated at the northern end of the San Fernando Valley, about 20 miles (32 km) northwest of the center of Los Angeles. It manufactures and assembles electronic parts and makes garments. The church and monastery of the Mission San Fernando Rey de España, founded on Sept. 8, 1797, have been restored.

White men entered the valley in the 1760's and gold was found here in 1842. The community was laid out in 1874 and was incorporated as a city in 1911. Government is by mayor and council. Population: 16,571.

**SAN FRANCISCO**, a city in California, is noted for the beauty of its setting and the buoyant spirit of its people. It occupies the tip of a narrow and hilly peninsula, a site with a dramatic quality that visitors rarely fail to recognize. Thanks to its favorable location on a spacious, land-locked harbor, and with easy access by water to a large area rich in natural resources, the city has long been the financial, commercial, and cultural center of northern California.

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A visitor's first impression of San Francisco's dramatic setting is enhanced on closer acquaintance by the sweeping views of sky, land, and water from many elevated spots; by clusters of picturesque buildings clinging precariously to nearly perpendicular hillsides; and, perhaps most striking of all, by the gridlike pattern of the city streets. The streets, with few exceptions, were laid out without regard to the contours of the land, and in consequence many ascend the hills at angles too steep to permit vehicular traffic of any kind.

But not all the qualities that set San Francisco apart from other cities result from its physical setting. Much of its present individuality springs from the circumstances of its early history. The city of today dates from the gold rush. The discovery of gold in January 1848 marked the city's true beginning, although the spot had then been occupied for more than half a century, and a frontier village of some 200 inhabitants had grown up there. The shiploads of adventurers from every corner of the world gave the early settlement a cosmopolitan flavor that has persisted to the present.

Upon landing, those who spoke the same language and shared the same background tended to band together, and so established a group of smaller communities within the larger settlement. A number of these remain today, adding a further picturesque note to the modern city. Among the more colorful of such "foreign quarters" are Chinatown, the Italian quarter, and the Japanese cultural center, fronting on Geary Boulevard a few blocks beyond Van Ness Avenue.

Many important changes took place in the city during the 1960's and early 1970's, including the completion of several large-scale urban renewal projects, the building of many tall hotels and apartment and office buildings in the central

#### INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

**Location:** Northern California, on the northern tip of a peninsula with the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Golden Gate on the north, and San Francisco Bay on the east.  
**Population:** City, 715,674 (13th in U. S.); metropolitan area (San Francisco-Oakland), 3,109,519.  
**Area:** 45 square miles (117 sq km)  
**Elevation:** Sea level to 925 feet (280 meters) atop Mt. Davidson.  
**Climate:** Temperature averages 60° F (15° C) in summer, 51° F (10° C) in winter; rainfall averages 20.8 inches (533 mm).  
**Government:** Mayor and 11-member board of supervisors.



area, and the construction of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System. But notwithstanding these and other major modernization projects, many of the features that lent distinction to the earlier city remain. These include the quaint but still serviceable cable cars, the many green open spaces (in particular the Presidio and the magnificent Golden Gate Park), and Fisherman's Wharf, Twin Peaks, and Ocean Beach. Perhaps the most pleasing of all are the alternate periods of swirling fog and brilliant sunshine that envelop the city, and everywhere unexpected views of row on row of terraced houses slanting down steep hillsides toward the water's edge.

### 1. Physical Features

San Francisco, standing midway on the long northern California coastline, is surrounded on three sides by water—the Pacific Ocean, the Golden Gate, and San Francisco Bay—and is accessible by land only from the south. The city is dominated by a series of steep-sided hills, the highest of which, Mt. Davidson, has an altitude of 925 feet (280 meters). Other elevated spots include Telegraph, Nob, and Russian hills, close to the downtown district; Twin Peaks, near the geographical center of the city; and Bernal Heights, in the Mission district to the south. Overlooking the ocean, the Golden Gate, and the bay are Sutro Heights, Land's End, and Pacific Heights.

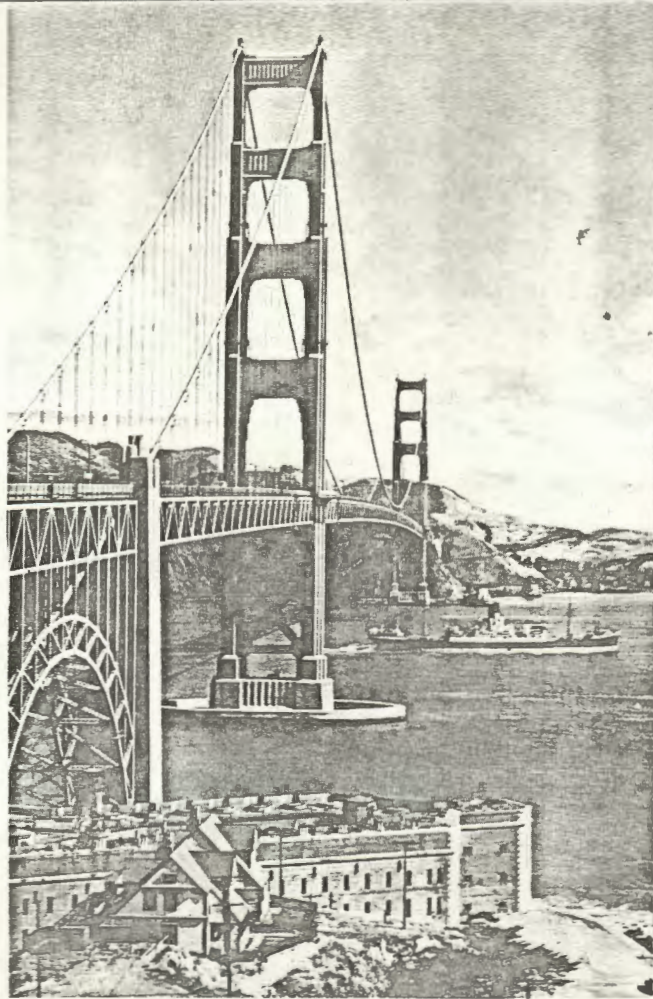
San Francisco Bay, one of the world's best harbors, is some 50 miles (80 km) long and 3 to 12 miles (5–19 km) wide. It is connected to the north with San Pablo and Suisun bays, into which empty the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. A number of islands dot the bay, the largest of which are Angel Island, Yerba Buena, Alcatraz (once the site of a federal prison), and the man-made Treasure Island, the site of the 1939–1940 Golden Gate International Exposition.

San Francisco's climate is without extremes of heat or cold. The prevailing westerly winds off the ocean tend to make it "an air-conditioned city," with cool summers and mild winters. Flowers bloom throughout the year, and warm clothing for evening wear is the rule at all seasons. Morning fogs are frequent from May to August, but are usually dissipated by midday.

### 2. Description

Almost from the beginning San Francisco has been divided into several clearly defined neighborhoods. The original village was built on the shore of Yerba Buena Cove. During the gold-rush period, hotels, shops, and places of entertainment were grouped about the old Spanish plaza. The lower slopes of Telegraph, Nob, and Rincon hills served as residential districts. Although the passage of time has brought many changes, traces of this original pattern may still be seen.

**Business Districts.** The present financial district, centering on Montgomery and California streets, occupies part of the site of the original cove. Nob and Telegraph hills have remained favorite residential areas, but Rincon Hill was taken over by factories and warehouses and today serves as an anchorage for cables supporting the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. Beginning about 1880, the hotel, theater, and retail shopping center moved toward the southwest, and today is grouped about Union Square. As the city's growth continued, new housing spread



The Golden Gate Bridge, at the entrance to San Francisco Bay, links San Francisco and its northern suburbs.

outward, covering the hills and intervening valleys and stopping only when it reached the water's edge to the north, east, and west.

Other well-known districts include the Embarcadero, a 200-foot (60-meter) wide thoroughfare that follows the curving bay shore from China Basin to Fisherman's Wharf. It is flanked on the water side by a long series of piers, where the ships of many nations take on and discharge passengers and freight. The factories and warehouses of the industrial district lie south of Market Street.

**Residential Areas.** Homes on Telegraph, Nob, and Russian hills have long been favored because they have excellent views and are conveniently close to the downtown area. Since the 1960's, however, an increasing number of private residences have been replaced by tall apartment buildings. The area known as the Mission, a section of picturesque wooden buildings facing on slanting streets, grew up about the venerable Mission Dolores. Other attractive residential neighborhoods include Pacific Heights and Sea Cliff, both overlooking the Golden Gate, and several newer subdivisions on the wooded hillsides south of Twin Peaks.

The largest and the most distinctly San Franciscan residential areas are the Richmond district, fronting on the ocean to the north of Golden Gate Park, and the Sunset district, on the ocean to the south of the park. They both





JOSEPH S. RYCHETNIK, FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS

The San Francisco skyline, looking northward across Richardson Bay to the mountains of Marin county.

the building of the San Francisco-Oakland and the Golden Gate bridges in the mid-1930's, the ferries have all but disappeared. However, the historic cables—although far fewer in number than in earlier years—continue to rumble up and down some of the city's steepest hills, to the delight of residents and visitors alike.

**Automobile Congestion.** The Municipal Railroad, which, besides the cable lines, operates streetcars and buses serving all parts of the city, has for years been fighting a losing battle with private automobiles for a major share of the traffic. The consequence is that in San Francisco, as in most American cities, congestion on the downtown streets has become an ever more serious problem.

With the aim of solving that difficulty and of relieving congestion on the trans-bay bridge, in 1962 the voters of San Francisco, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties approved a bond issue of \$793 million for the building of the Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART). The first such facility to be built in the United States in many years, BART consists of 75 miles (120 km) of high-speed electric railway, serving the east bay communities and linking them with San Francisco by means of a 3.6-mile (5.8-km) tunnel beneath the bay. Included in the plan is a two-level subway beneath Market and Mission streets to be used both by the interurban trains and the city streetcars.

## 6. Education and Cultural Life

The cultural climate of San Francisco is reflected not only in its support of art, music, and the drama but also in its appreciation of good food and wines and other adjuncts to gracious living.

Education in the city is a more than usually complex operation because of the diverse racial

backgrounds of its residents. The city maintains a comprehensive public school program ranging from kindergarten to college level. It also provides a variety of courses for non-English-speaking groups, both children and adults.

**Colleges and Universities.** The largest school of higher education in the city is California State University, San Francisco, which dates from 1899. Others include the city-supported City College of San Francisco and two Catholic institutions—the long-established University of San Francisco (founded in 1855) and the San Francisco College for Women. The city is also the site of the San Francisco Art Institute, and a number of departments of the University of California, among them the Hastings College of Law and the schools of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, and nursing. Elsewhere in the bay area are the Berkeley campus of the University of California, Stanford University, Mills College, and the Catholic schools of St. Mary's and Santa Clara.

**Cultural Diversity.** The varied cultural and racial heritage of San Francisco residents is reflected in the number and variety both of its newspapers and its churches. There are two major dailies—the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*. The city also has more than a dozen daily or weekly papers published in foreign languages, including Chinese, Japanese, Italian, German, Spanish, Russian, and the Scandinavian languages.

Most groups also have their own places of worship. In addition to the many churches and synagogues there are several Chinese temples and Buddhist shrines.

**Museums and Libraries.** More than two million persons annually visit the three leading art galleries—the M. H. De Young Memorial Museum in Golden Gate Park, the San Francisco Art Mu-



preach in 1798 and delivered some sermons in his own district, but apparently he was too intellectual for the cottage folk, for when he was 30 he still had no parish. He decided then to seek a literary career.

Sir John took him to London, and after working on several periodicals Mill became editor of the *St. James's Chronicle*. He married (1805) the daughter of a well-to-do widow (who managed a lunatic asylum); his first child, born May 20, 1806, was named after Mill's benefactor, John Stuart Mill (q.v.). At this time Mill began his imposing literary monument, his *History of India*. He had never been to India and he expected to write the book in only three years; it actually took him 12 years to write it. Despite the fact that it criticized many prominent men and the administration of the East India Company, the *History* brought him a position with the India House (1819) and there he remained, becoming head of the office in 1830.

In the meantime, Mill had made the acquaintance (1808) of Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher, and promptly became his lieutenant and chief propagandist. The two men worked together the remainder of their lives, Bentham supplying most of the theories and Mill publicizing them. By this time Mill was writing for and editing several periodicals. In 1821 he published his *Elements of Political Economy*, the first English textbook on economics, in which he expounded the theories of the Philosophical Radicals. He pointed out that reform must aim at the limitation of population, that the value of a thing depends on the amount of labor put into it, and that the unearned increment of real estate should be taxable. In 1829 his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind* appeared, a psychological interpretation of the utilitarian philosophy of Bentham and an elaboration of David Hartley's theory that all the activities of the rational consciousness are resolvable into "three grand classes of phenomena": sensations, ideas, and trains of ideas. A year before his death Mill wrote his last work, *Fragment on Mackintosh*, a rejoinder to an attack on the utilitarians.

Mill was not an original thinker but he had indomitable Scottish devotion to what he believed to be the truth, a lucid mind, and a perspicuous literary style. He was able to give resolution and clarity to the dicta of his friends and under his leadership there arose the most efficient group of political reformers modern Europe had known.

HENRY HUMPHREY,

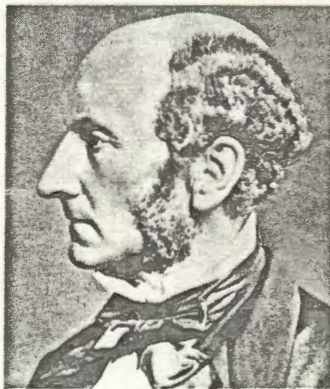
Staff Editor, "The Encyclopedia Americana."

**MILL, John**, English Biblical scholar (known until 1673 as **MILNE**): b. Hardendale, Westmoreland, England, in 1645; d. probably at Canterbury, June 23, 1707. The son of a weaver, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, at the age of 16; distinguished himself in the classics; took the degrees B.A. (1666), M.A. (1669), B.D. (1680), and D.D. (1681). He was elected fellow of his college in 1670; became prebendary of Exeter in 1677; and in 1681 became rector of Bletchington and chaplain in ordinary to Charles II. In 1684 he married Priscilla, the daughter of Sir William Palmer of Warden, Bedfordshire. He had retired from his fellowship in 1682, and in 1685 became principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Becoming fourth prebend at Can-

terbury in August 1704, he resigned his Exeter prebend a year later.

Mill is especially noted for his scholarly work on the New Testament, on which he expended 30 years of labor. It was published on June 9, 1707, just two weeks before his death. He used the 1550 Greek text of Robert Stephanus (q.v.), leaving the text unchanged and giving the various readings at the bottom of the page. For this he used collations of the principal European manuscripts, and he, himself, collated the most important ones in England. He also prepared the three-part prefix treating each book of the New Testament, giving a history of the text from the time of the Apostles, and reviewing his own work on it. He was the first editor of the New Testament to draw up a genealogy of the various editions of the Greek text and to describe accurately and clearly the manuscripts used. The work was dedicated to Queen Anne, and although it met with considerable adverse criticism, it is considered a masterpiece, and was the most beautiful edition produced up to that time. It was republished in Rotterdam and Amsterdam in 1710, again in Amsterdam in 1746, and in Leipzig in 1723. A copy of Mill's original text with his manuscript additions is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the library at Queen's College, Oxford, has a large number of his notes for the work and much of his correspondence with eminent men of the day. George Vertue (q.v.) made an engraving of Mill presenting his Greek Testament to Queen Anne, which was reproduced in the Oxford Almanack for 1747.

**MILL, John Stuart**, English economist, philosopher, and radical reformer; b. London, May 20, 1806; d. Avignon, France, May 8, 1873. Best known of his works are his *Autobiography* (1873), his writings on logic, utilitarianism, and political philosophy, and his restatement of classical economics. Though he had a commanding intellectual position in his day, most of his ideas no longer are thought valid, and his enduring interest comes from the exceptional qualities of his mind.



John Stuart Mill

Brown Brothers

His father was James Mill (q.v.), an eclectic and reformer, the intimate of Jeremy Bentham, celebrated utilitarian philosopher; of David Ricardo, whose *Principles of Political Economy* was written at his prompting; and the mentor and hector of others engaged in the radical politics of the early 19th century. A man of strong views and an energy equal to them, James



Mill himself undertook the education of his son, who at 13 had been taught more than most people are in their lives, showing, John later recorded, what so ordinary a mind as his own could achieve under proper instruction. His interests were austere until at about the age of 25, after an extended emotional disturbance, he became more objective about his father and acquired an interest in romantic poetry and the humanitarian ideas of Continental socialists. He spent 14 months in France, 1820-1821, and on his return studied for the law but did not complete the course. Instead he entered the examiner's office of the East India Company, a trading monopoly with political authority over India, as a junior clerk under his father. He eventually attained the position of chief examiner and was retired in 1856.

At 15, Mill became familiar with Bentham's ideas and these had a decisive influence on him. The next year he formed the first of three discussion groups, enlisting a number of young men who later became important in Victorian politics and letters. From one of these groups came the Philosophical Radicals whose ideas were advanced enough to shock the public but sound enough to gain its respect as well.

Starting from Bentham's principle that the good of society lies in that which brings the greatest benefit to the largest number, the Philosophical Radicals agitated for repeal of the grain tariff, removal of the causes of overpopulation, extensive free education, prison reform, religious liberty, freedom of labor unions, extension of the vote and other parliamentary reforms, cheap and efficient local government, and the improvement of working conditions in factories. Despite initial ridicule and then fierce opposition, they in time attained some of their objectives entirely and toward the others made noticeable progress. Mill himself did not approve of all of them, because he opposed extensive government control of the economy, but they were a reasonable application of the utilitarian principle he took from Bentham.

In economics, Mill's most influential work was *The Principles of Political Economy* (1848). It restates the classical idea that the quantities of labor-time required to produce goods determine their exchange value, that a country's total production is limited by the extent of its land, that population tends to increase faster than production, and that therefore the standard of living can rise only if population growth is slowed down. Mill believed his contribution was to distinguish between laws of production, which he said were unalterable, and distribution of the product which, he said, can be done in any way a country chooses. Later economists have found his most valuable contribution to be the detailed explanation of the principles which should guide the government in its control of the economy. The book is not Mill's most notable work. He had, uncharacteristically, neglected to notice what his contemporaries were adding to the theory of price and business cycles. In later editions, upon the urgings of his wife, he changed his opposition to socialism into a restrained approval.

The distinctive feature of Mill's *A System of Logic* . . . (1843) was the idea that the rules of reasoning are obtained from experience, as opposed to the traditional view that they are a part of the mind's construction, or of the universe. A statement, he said, asserts either the existence

of a fact or the relations between facts, which may be those of coexistence, sequence, resemblance, or causality. Its truth is tested by its correspondence with the reality we perceive by our senses or by reasoning inductively from the perception, that is, from the particular to the general. In stating that logic is the method of testing the factual validity of statements, Mill was the forerunner of the scientific method. To utilitarian ethics, he contributed the idea, taken from associationist psychology, that men are prompted to do good initially to serve themselves, in circumstances in which by helping others they help themselves; but in time virtue becomes a habit and they serve others even when there is no gain to themselves. Happiness is the goal of all conduct, according to Mill, and consists of pleasures of the mind, not senses, because the former endure and the latter quickly perish. Applied to politics, utilitarianism argued for measures which benefited more people than they injured; for instance, the repeal of the grain tariff which added more to the purchasing power of the masses by lowering bread prices than it took from the landlord by lowering rents. The principle of utility was the premise of Mill's essay *On Liberty* (1854) and *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861). He argued that freedom requires people to exercise their judgment and to accept its consequences. By making them more self-reliant, it makes them better men and women. He opposed despotism, even if efficient and benign, because it asks nothing of people but obedience.

After most of his important books were written, Mill was a member of the House of Commons (1865-1868) where he stood with the radicals, principally on the extension of the right to vote. He independently proposed woman suffrage, proportional representation, land reform in Ireland, the payment of the national debt before British coal reserves were exhausted, and he conducted a memorable and unsuccessful campaign to indict the British governor of Jamaica whom he believed responsible for the cruel suppression of a native rebellion.

Throughout his adult life, he was helped, ministered to, and supported in ways for which he was profusely grateful, by Harriet Taylor whom he met in 1830 and married in 1851 after the death of her husband. She died in 1858, and her daughter, Helen, remained with Mill to the end of his life. Though called, respectfully, the saint of rationalism, Mill was a man of feeling, great kindness, and affection. No thinker of the century was as knowledgeable about the ideas of those who disagreed with him, or treated them as fairly, or showed as much generosity. He was friendly with Thomas Carlyle, Auguste Comte, and Herbert Spencer, who disagreed with him, sometimes fiercely and with invective; to all of them he paid tribute and made personal benefactions. Although originality was not the outstanding quality of his mind, it was remarkably analytic, fair, and thorough, capable of synthesizing views in opposition to his own as well as those in agreement, and had a facility with abstract ideas which was unique among the English. To all of this, Mill joined a writing ability which makes his prose memorable even in an age distinguished for its use of English. See also MILL, AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN STEWART.

Bibliography.—In addition to those noted above,



# W. Coast cities clean up to have queen for a day

By Lorrie Lynch  
USA TODAY

SAN FRANCISCO — Queen Elizabeth will sail into San Diego harbor on her royal yacht Feb. 26 — and California will be ready.

Brass is being polished and beaches scoured. Flowers are being planted to make a good impression on the royal visitors.

No one has tallied the cost of security, planning, state dinners and cleanup after the visit of England's monarch and her husband, Prince Philip. The royal pair will visit California cities and Seattle through March 7.

The Irish Republican Committee, which plans protests at each queenly stop, predicts the trip will cost "hundreds of millions."

But from San Diego to Seattle, city officials and businesses are busily preparing for her royal highness — with little worry about the cost. The attention their cities are getting, they say, is worth the price.

Seattle wants the queen's four hours to be as comfortable as possible. "It's... supposed to come off as comfortable as a walk in the park," said Paul O'Connor, press secretary to Washington Gov. John Spellman. "We want to put her on that boat mellow."

The same is true elsewhere as cities prepare to roll out the red carpet.

■ Santa Barbara's harbor will be dredged early this year — a \$400,000 annual project — so the queen's yacht can anchor a relatively close one mile offshore.

■ In Cupertino, at the Hewlett-Packard plant where the queen will be briefed on the computer industry, new flowers and shrubs are being planted. "We are not turning the place into a palace for the day," said spokesman Lane Webster. But he said the briefing room will be painted.

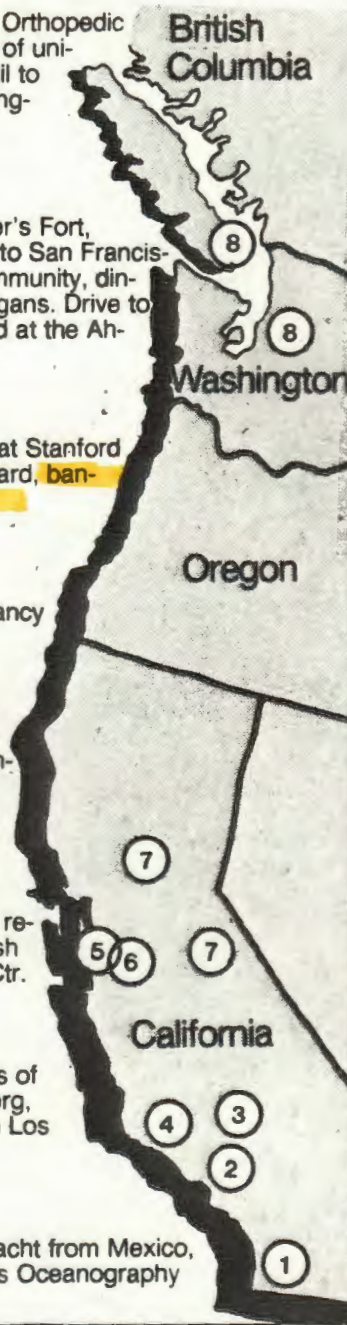
■ In Los Angeles at 20th Century Fox studios, award-winning set director Walter Scott will fix up the old M\*A\*S\*H stage, where the queen will attend a dinner for about 500. And the brass and copper railings at City Hall are being polished.

■ In Palo Alto, the Hoover

## The queen's visit to USA

Trip starts in San Diego, see 1 below. Follow her trip up the coast.

- 8 March 7  
Fly to Seattle, visit Childrens Orthopedic Hospital, attend convocation of universities, visit civic center, sail to British Columbia, return to England
- 7 March 4  
Fly to Sacramento, visit Sutter's Fort, lunch at state Capitol, return to San Francisco, reception with British community, dinner on Royal Yacht with Reagans. Drive to Yosemite for private weekend at the Ahwahnee Hotel
- 6 March 3  
Attend civic reception, lunch at Stanford University, visit Hewlett-Packard, banquet at deYoung Museum
- 5 March 2  
Sail to San Francisco with Nancy Reagan
- 4 March 1  
Arrive by yacht in Santa Barbara, visit Court House, Spanish Mission, President Reagan's ranch
- 3 Feb. 28  
Visit Downey Rockwell plant, reception at City Hall, visit British Home, Lee British Pediatric Ctr.
- 2 Feb. 27  
Fly to Palm Springs as guests of Ambassador Walter Annenberg, dinner at 20th Century Fox in Los Angeles
- 1 Feb. 26  
Arrive San Diego on Royal Yacht from Mexico, tour U.S. Naval ships, Scripps Oceanography Institution, San Diego Zoo



By Karren Loeb. USA TODAY

will be spruced up for an elegant luncheon for 92 people.

■ At Rockwell International in Downey, Calif., a new camera is being installed in the space shuttle cockpit simulator. The queen and prince will climb into the cockpit — and the new camera will televise it nationally.

■ City of Hope Hospital in Duarte, Calif., workers will have the place "shining" when the queen visits the pediatric

center, said Jacqueline Mimms. A tea party is planned.

■ At Seattle's Children's Orthopedic Hospital, the queen will visit the play area where the children will be working on a project to present to her.

Nothing special is planned at the Ahwahnee Hotel at Yosemite National Park, where the queen will have the entire 121-room hotel to relax for two days. It's already fit for a queen.



being waged around Khurranshahr and that 238 Iranians had been killed and large numbers of Iranian tanks and vehicles had been destroyed. Iran announced, May 27, that fierce battles were being fought in the hills of western Iran, 80 miles from the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. The report also admitted that Iraqi gunners were shelling Khurranshahr. Iraq claimed that they had killed 55 Iranians that day.

**Polish Protest Against Military Rule Flares** — On May 1, a crowd estimated at 30,000 marched through Warsaw's Old Town to show support for the Solidarity union and to protest the military rule. This was the biggest show of opposition since the beginning of martial law, 4 1/2 months before. No arrests or incidents were reported. However, on May 3, protesters clashed with police in Warsaw and other cities. In Warsaw, about 10,000 people had gathered to protest the military government and were set upon by policemen, carrying shields and swinging truncheons. Scores of demonstrators were beaten by police and several were struck by flares, fired by riot police as a means of protecting the Communist Party's Central Committee building. Similar though smaller incidents had occurred in Gdansk and 8 other cities. On May 4, the military government, in retaliation, reintroduced the curfew, cut telephone service, and imposed other restrictions on the Polish people, including the suspension of sports and cultural events and the banning of private cars from the streets. It was also reported that 1,372 people had been taken into custody—271 of them in Warsaw. Seventy-two policemen had been injured in the clashes, but no figures of the numbers of demonstrators injured were given. It was announced, May 6, that, because of the riots, the wife of Lech Walesa had been refused permission to see her husband. Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, had been interned since the previous December. Polish farmers, numbering some 3,000, prayed and sang together, May 12, at a mass marking the first birthday of the founding of the Rural Solidarity union, although the union had been banned under martial law. The mass ended without incident. Brief work stoppages were staged, May 13, at most of the factories in Warsaw and in other cities to protest martial law. Police charged a group of 150 to 200 young people in Warsaw's Old Town, beating them with truncheons as they tried to enter a cathedral. A group of 5,000 to 6,000 gathered at Warsaw University to stage a silent protest. Although the Polish government declared, May 14, that the protest actions the previous day had been a failure, Western diplomats pointed out that the suspended Solidarity union had been able to mount the first coordinated industrial disruptions since the imposition of martial law. Konstantin V. Ruskov, a member of the secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, flew to Warsaw, May 17. He was the first senior Soviet official to visit Poland since the beginning of martial law. It was said that he had gone to assess the Polish situation first hand and report back to Moscow. On May 22, Poland and the Soviet Union accused the U.S. of subversion and of trying to plunge Poland into anarchy. The Polish government announced, May 27, that Lech Walesa had been moved from the Warsaw villa in which he had been detained for 6 months, but declined to state where he had been relocated. The Rev. Henryk Jankowski, Walesa's parish priest, announced, May 29, that the government had agreed to let the Solidarity leader have a brief meeting with his family on June 3.

**U.S. Aid to El Salvador Under Fire** — The U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee approved, May 12, an administration proposal to give \$60 million in military aid to the Salvadoran government. However, on May 20, Sen. Charles H. Percy (Rep., Ill.), in an angry statement, said that U.S. aid would be cut off from El Salvador if the land redistribution program were stopped. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was reacting to the suspension by the Salvadoran Constituent Assembly of the plan that sought to give tenant farmers and sharecroppers the right to acquire title to the land they work. The State Department announced, May 24, that they had been assured by El Salvador that the provisions of the land redistribution plan would be carried out. Even so, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, May 26, called for a \$100 million reduction in military aid to El Salvador. The sum was to be cut from \$166.3 million to \$66 million. On May 27, the administration warned El Salvador that it would insist on progress in the

land program.

**Hindus, Sikhs Clash in India** — It was reported, May 3, that more than 350 militant Hindus and Sikhs were arrested in the Indian state of Punjab in the aftermath of religious disorders. A group named the Dai Khalsa, or Association of the Pure, had placed 2 severed cow's heads at Hindu temples. This group had been agitating for the establishment of a Sikh nation that would be separate from India, and had been staging a campaign to have the smoking of tobacco outlawed within the walled city of Amritsar, the city where the holiest Sikh shrine, the Golden Temple, is located. They felt that Hindus were blocking the passage of this law and had placed the cow's heads to irritate the Hindus, who are prohibited, as are all Indians, from slaughtering cows. Following the temple desecrations, groups of Sikhs and Hindus attacked each other in several towns in the Punjab. A man was killed and several were wounded. Shops were burned and curfews were laid down in at least 2 towns.

**Violence in Ulster Continues** — Security forces in Northern Ireland found more than 3,000 firebombs in Belfast, May 5. Most of the bombs were found in the Ardoyne section of the city at the time when the Irish Republican Army was commemorating the first anniversary of the death of the hunger striker, Robert Sands. On May 8, 2-police patrols were machinegunned and 5 policemen were wounded. It was believed that the attack was mounted by the IRA guerrillas. On that same day, a fireman and a woman were wounded when a bomb meant to be used against security forces exploded in Londonderry. Also, a young Catholic man burned himself with his own gasoline bomb as he was about to throw it at a police patrol. On May 12, a Protestant was killed in an ambush in Strabane. He was believed to be a former member of the Ulster Defense Regiment. Also, a Catholic was gunned down in a Belfast fruit store. It was thought by police that the Protestant was killed by the IRA and the Catholic by Protestant extremists.

**Reagan Proposes Arms Cut Plan** — Pres. Reagan proposed an arms reduction plan, May 9. The scheme called for a reduction by the U.S. and the Soviets of one-third of their stocks of nuclear warheads on land- and sea-based ballistic missiles. It was estimated that each country had some 7,500 missile warheads and the reduction would lower the number to about 5,000 apiece. The second phase of Reagan's plan involved the acceptance of a ceiling on the total payload of warheads by the 2 nations. Reagan also announced that he had written a letter to the Soviet leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, suggesting that the 2 governments begin formal negotiations by the end of June. Brezhnev indicated, May 18, that he was ready for the talks but that Reagan's plan was one-sided in favor of the U.S. He proposed a nuclear freeze after the arms talks began. On May 31, Reagan announced that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would open negotiations in Geneva on June 29 on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms.

**Israeli-Arab Conflict Heats Up** — Israeli jets raided several Palestinian guerrilla bases south of Beirut, Lebanon, May 9. The Palestinians immediately retaliated by firing artillery shells into northern Israel. An artillery battle between the Israelis and Palestinians erupted shortly afterward. The Israeli air raid killed 6 people and wounded 20. No casualties were reported as a result of the artillery barrage. On May 25 Israeli jet fighters shot down 2 Syrian MIG's over Lebanon, but the pilots were able to parachute to safety.

**Another Attempt on Pope's Life** — While Pope John Paul II was conducting a religious ceremony at the shrine of Fátima in Portugal, May 12, a young man in clerical garb moved toward him with a knife. Security guards overpowered him and it was later found that he was a Spanish priest. The 32-year-old man, Juan Fernández Krohn, was a follower of Magr. Marcel Lefebvre, a suspended bishop who opposed the changes made by the Second Vatican Council. Fernández was brought to court, May 14, and charged with attempted homicide and ordered held for trial.

**Spain Joins NATO** — Spain formally became the 16th member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, May 30, after being accepted by the 15 other nations in the pact. Thus Spain became the first new member since West Germany joined in 1955. In joining NATO, Spain would contribute or make available to the military command an additional 34,000 troops, more than 190 war planes, and 29

warships. Joining with Norway and Denmark, however, Spain indicated that no nuclear weapons would be allowed to be stored or used within its boundaries.

### General

**New Drug for Acne Approved** — It was announced, May 21, that the Food and Drug Administration had approved a new prescription drug for the most serious form of acne. Called 13-cis retinoic acid, and to be sold as Accutane, the drug caused remission of cystic acne, a disease that about 350,000 Americans suffer from. It is a disorder of the oil glands, usually in the face, and causes deep pitting and scarring.

**Moon Convicted** — The founder and leader of the Unification Church, the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, was convicted of tax fraud, May 18, in New York City. Moon had been accused of deliberately failing to report more than \$100,000 of bank account interest and \$50,000 in stock profits to the Internal Revenue Service. Convicted with him was one of his top aides, Takeo Kamiyama, who had been accused of conspiracy, perjury, and obstructing the investigation that led to the trial. Moon faced up to 5 years in prison for conspiracy and 3 years on each of 3 tax counts. Kamiyama's sentence could be up to 5 years imprisonment on each of his counts. They were set free on bail pending an appeal.

**Man on Rampage in Maryland** — Edward Thomas Mann, a former salesman for International Business Machines Corporation, drove a car through the glass lobby doors of an IBM building in Bethesda, Md., May 28. Once inside, he went on a shooting spree, killing 2 workers and wounding at least 10 others. Mann, wearing a mask, had been armed with 2 rifles, a shotgun, and a pistol. After 7 hours of police negotiation by telephone, he came out of an office in the building and surrendered to the police. It had taken more than 5 hours to evacuate some 700 employees in the building. It was suggested that Mann had had some kind of grievance with the company, and he was expected to be charged with murder and assault with intent to murder.

**Disasters** — Two methane gas explosions in a Yugoslav coal mine in Zenica killed 39, May 12. . . . A small commercial plane crashed near Kassel, West Germany, May 19, killing 8 persons aboard. . . . Severe flooding in China's southeastern province of Guangdong had killed 430 and marooned 450,000, it was announced May 19. . . . An excursion boat capsized in Tianjin, China, May 19, and 25 people were drowned. . . . Eighteen people died in a fire in a home for mentally handicapped teenagers in Aire, France, May 25. . . . Nicaragua and Honduras announced, May 28, that at least 200 people had died and 65,000 were homeless after a mammoth flood. . . . Flooding and landslides killed 20 and left more than 2,000 homeless in Hong Kong May 29. . . . Twelve were killed and 100 injured, May 29, as tornadoes smashed through southern Illinois.

### JUNE

#### National

**Search Authority Extended** — The United States Supreme Court ruled, June 1, that police should be permitted to search automobiles without warrants. This meant that if law enforcement officers had probable cause to search a car without a warrant, they were also at liberty to search the luggage or packages that were found inside the auto. In 1925, the Supreme Court had established a so-called "automobile exception" to the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against unreasonable searches, stating that police could stop a moving car without a warrant and search it, if they had reason to believe that it contained contraband. However, this had not included closed containers inside the automobile. The present ruling expanded that decision.

**Unemployment Rate and Consumer Prices Up** — The unemployment rate rose 0.1 of 1% in May, to 9.5% of the labor force, the Labor Department announced, June 4. However, the May increase was smaller than the 0.4 of 1% in April, and the number of people holding jobs in May rose to 100,117,000—an increase of 780,000. The reason for the increase in unemployed was given as the thousands of high

school and college graduates who entered the labor market during May, as well as a decline in manufacturing activity. The Labor Department reported, June 22, that consumer prices had risen 1% in May. This was caused by increases in gasoline prices, plus the prices of both homes and food.

**American Prisoner Returns Home** — Lisa Wicher, an American teacher who had been imprisoned in China on charges of spying, arrived home in Indianapolis, Ind., June 4. She had been held for a week. Wicher had been in China for 2 years collecting material for a thesis on agricultural changes in China since 1969. She said that she had been arrested by 5 or 6 uniformed members of the Chinese Public Security Bureau on May 28, and taken to a cement room in a detention center. She was denied the right to contact the American Embassy, and was accused of stealing secret documents and spying. She spent 3 days in solitary confinement and was then ordered to leave China within 48 hours.

**Nuclear Protest Held** — Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators against nuclear arms crowded into New York City's Central Park, June 12. The line of march into the park was filled with people in a 3-mile long crowd of protesters. Participants carried signs in dozens of languages, sang songs, and clapped hands. It was estimated that the demonstration was the largest in that city's history—the estimated size of the crowd in the park was 500,000. Tens of thousands more were backed up on the parade route which started at the United Nations. Among the speakers against nuclear weapons was Coretta Scott King, the widow of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

**Illegal Alien Children to be Educated** — The U.S. Supreme Court ruled, June 15, that children who are illegal aliens have a constitutional right to free public education. The decision upheld 2 rulings by the U.S. Court of Appeals which had declared unconstitutional a Texas law cutting off state funds from local school districts for educating children who had entered the U.S. illegally. The decision, therefore, guaranteed a free public education to anyone, regardless of immigration status, who lives within a state's boundaries.

**Voting Rights Act Extended** — The U.S. Senate, June 18, adopted a bill extending for another 25 years a section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, dealing with changes in election procedures. The House had already passed this bill and it was to be sent to the president, who had promised to sign it, for his signature. The section that was extended was the part that required all or part of 22 states to submit changes in election procedures for federal approval. All of the affected areas had a history of past discrimination or low minority turnouts at the polls. Without the extension, that section would have ceased to exist on Aug. 6.

**Hinckley Found Not Guilty** — On June 21, John W. Hinckley Jr. was found not guilty by reason of insanity on all 13 charges of shooting Pres. Reagan and 3 others on Mar. 30, 1981. These charges ranged from attempted assassination of a president to possession of an unlicensed pistol. The trial had lasted 8 weeks, and Hinckley was the first person since 1835 to avoid conviction on charges of assassinating or attempting to assassinate a sitting president. Hinckley was sent to St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D.C. He was to remain in custody in that mental institution until such a time as the courts would rule that he was not likely to injure himself or other persons due to mental disease. Hinckley was entitled to a hearing on the release issue within 50 days. On June 22, the hearing date was set for Aug. 9. There was no reaction to the verdict from the White House.

**ERA Goes Under** — The leaders of the fight to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution admitted defeat, June 24. In the 10 years since Congress passed the proposed amendment, it had been ratified by 35 states—3 short of the three-quarters needed for ratification. After last-minute defeats in the Illinois and Florida state legislatures, it appeared to be impossible to add the 3 necessary states before the June 30 deadline. (For more detailed coverage, please see p. 264.)

**Haig Resigns** — Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., resigned his cabinet post, June 25. His reasons for resigning were not explicitly clear, but he did cite a change in the administration's foreign policy from the course that he



**THE  
PRESIDENTS  
OF  
THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA**

**BY FRANK FREIDEL**

*Professor of History  
Harvard University*

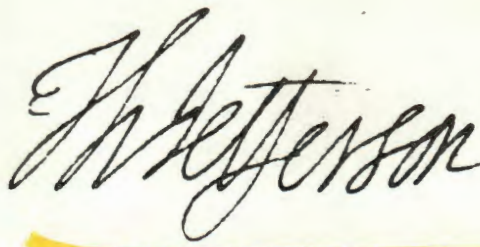
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**WHITE HOUSE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION**

*with the cooperation of the National Geographic Society*

**WASHINGTON, D. C.**





### THIRD PRESIDENT 1801-1809

**I**N THE THICK of party conflict in 1800, Thomas Jefferson wrote in a private letter, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

This powerful advocate of liberty was born in 1743 in Albemarle County, Virginia, inheriting from his father, a planter and surveyor, some 5,000 acres of land, and from his mother, a Randolph, high social standing. He studied at the College of William and Mary, then read law. In 1772 he married Martha Wayles Skelton, a widow, and took her to live in his partly constructed mountaintop home, Monticello.

Freckled and sandy-haired, rather tall and awkward, Jefferson was eloquent as a correspondent, but he was no public speaker. In the Virginia House of Burgesses and the Continental Congress, he contributed his pen rather than his voice to the patriot cause. As the "silent member" of the Congress, Jefferson, at 33, drafted the Declaration of Independence. In years following he labored to make its words a reality in Virginia. Most notably, he wrote a bill establishing religious freedom, enacted in 1786.

Jefferson succeeded Benjamin Franklin as minister to France in 1785. His sympathy for the French Revolution led him into conflict with Alexander Hamilton when Jefferson was Secretary of State in President Washington's Cabinet. He resigned in 1793.

Sharp political conflict developed, and two separate parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, began to form. Jefferson gradually assumed leadership of the Republicans, who sympathized with the revolutionary cause in France. Attacking Federalist policies, he opposed a strong centralized government and championed the rights of states.

As a reluctant candidate for President in 1796, Jefferson came within three votes of election. Through a flaw in the Constitution, he became Vice President, although an opponent of President Adams. In 1800 the defect caused a more serious problem. Republican electors, attempting to name both a President and a Vice President from their own party, cast a tie vote between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The House of Representatives settled the tie. Hamilton, disliking both Jefferson and Burr, nevertheless urged Jefferson's election.

When Jefferson assumed the Presidency, the crises in France had passed. He slashed Army and Navy expenditures, cut the budget, eliminated the tax on whiskey so unpopular in the West, yet reduced the national debt by a third. He also sent a naval squadron to fight the Barbary pirates, harassing American commerce in the Mediterranean. Further, although the Constitution made no provision for the acquisition of new land, Jefferson suppressed his qualms over constitutionality when he had the opportunity to acquire the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon in 1803.

During Jefferson's second term, he was increasingly preoccupied with keeping the Nation from involvement in the Napoleonic wars, though both England and France interfered with the neutral rights of American merchantmen. Jefferson's attempted solution, an embargo upon American shipping, worked badly and was unpopular.

Jefferson retired to Monticello to ponder such projects as his grand designs for the University of Virginia. A French nobleman observed that he had placed his house and his mind "on an elevated situation, from which he might contemplate the universe." He died on July 4, 1826.

*Thomas Jefferson gained the immense Louisiana Territory for the infant Republic.*



# Abraham Lincoln

SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT 1861-1865

**A**BRAMHAM LINCOLN warned the South in his Inaugural Address: "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. . . . *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend' it."

Lincoln thought secession illegal, and was willing to use force to defend Federal law and the Union. When Confederate batteries fired on Fort Sumter and forced its surrender, he called on the states for 75,000 volunteers. Four more slave states joined the Confederacy but four remained within the Union. The Civil War had begun.

The son of a Kentucky frontiersman, Lincoln had to struggle for a living and for learning. Five months before receiving his party's nomination for President, he sketched his life:

"I was born Feb. 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks. . . . My father . . . removed from Kentucky to . . . Indiana, in my eighth year. . . . It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. . . . Of course when I came of age I did not know much. Still somehow, I could read, write, and cipher . . . but that was all."

Lincoln made extraordinary efforts to attain knowledge while working on a farm, splitting rails for fences, and keeping store at New Salem, Illinois. He was a captain in the Black Hawk War, spent eight years in the Illinois legislature, and rode the circuit of courts for many years. His law partner said of him, "His ambition was a little engine that knew no rest."

He married Mary Todd, and they had four

boys, only one of whom lived to maturity.

In 1858 Lincoln ran against Stephen A. Douglas for Senator. He lost the election, but in debating with Douglas he gained a national reputation that won him the Republican nomination for President in 1860.

As President, he built the Republican Party into a strong national organization. Further, he rallied most of the northern Democrats to the Union cause.

On January 1, 1863, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation that declared forever free those slaves within the Confederacy.

Lincoln never let the world forget that the Civil War involved an even larger issue. This he stated most movingly in dedicating the military cemetery at Gettysburg: "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."

Lincoln won re-election in 1864, as Union military triumphs heralded an end to the war. In his planning for peace, the President was flexible and generous, encouraging southerners to lay down their arms and join speedily in reunion.

The spirit that guided him was clearly that of his Second Inaugural Address, now inscribed on one wall of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C.:

"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. . . ."

On Good Friday, April 14, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre in Washington by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who somehow thought he was helping the South. The opposite was the result, for with Lincoln's death, the possibility of peace with magnanimity died.

*Abhorring war, Abraham Lincoln accepted it as the only means to save the Union.*



U.S. Justice Dept. secretary appointed to investigate the pervert leader Daniel Ellsberg, by breaking into his Beverly Hills, Cal. office.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled, 8-0, July 24 that Nixon had to turn over 64 tapes of White House conversations sought by Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski.

The House Judiciary Committee, in televised hearings July 24-30, recommended 3 articles of impeachment against Nixon. The first, voted 27-11 July 27, charged Nixon with taking part in a criminal conspiracy to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up. The second, voted 28-10 July 29, charged he "repeatedly" failed to carry out his constitutional oath in a series of alleged abuses of power. The third, voted 27-17 July 30, accused him of unconstitutional defiance of committee subpoenas. The House of Representatives voted without debate Aug. 20, by 412-3, to accept the committee report, which included the recommended impeachment articles.

Nixon resigned Aug. 9. His support began eroding Aug. 5 when he released 3 tapes, admitting he originated plans to have the FBI stop its probe of the Watergate break-in for political as well as national security reasons.

An unconditional pardon to ex-Pres. Nixon for all federal crimes that he "committed or may have committed" while president was issued by Pres. Gerald Ford Sept. 8.

Charges that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) abused its powers by massive domestic operations were published Dec. 21.

1975

Found guilty of Watergate cover-up charges Jan. 1 were ex-Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, ex-presidential advisers H.K. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman.

U.S. civilians were evacuated from Saigon Apr. 29 as communist forces completed takeover of South Vietnam.

U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez and crew of 39 seized by Cambodian forces in Gulf of Siam May 12. In rescue operation, U.S. Marines attacked Tang Is., planes bombed air base; Cambodia surrendered ship and crew; U.S. losses were 15 killed in battle and 23 dead in a helicopter crash.

Congress voted \$405 million for South Vietnam refugees May 16; 140,000 were flown to the U.S.

Illegal CIA operations, including records on 300,000 persons and groups, infiltration of agents into black, anti-war and political movements, monitoring of overseas phone calls, mail surveillance, and drug-testing, were described by a "blue-ribbon" panel headed by Vice Pres. Rockefeller June 10. Information on assassination plots against foreign leaders was ordered withheld by Pres. Ford.

William L. Calley's court-martial conviction for the murder of 22 Vietnamese, overturned in lower courts, was reinstated by the U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans Sept. 10.

FBI agents captured Patricia (Patty) Hearst, kidnaped Feb. 4, 1974, in San Francisco Sept. 18 with others. She was indicted for bank robbery; a San Francisco jury convicted her Mar. 20, 1976.

1976

Payments abroad of \$22 million in bribes by Lockheed Aircraft Corp. to sell its planes were revealed Feb. 4 by a Senate subcommittee. Lockheed admitted payments in Japan, Turkey, Italy, and Holland.

The U.S. celebrated its Bicentennial July 4, marking the 200th anniversary of its independence with festivals, parades, and N.Y. City's Operation Sail, a gathering of tall ships from around the world viewed by 6 million persons.

A mystery ailment "legionnaire's disease" killed 29 persons who attended an American Legion convention July 21-24 in Philadelphia. The cause was found to be a bacterium, it was reported June 18, 1977.

The Viking II lander set down on Mars' Utopia Plains Sept. 3, following the successful landing by Viking I July 20.

1977

Pres. Jimmy Carter Jan. 27 pardoned most Vietnam War draft evaders, who numbered some 10,000.

Utah firing squad Jan. 17, in the first exercise of capital punishment anywhere in the U.S. since 1967. Gilmore opposed all attempts to delay the execution.

Carter signed an act Aug. 4 creating a new Cabinet-level Energy Department.

Carter announced Sept. 21 that budget director Bert Lance, a personal friend, had resigned due to pressure over his disputed private financial practices.

1978

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.), 66, lost a battle with cancer Jan. 13, after 32 years of public service, including 4 years as vice-president of the United States.

U.S. Senate voted Apr. 18 to turn over the Panama Canal to Panama on Dec. 31, 1999, by a vote of 68-32, ending several months of heated debate; an earlier vote (Mar. 16) had given approval to a treaty guaranteeing the area's neutrality after the year 2000.

California voters June 6 approved (by a 65% majority) the Proposition 13 initiative to cut property taxes in the state by 57%, thus severely limiting government spending.

The U.S. Supreme Court June 28 voted 5-4 not to allow a firm quota system in affirmative action plans and ordered that Alan Bakke be admitted to a California medical school; Bakke, a white, had contended that he was a victim of "reverse discrimination"; the Court did uphold affirmative action programs that were more "flexible" in nature.

The House Select Committee on Assassinations opened hearings Sept. 6 into assassinations of Pres. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.; the committee recessed Dec. 30 after concluding conspiracies likely in both cases, but with no further hard evidence for further prosecutions.

Congress passed the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" Bill Oct. 15, which set national goal of reducing unemployment to 4% by 1983, while reducing inflation to 3% in same period; Pres. Carter signed bill, Oct. 27.

1979

A major accident occurred, Mar. 28, at a nuclear reactor on Three Mile Island near Middletown, Pa. Radioactive gases escaped through the plant's venting system and a large hydrogen gas bubble formed in the top of the reactor containment vessel.

In the worst disaster in U.S. aviation history, an American Airlines DC-10 jetliner lost its left engine and crashed shortly after takeoff in Chicago, May 25, killing 275 people.

Pope John Paul II, Oct. 1-6, visited the U.S. and reaffirmed traditional Roman Catholic teachings.

The federal government announced, Nov. 1, a \$1.5 billion loan-guarantee plan to aid the nation's 3d largest automaker, Chrysler Corp., which had reported a loss of \$460.6 million for the 3d quarter of 1979.

Some 90 people, including 63 Americans, were taken hostage, Nov. 3, at the American embassy in Teheran, Iran, by militant students who demanded the return of former Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who was undergoing medical treatment in New York City.

1980

Citing "an extremely serious threat to peace," Pres. Carter announced, Jan. 4, a series of punitive measures against the USSR, most notably an embargo on the sale of grain and high technology, in retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Eight Americans were killed and 5 wounded, Apr. 24, in an ill-fated attempt to rescue the hostages held by Iranian militants at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran.

Wreaking death and general devastation on southwestern Washington and northern Oregon, Mt. St. Helens erupted, May 18, in a violent blast estimated to be 500 times as powerful as the Hiroshima atomic bomb. The blast, followed by others on May 25 and June 12, left 25 confirmed dead, at least 40 missing, and economic losses estimated at nearly \$3 billion.

In protest of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. Olympic Committee voted, Apr. 12, not to attend the Moscow Summer Olympics.

Senate and wrested 35 House seats from the Democrats.

Former Beatle John Lennon was shot and killed, Dec. 8, outside his apartment building on New York City's Upper West Side. Charged in the slaying was Mark David Chapman, a professed Beatle fan and former psychiatric patient.

1981

Minutes after the inauguration of Pres. Ronald Reagan, Jan. 20, the 52 Americans who had been held hostage in Iran for 444 days were flown to freedom following an agreement in which the U.S. agreed to return to Iran \$8 billion in frozen assets.

President Reagan was shot in the chest by a would-be assassin, Mar. 30, in Washington, D.C., as he walked to his limousine following an address at the Washington Hilton. The alleged assailant, John W. Hinckley, Jr., fired several shots before he was overpowered by police and secret service agents. Also wounded in the shooting were presidential press secretary James S. Brady, who was struck above the left eye and critically injured, secret service agent Timothy J. McCarthy, and police officer Thomas K. Delahanty.

The world's first reusable spacecraft, the Space Ship Columbia, was sent into space, Apr. 12, and completed its successful mission 2 days later, speeding out of orbit and gliding to a safe unassisted landing on the desert near Edwards Air Force Base, Cal. Some minor difficulties were encountered during the flight, most notably the loss of 17 heat-shielding tiles, but NASA officials termed the mission "100% successful." Columbia's second flight, launched Nov. 12, was cut short when one of the craft's electricity-producing fuel cells malfunctioned shortly after lift-off.

Wayne B. Williams, a 23-year-old black free-lance photographer, was indicted, July 17, in the murders of 2 of the 28 young blacks killed in the Atlanta area during the 2-year period beginning July 1979.

Both houses of Congress passed, July 29, President Reagan's tax-cut legislation. The bill, the largest tax cut in the nation's history, was expected to reduce taxes by \$37.6 bil-

package of budget cuts, reducing the level of federal spending to \$695 billion from the previously planned \$730 billion level.

Federal air traffic controllers, Aug. 3, began an illegal nationwide strike after their union rejected the government's final offer for a new contract. President Reagan warned the workers that if they did not return to work by 11:00 a.m., Aug. 5, they would be fired, but most of the 13,000 striking controllers defied the back-to-work order.

California agricultural experts admitted, July 9, that the hundreds of thousands of Mediterranean fruit flies released in the state and thought to be sterile, were, in fact, fertile. The result was an increase in the reproductive rate among the insects that threatened the state's \$1-billion produce crop. Following a series of sprayings and quarantines, officials announced, Sept. 9, that no fertile flies had been found in the state since Sept. 3, but it would not be known until late spring 1982 whether or not the fly had been eradicated.

In a 99-0 vote, the Senate confirmed, Sept. 21, the appointment of Sandra Day O'Connor as an associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. She was the first woman appointed to that body. Justice O'Connor took her seat, Sept. 25.

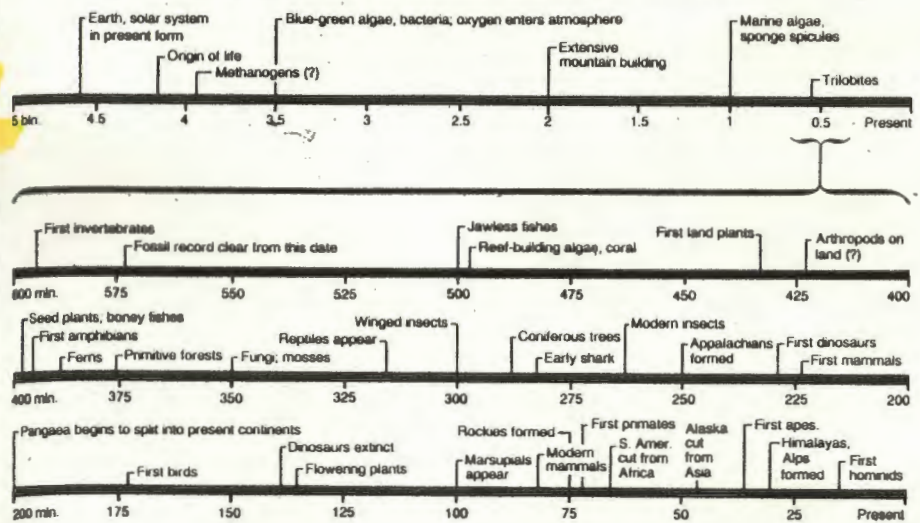
By a vote of 52 to 48, the Senate, Oct. 28, approved the sale of Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) radar surveillance planes and other air-combat equipment to Saudi Arabia. The House, Oct. 14, had rejected, by an overwhelming 301-to-111 count, the Reagan administration's proposal, but by law only the concurrent opposition of both houses of Congress could block the sale.

President Reagan ordered a series of sanctions against the new Polish military government, Dec. 23, in response to the imposition of martial law that had occurred in that country. This was followed, Dec. 29, by reprisals against the Soviet Union for its alleged role in the crackdown.

For events of 1982 and late 1981, See Chronology

Paleontology: The History of Life

All dates are approximate, and are subject to change based on new fossil finds or new dating techniques; but the sequence of events is generally accepted. Dates are in years before the present.





War, Hot and Cold: 1940-49

1948  
Israel indep.  
China People's Rep. Gandhi killed  
Burma independent  
Ger. Dem. Rep.  
Lonely Crowd  
Indonesia indep.  
Indochina War  
Egypt rev.  
Korean War  
H-bomb  
Stalin d.  
McCarthy censured  
Peron ousted  
Suez War  
Hungary rev.  
Bandung conf.  
SEATO founded  
On the Road  
Ghana indep.  
Sputnik  
EEC Treaty  
1958

**War in Europe.** The Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact (Aug. '39) freed Germany to attack Poland (Sept.). Britain and France, who had guaranteed Polish independence, declared war on Germany. Russia seized East Poland (Sept.), attacked Finland (Nov.) and took the Baltic states (July '40). Mobile German forces staged "blitzkrieg" attacks Apr.-June, '40, conquering neutral Denmark, Norway, and the low countries and defeating France; 350,000 British and French troops were evacuated at Dunkirk (May). The Battle of Britain, June-Dec. '40, denied Germany air superiority. German-Italian campaigns won the Balkans by Apr. '41. Three million Axis troops invaded Russia June '41, marching through the Ukraine to the Caucasus, and through White Russia and the Baltic republics to Moscow and Leningrad. Russian winter counterthrusts, '41-'42 and '42-'43 stopped the German advance (Stalingrad Sept. '42-Feb. '43). With British and U.S. Lend-Lease aid and sustaining great casualties, the Russians drove the Axis from all E. Europe and the Balkans in the next 2 years. Invasions of N. Africa (Nov. '42), Italy (Sept. '43), and Normandy (June '44) brought U.S., British, Free French and allied troops to Germany by spring '45. Germany surrendered May 7, 1945.

**War in Asia-Pacific.** Japan occupied Indochina Sept. '40, dominated Thailand Dec. '41, attacked Hawaii, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Malaya Dec. 7, 1941. Indonesia was attacked Jan. '42. Burma conquered Mar. '42. Battle of Midway (June '42) turned back the Japanese advance. "Island-hopping" battles (Guadalcanal Aug. '42-Jan. '43, Leyte Gulf Oct. '44, Iwo Jima Feb.-Mar. '45, Okinawa Apr. '45) and massive bombing raids on Japan from June '44 wore out Japanese defenses. Two U.S. atom bombs, dropped Aug. 6 and 9, forced Japan to surrender Aug. 14, 1945. For further details, see 1978 and earlier editions of *The World Almanac*.

**Atrocities.** The war brought 20th-century cruelty to its peak. Nazi murder camps (Auschwitz) systematically killed 6 million Jews. Gypsies, political opponents, sick and retarded people, and others deemed undesirable were murdered by the Nazis, as were vast numbers of Slavs, especially leaders. German bombs killed 70,000 English civilians. Some 100,000 Chinese civilians were killed by Japanese forces in the capture of Nanking. Severe retaliation by the Soviet army, E. European partisans, Free French and others took a heavy toll. U.S. and British bombing of Germany killed hundreds of thousands, as did U.S. bombing of Japan (80-200,000 at Hiroshima alone). Some 45 million people lost their lives in the war.

**Home front.** All industries were reoriented to war production and support, and rationing was universal. Science was harnessed for the war effort, yielding such innovations as radar, jet planes, and synthetic materials. Unscathed U.S. industry, partly staffed by women, helped decide the war.

**Settlement.** The United Nations charter was signed in San Francisco June 26, 1945 by 50 nations. The International Tribunal at Nuremberg convicted 22 German leaders for war crimes Sept. '46, 23 Japanese leaders were convicted Nov. '48. Postwar border changes included large gains in territory for the USSR, losses for Germany, a shift westward in Polish borders, and minor losses for Italy. Communist regimes, supported by Soviet troops, took power in most of E. Europe, including Soviet-occupied Germany (GDR proclaimed Oct. '49). Japan lost all overseas lands.

**Recovery.** Basic political and social changes were imposed on Japan and W. Germany by the western allies (Japan constitution Nov. '46, W. German basic law May '49). U.S. Marshall Plan aid (\$12 billion '47-'51) spurred W. European economic recovery after a period of severe inflation and strikes in Europe and the U.S. The British Labour Party introduced a national health service and nationalized basic industries in 1946.

**Cold War.** Western fears of further Soviet advances (Cominform formed Oct. '47, Czechoslovakia coup, Feb. '48, Berlin blockade Apr. '48-Sept. '49) led to formation of NATO. Civil War in Greece and Soviet pressure on Turkey led to U.S. aid under the Truman Doctrine (Mar. '47). Other anti-communist security pacts were the Org. of American States (Apr. '48) and Southeast Asia Treaty Org. (Sept. '54). A new wave of Soviet purges and repression intensified in the last years of Stalin's rule, extending to E. Europe (Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia, 1951). Only Yugoslavia resisted Soviet control (expelled by Cominform, June '48; U.S. aid, June '49).

**China, Korea.** Communist forces emerged from World War II strengthened by the Soviet takeover of industrial Manchuria. In 4 years of fighting, the Kuomintang was driven from the mainland; the People's Republic was proclaimed Oct. 1, 1949. Korea was divided by Russian and U.S. occupation forces. Separate republics were proclaimed in the 2 zones Aug.-Sept. '48.

**India.** India and Pakistan became independent dominions Aug. 15, 1947. Millions of Hindu and Moslem refugees were created by the partition; riots, 1946-47, took hundreds of thousands of lives; Gandhi himself was assassinated Jan. '48. Burma became completely independent Jan. '48; Ceylon took dominion status in Feb.

**Middle East.** The UN approved partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. Israel was proclaimed May 14, 1948. Arabs rejected partition, but failed to defeat Israel in war, May '48-July '49. Immigration from Europe and the Middle East swelled Israel's Jewish population. British and French forces left Lebanon and Syria, 1946. Transjordan occupied most of Arab Palestine.

**Southeast Asia.** Communists and others fought against restoration of French rule in Indochina from 1946; a non-communist government was recognized by France Mar. '49, but fighting continued. Both Indonesia and the Philippines became independent, the former in 1949 after 4 years of war with Netherlands, the latter in 1946. Philippine economic and military ties with the U.S. remained strong; a communist-led peasant rising was checked in '48.

**Arts.** New York became the center of the world art market; abstract expressionism was the chief mode (Pollock from '43, de Kooning from '47). Literature and philosophy explored existentialism (Camus' *Stranger*, 1942, Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*, 1943). Non-western attempts to revive or create regional styles (Senghor's Negritude, Mishima's novels) only confirmed the emergence of a universal culture. Radio and phonograph records spread American popular music (swing, bebop) around the world.

The American Decade: 1950-59

**Polite decolonization.** The peaceful decline of European political and military power in Asia and Africa accelerated in the 1950s. Nearly all of N. Africa was freed by 1956, but France fought a bitter war to retain Algeria, with its large European minority, until 1962. Ghana, independent 1957, led a parade of disputes often exploded in the new nations after decolonization (UN troops in Cyprus 1964; Nigeria civil war 1967-70). Leaders of the new states, mostly sharing socialist ideologies, tried to create an Afro-Asian bloc (Bandung Conf. 1955), but Western economic influence and U.S. political ties remained strong (Baghdad Pact, 1955).

**Trade.** World trade volume soared, in an atmosphere of monetary stability assured by international accords (Bretton Woods 1944). In Europe, economic integration advanced (European Economic Community 1957, European Free Trade Association 1960). Comecon (1949) coordinated the economies of Soviet-bloc countries.

**U.S. Economic growth** produced an abundance of consumer goods (9.3 million motor vehicles sold, 1955). Suburban housing tracts changed life patterns for middle and working classes (Levittown 1946-51). Eisenhower's landslide election victories (1952, 1956) reflected consensus politics. Censure of McCarthy (Dec. '54) curbed the political abuse of anti-communism. A system of alliances and military bases bolstered U.S. influence on all continents. Trade and payments surpluses were balanced by overseas investments and foreign aid (\$50 billion, 1950-59).

**USSR.** In the "thaw" after Stalin's death in 1953, relations with the West improved (evacuation of Vienna, Geneva summit conf., both 1955). Repression of scientific and cultural life eased, and many aimed at consumer sector growth, but farm production lagged, despite the virgin lands program (from 1954). The 1956 Hungarian revolution, the 1960 U-2 spy plane episode, and other incidents renewed East-West tension and domestic curbs.

**East Europe.** Resentment of Russian domination and Stalinist repression combined with nationalist, economic and religious factors to produce periodic violence. East Berlin workers rioted in 1953, Polish workers suppressed by Soviet force or threats (at least 7,000 dead in Hungary). But Poland was allowed to restore private ownership of farms, and a degree of personal and economic freedom returned to Hungary. Yugoslavia experimented with worker self-management and a market economy.

**Korea.** The 1945 division of Korea left industry in the North, which was organized into a militant regime and armed by Russia. The South was politically disunited. Over 60,000 North Korean troops invaded the South June 25, 1950. The U.S., backed by the UN Security Council, sent troops. UN troops reached the Chinese border in Nov. Some 200,000 Chinese troops crossed the Yalu River and drove back UN forces. Cease-fire in July 1951 found the opposing forces near the original 38th parallel border. After 2 years of sporadic fighting, an armistice was signed July 27, 1953. U.S. troops remained in the South, and U.S. economic and military aid continued. The war stimulated rapid economic recovery in Japan. For details, see 1978 and earlier editions of *The World Almanac*.

**China.** Starting in 1952, industry, agriculture, and social institutions were forcibly collectivized. As many as several million people were executed as Kuomintang supporters or as class and political enemies. The Great Leap Forward, 1958-60, unsuccessfully tried to force the pace of development by substituting labor for investment.

**Indochina.** Ho's forces, aided by Russia and the new Chinese Communist government, fought French and pro-French Vietnamese forces to a standstill, and captured the strategic Dienbienphu camp in May, 1954. The Geneva Agreements divided Vietnam in half pending elections (never held), and recognized Laos and Cambodia as independent. The U.S. aided the anti-Communist Republic of Vietnam in the South.

**Middle East.** Arab revolutions placed leftist, militantly nationalist regimes in power in Egypt (1952) and Iraq (1958). But Arab unity attempts failed (United Arab Republic joined Egypt, Syria, Yemen 1958-61). Arab refusal to recognize Israel (Arab League economic blockade began Sept. 1951) led to a permanent state of war, with repeated incidents (Gaza, 1955). Israel occupied Sinai, Britain and France took the Suez Canal, Oct. 1956, but were replaced by the UN Emergency Force. The Mossadegh U.S.-aided coup Aug. 1953.

**Latin America.** Dictator Juan Peron, in office 1946, enforced land reform, some nationalization, welfare state measures, and curbs on the Roman Catholic Church, but crushed opposition. A Sept. 1955 coup deposed Peron. The 1952 revolution in Bolivia brought land reform, nationalization of tin mines, and improvement in the status of Indians, who nevertheless remained poor. The Batista regime in Cuba was overthrown, Jan. 1959, by Fidel Castro, who imposed a communist dictatorship, aligned Cuba with Russia, improved education and health care. A U.S.-backed anti-Castro invasion (Bay of Pigs, Apr. 1961) was crushed. Self-government advanced in the British Caribbean.

**Technology.** Large outlays on research and development in the U.S. and USSR focussed on military applications (H-bomb in U.S. 1952, USSR 1953, Britain 1957, intercontinental missiles late 1950s). Soviet launching of the Sputnik satellite, Oct. 1957, spurred increases in U.S. science education funds (National Defense Education Act).

**Literature and letters.** Alienation from social and literary conventions reached an extreme in the theater of the absurd (Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* 1952), the "new novel" (Robbe-Grillet's *Voyeur* 1955), and avant-garde film (Antonioni's *L'Avventura* 1960). U.S. Beatniks (Kerouac's *On the Road* 1957) and others rejected the supposed conformism of Americans (Riesman's *Lonely Crowd* 1950).

Castro in Cuba  
Man in Space  
Berlin Wall  
Silent Spring  
Feminine Mystique  
JFK killed  
Indonesia coup  
Trunkie  
China Cult. Rev.  
GATT  
Missile War  
1968



## Rising Expectations: 1960-69

**Economic boom.** The longest sustained economic boom on record spanned almost the entire decade in the capitalist world; the closely-watched GNP figure doubled in the U.S. 1960-70, fueled by Vietnam War-related budget deficits. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1967, stimulated West European prosperity, which spread to peripheral areas (Spain, Italy, E. Germany). Japan became a top economic power (\$20 billion exports 1970). Foreign investment aided the industrialization of Brazil. Soviet 1965 economic reform attempts (decentralization, material incentives) were limited; but growth continued.

**Reform and radicalization.** A series of political and social reform movements took root in the U.S., later spreading to other countries with the help of ubiquitous U.S. film and television programs and heavy overseas travel (2.2 million U.S. passports issued 1970). Blacks agitated peacefully and with partial success against segregation and poverty (1963 March on Washington, 1964 Civil Rights Act); but some urban ghettos erupted in extensive riots (Watts, 1965; Detroit, 1967; King assassination, Apr. 4, 1968). New concern for the poor (Harrington's *Other America*, 1963) led to Pres. Johnson's "Great Society" programs (Medicare, Water Quality Act, Higher Education Act, all 1965). Concern with the environment surged (Carson's *Silent Spring*, 1962). Feminism revived as a cultural and political movement (Friedman's *Feminine Mystique*, 1963, National Organization for Women founded 1966) and a movement for homosexual rights emerged (Stonewall riot, in NYC, 1969).

Opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, especially among university students (Moratorium protest Nov. '69) turned violent (Weatherman Chicago riots Oct. '69). New Left and Marxist theories became popular, and membership in radical groups swelled (Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panthers). Maoist groups, especially in Europe, called for total transformation of society. In France, students sparked a nationwide strike affecting 10 million workers May-June '68, but an electoral reaction barred revolutionary change.

**Arts and styles.** The boundary between fine and popular arts were blurred by Pop Art (Warhol) and rock musicals (Hair, 1968). Informality and exaggeration prevailed in fashion (beards, miniskirts). A non-political "counterculture" developed, rejecting traditional bourgeois life goals and personal habits, and use of marijuana and hallucinogens spread (Woodstock festival Aug. '68). Indian influence was felt in music (Beatles), religion (Ram Dass), and fashion.

**Science.** Achievements in space (men on moon July '69) and electronics (lasers, integrated circuits) encouraged a faith in scientific solutions to problems in agriculture ("green revolution"), medicine (heart transplants 1967) and other areas. The harmful effects of science, it was believed, could be controlled (1963 nuclear weapon test ban treaty, 1968 non-proliferation treaty).

**China.** Mao's revolutionary militance caused disputes with Russia under "revisionist" Khrushchev, starting 1960. The two powers exchanged fire in 1969 border disputes. China used force to capture areas disputed with India, 1962. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" tried to impose a utopian egalitarian program in China and spread revolution abroad; political struggle, often violent, convulsed China 1965-68.

**Indochina.** Communist-led guerrillas aided by N. Vietnam fought from 1960 against the S. Vietnam government of Ngo Dinh Diem (killed 1963). The U.S. military role increased after the 1964 Tonkin Gulf incident. U.S. forces peaked at 543,400, Apr. '69. Massive numbers of N. Viet troops also fought. Laotian and Cambodian neutrality were threatened by communist insurgencies, with N. Vietnamese aid, and U.S. intrigues. For details, see 1978 and earlier editions of *The World Almanac*.

**Third World.** A bloc of authoritarian leftist regimes among the newly independent nations emerged in political opposition to the U.S.-led Western alliance, and came to dominate the conference of nonaligned nations (Belgrade 1961, Cairo 1964, Lusaka 1970). Soviet political ties and military bases were established in Cuba, Egypt, Algeria, Guinea, and other countries, whose leaders were regarded as revolutionary heroes by opposition groups in pro-Western or colonial countries. Some leaders were ousted in coups by pro-Western groups—Zaire's Lumumba (killed 1961), Ghana's Nkrumah (exiled 1966), and Indonesia's Sukarno (effectively ousted 1965 after a Communist coup failed).

**Middle East.** Arab-Israeli tension erupted into a brief war June 1967. Israel emerged as a major regional power. Military shipments before and after the war brought much of the Arab world into the Soviet political sphere. Most Arab states broke U.S. diplomatic ties, while Communist countries cut their ties to Israel. Intra-Arab disputes continued: Egypt and Saudi Arabia supported rival factions in a bloody Yemen civil war 1962-70; Lebanese troops fought Palestinian commandos in 1969.

**East Europe.** To stop the large-scale exodus of citizens, E. German authorities built a fortified wall across Berlin Aug. '61. Soviet sway in the Balkans was weakened by Albania's support of China (USSR broke ties Dec. '61) and Romania's assertion of industrial and foreign policy autonomy in 1964. Liberalization in Czechoslovakia, spring 1968, was crushed by troops of 5 Warsaw Pact countries. West German treaties with Russia and Poland, 1970, facilitated the transfer of German technology and confirmed post-war boundaries.

## Disillusionment: 1970-79

**U.S.: Caution and neoconservatism.** A relatively sluggish economy, energy and resource shortages (natural gas crunch 1975, gasoline shortage 1979), and environmental problems contributed to a "limits of growth" philosophy that affected politics (Cal. Gov. Brown). Suspicion of science and technology killed or delayed major projects (supersonic transport dropped 1971, DNA recombination curbed 1976, Seabrook A-plant protests 1977-78) and was fed by the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor accident in Mar. '79.

Mistrust of big government weakened support for government reform plans among liberals. School busing and racial quotas were opposed (Bakke decision June '78); the Equal Rights Amendment for women languished; civil rights for homosexuals were opposed (Dade County referendum June '77).

U.S. defeat in Indochina (evacuation Apr. '75), revelations of Central Intelligence Agency misdeeds (Rockefeller Commission report June '75), and the Watergate scandals (Nixon quit Aug. '74) reduced

faith in U.S. moral and material capacity to influence world affairs. Revelations of Soviet crimes (Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* from 1974) and Russian intervention in Africa aided a revival of anti-Communist sentiment.

**Economy sluggish.** The 1960s boom faltered in the 1970s; a severe recession in the U.S. and Europe 1974-75 followed a huge oil price hike Dec. '73. Monetary instability (U.S. cut ties to gold Aug. '71), the decline of the dollar, and protectionist moves by industrial countries (1977-78) threatened trade. Business investment and spending for research declined. Severe inflation plagued many countries (25% in Britain, 1975; 18% in U.S., 1979).

**China picks up pieces.** After the 1976 deaths of Mao and Chou, a power struggle for the leadership succession was won by pragmatists. A nationwide purge of orthodox Maoists was carried out, and the "Gang of Four", led by Mao's widow Chiang Ching, was arrested.

The new leaders freed over 100,000 political prisoners, and reduced public adulation of Mao. Political and trade ties were expanded with Japan, Europe, and the U.S. in the late 1970s, as relations worsened with Russia, Cuba, and Vietnam (4-week invasion by China in 1979). Ideological guidelines in industry, science, education, and the armed forces, which the ruling faction said had caused chaos and decline, were reversed (bonuses to workers, Dec. '77; exams for college entrance, Oct. '77). Severe restrictions on cultural expression were eased (Beethoven ban lifted Mar. '77).

**Europe.** European unity moves (EEC-EFTA trade accord 1972) faltered as economic problems appeared (Britain floated pound 1972; France floated franc 1974). Germany and Switzerland curbed guest workers from S. Europe. Greece and Turkey quarreled over Cyprus (Turks intervened 1974) and Aegean oil rights.

All of non-Communist Europe was under democratic rule after free elections were held in Spain June '76, 7 months after the death of Franco. The conservative, colonialist regime in Portugal was overthrown Apr. '74. In Greece, the 7-year-old military dictatorship yielded power in 1974. Northern Europe, though ruled mostly by Socialists (Swedish Socialists unsentenced 1976, after 44 years in power), turned conservative. The British Labour government imposed wage curbs 1975, and suspended nationalization schemes. Terrorism in Germany (1972 Munich Olympics killings) led to laws curbing some civil liberties. French "new philosophers" rejected leftist ideologies, and the shaky Socialist-Communist coalition lost a 1978 election bid.

**Religion back in politics.** The improvement in Moslem countries' political fortunes by the 1950s (with the exception of Central Asia under Soviet and Chinese rule), and the growth of Arab oil wealth, was followed by a resurgence of traditional piety. Libyan dictator Qaddafi mixed strict Islamic laws with socialism in his militant ideology and called for an eventual Moslem return to Spain and Sicily. The illegal Moslem Brotherhood in Egypt was accused of violence, while extreme Moslem groups bombed theaters, 1977, to protest secular laws.

In Turkey, the National Salvation Party was the first Islamic group to share power (1974) since secularization in the 1920s. Religious authorities, such as Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, led the Iranian revolution and religiously motivated Moslems took part in the insurrection in Saudi Arabia that briefly seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979. Moslem puritan opposition to Pakistan's Pres. Bhutto helped lead to his overthrow July '77. However, Moslem solidarity could not prevent Pakistan's eastern province (Bangladesh) from declaring independence, Dec. '71, after a bloody civil war.

Moslem and Hindu resentment against coerced sterilization in India helped defeat the Gandhi government, which was replaced Mar. '77 by a coalition including religious Hindu parties and led by devout Hindu Desai. Moslems in the southern Philippines, aided by Libya, conducted a long rebellion against central rule from 1973.

Evangelical Protestant groups grew in numbers and prosperity in the U.S. ("born again" Pres. Carter elected 1976), and the Catholic charismatic movement obtained respectability. A revival of interest in Orthodox Christianity occurred among Russian intellectuals (Solzhenitsyn). The secularist Israeli Labor party, after decades of rule, was ousted in 1977 by conservatives led by Begin, an observant Jew; religious militants founded settlements on the disputed West Bank, part of Biblically-promised Israel. U.S. Reform Judaism revived many previously discarded traditional practices.

The Buddhist Soka Gakkai movement launched the Komeito party in Japan, 1964, which became a major opposition party in 1972 and 1976 elections.

Old-fashioned religious wars raged intermittently in N. Ireland (Catholic vs. Protestant, 1969- ) and Lebanon (Christian vs. Moslem, 1975- ), while religious militancy complicated the Israel-Arab dispute (1973 Israel-Arab war). In spite of a 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel which looked forward to a resolution of the Palestinian issue, increased religious militancy on the West Bank made such a resolution seem unlikely.

**Latin America.** Repressive conservative regimes strengthened their hold on most of the continent, with the violent coup against the elected Allende government in Chile, Sept. '73, the 1976 military coup in Argentina, and coups against reformist regimes in Bolivia, 1971 and 1979, and Peru, 1976. In Central America, increasing liberal and leftist militancy led to the ouster of the Somoza regime of Nicaragua in 1979 and civil conflict in El Salvador.

**Indochina.** Communist victory in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos by May '75 did not bring peace. Attempts at radical social reorganization left over one million dead in Cambodia during 1975-78 and caused hundreds of thousands of ethnic Chinese and others to flee Vietnam ("boat people," 1979). The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia swelled the refugee population and contributed to widespread starvation in that devastated country.

**Russian expansion.** Soviet influence, checked in some countries (troops ousted by Egypt 1972) was projected further afield, often with the use of Cuban troops (Angola 1975- , Ethiopia 1977- ), and aided by a growing navy, merchant fleet, and international banking ability. Detente with the West — 1972 Berlin pact, 1970 strategic arms pact (SALT) — gave way to a more antagonistic relationship in the late 1970s, exacerbated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

**Africa.** The last remaining European colonies were granted independence (Spanish Sahara 1976, Djibouti 1977) and, after 10 years of civil war and many negotiation sessions, a black government took over Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) in 1979; white domination remained in S. Africa. Great power involvement in local wars (Russia in Angola, Ethiopia; France in Chad, Zaire, Mauritania) and the use of tens of thousands of Cuban troops was denounced by some African leaders as neocolonialism. Ethnic or tribal clashes made Africa the chief world locus of sustained warfare in the late 1970s.

**Arts.** Traditional modes in painting, architecture, and music, pursued in relative obscurity for much of the 20th century, returned to popular and critical attention in the 1970s. The pictorial emphasis in neorealist and photorealist painting, the return of many architects to detail, decoration, and traditional natural materials, and the concern with ordered structure in musical composition were, ironically, novel experiences for artistic consumers after the exhaustion of experimental possibilities. However, these more conservative styles coexisted with modernist works in an atmosphere of variety and tolerance.

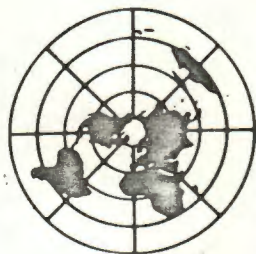
1966  
Sino-Soviet fighting  
Woodstock festival  
Men on moon  
U.S. SST barred  
Bangladesh indep.  
Arts and styles  
Science  
China  
Indochina  
Third World  
Middle East  
East Europe  
U.S.: Caution and neoconservatism  
Mistrust of big government  
U.S. defeat in Indochina  
Watergate scandals

1968  
Solzhenitsyn exiled  
Chile coup  
Portugal rev.  
Turks in Cyprus  
Nixon resigns  
Worldwide recession  
Greece junta quits  
Worldwide recession  
Indochina War ends  
Lebanon civil war  
Gandhi loses vote  
Mao d.  
Sadat in Jerusalem

1978



## UNITED NATIONS



**UNITED NATIONS (UN).** The United Nations came into being on Oct. 24, 1945, when its charter, drawn up and signed at the San Francisco Conference held from April 25 to June 26, 1945, had been ratified by China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States, and a majority of other signatory states.

This article is divided into the following sections:

1. Origins
2. Covenant and Charter
3. Development of the United Nations
4. Bibliography
5. Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice

### 1. Origins

The immediate origins of the UN are to be found in the events of World War II. In the London Declaration of June 12, 1941, all the nations then fighting against Adolf Hitler announced their intention of working together, with other free peoples, to establish "a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security." On Jan. 1, 1942, at Washington, D.C., the anti-Axis coalition, then numbering 26 states, expanded this affirmation into the United Nations Declaration, the term "United Nations" being a coinage by President Roosevelt.

In October of the next year, in the Moscow Declaration of the Four Nations on General Security, Britain, China, the United States, and the Soviet Union announced "that they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security."

In Washington and London, plans were drafted and were sufficiently advanced by Aug. 21, 1944, for an informal conference of the United States, Britain, the USSR and, in the later stages, China to open at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The United States was represented by Edward R. Stettinius, Britain by Sir Alexander Cadogan, the USSR by their Washington ambassador, Andrei A. Gromyko, and China by Dr. Wellington Koo. The talks were private. The conference agreed on an organization which, in its main outlines, would copy that of the League of Nations, namely an Assembly on which all members should be represented and a Council with a Great Power nucleus which should carry the main responsibility for peace and security. The trusteeship arrangements,

the voting provisions in the Security Council, and the precise membership of the organization were left over for the Yalta Conference to settle.

At Yalta it was agreed that the Great Powers would have a veto in the Security Council if it did not apply to decisions on "procedural matters"; also that a party to a dispute would not have the right to demand peaceful adjustment of disputes was involved, but that in all decisions involving enforcement measures Great Power unanimity should be required, even if one of the Great Powers was itself a party to a dispute. As to UN membership, it was agreed that all governments which had declared war on the Axis by March 1, 1945, should be eligible, and USSR Premier Stalin reduced his demand for admitting each Soviet republic to admission for the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

The final UN drafting conference, known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened in the Opera House in San Francisco, Calif., April 25, 1945, with Stettinius as the United States secretary of state, in the chair. In all, 50 countries participated. Although occasional meetings were private, the press, even when it was not actually present, was kept fully informed of what went on. Decisions were taken by vote, a two-thirds majority being required, and the Charter of the United Nations and the proposed amendments were voted on clause by clause. The conference met against the background of often critical disagreement between the USSR and the Western powers. The first such conflict arose over a problem posed by the creation of the O.

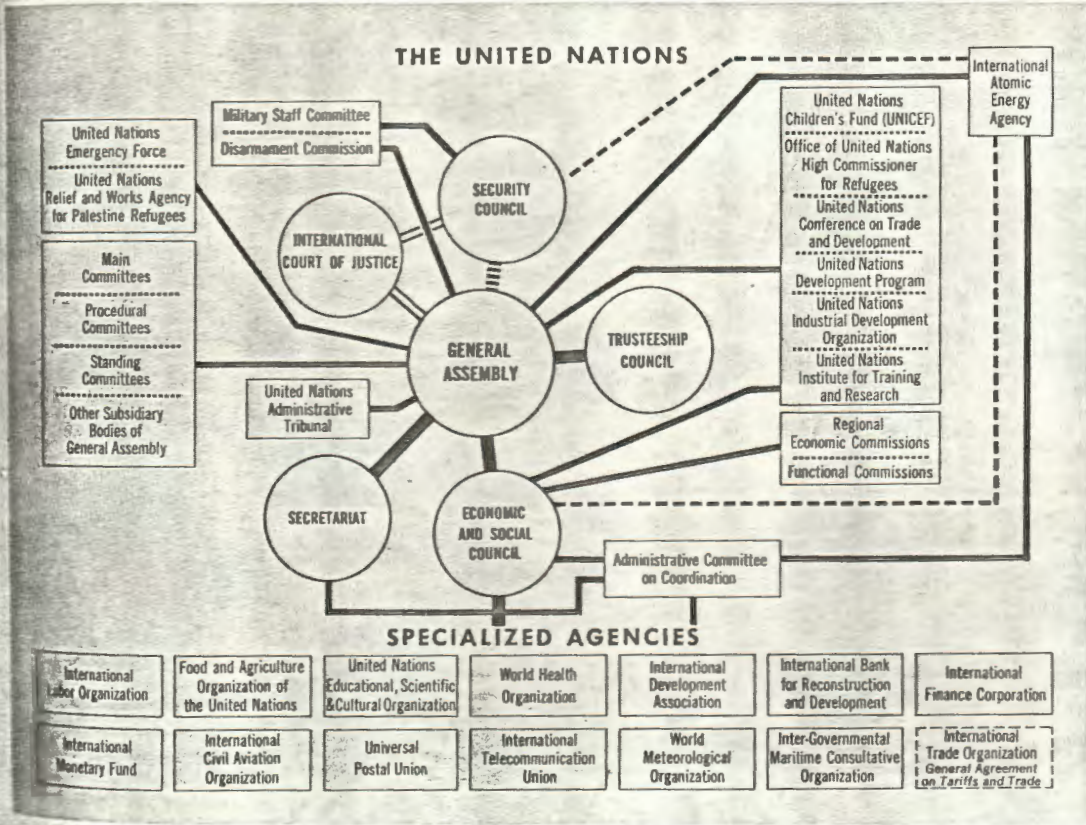
### MEMBERSHIP OF THE UNITED NATIONS, MID-1976

Afghanistan	Greece	Pakistan
Albania	Grenada	Panama
Algeria	Guatemala	Papua New Guinea
Argentina	Guinea	Paraguay
Australia	Guinea-Bissau	Peru
Austria	Guyana	Philippines
Bahamas	Haiti	Poland
Bahrain	Honduras	Portugal
Bangladesh	Hungary	Qatar
Barbados	Iceland	Rumania
Belgium	India	Rwanda
Bhutan	Indonesia	São Tomé and Príncipe
Bolivia	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Botswana	Iraq	Senegal
Brazil	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Bulgaria	Israel	Singapore
Burma	Italy	Somalia
Burundi	Ivory Coast	South Africa
Byelorussian SSR	Jamaica	Spain
Cambodia	Japan	Sri Lanka
Cameroon	Jordan	Sudan
Canada	Kenya	Surinam
Cape Verde	Kuwait	Swaziland
Central African Rep.	Laos	Sweden
Chad	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Rep.
Chile	Lesotho	Tanzania
China	Liberia	Thailand
Colombia	Libya	Togo
Comoros	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Congo	Madagascar	Tunisia
Costa Rica	(Malagasy Rep.)	Turkey
Cuba	Malawi	Uganda
Cyprus	Malaysia	Ukrainian SSR
Czechoslovakia	Maldives	Union of Soviet Socialist Reps.
Dahomey	Mali	United Arab Emirates
Denmark	Malta	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United States
Ecuador	Mauritius	Upper Volta
Egypt	Mexico	Uruguay
El Salvador	Mongolia	Venezuela
Equatorial Guinea	Morocco	Yemen Arab Rep.
Ethiopia	Mozambique	Yemen, Dem. Rep. of
Fiji	Nepal	Yugoslavia
Finland	Netherlands	Zaire
France	New Zealand	Zambia
Gabon	Nicaragua	
Gambia	Niger	
German Dem. Rep.	Nigeria	
Germany, Fed. Rep.	Norway	
Ghana	Oman	



organization of American States. A compromise formula was eventually found, and embodied in Article 51 of the charter. Another contentious question was that of the United Nations role in respect of trusteeships and colonial territories, with the main line of fissure corresponding to the distinction between colonial and ex-colonial or anti-colonial powers, the USSR mainly voting as one of the latter.

powers, with a concession that if after 10 years the charter had not been amended by the ordinary machinery, the Assembly by a majority vote, plus the Security Council by a vote to which the veto would not apply, could together summon a charter review conference. The smaller powers, in addition to their role in everything that touched on colonialism, also exercised effective pressure to have the economic and social functions of the



The United Nations and related agencies.

The crucial controversy, however, was over the veto. Ostensibly this had been settled at Yalta, but when the Yalta Formula came under fire from the smaller powers led by Australia and New Zealand, who objected to the veto applying to procedures for pacific settlement, it soon became apparent that the Great Powers themselves had divergent conceptions of what the Yalta Formula meant. The acute crisis created by the Russian wish to apply the veto even to the decision on whether a question was procedural or not seemed likely to endanger the whole conference. At last Harry Hopkins, special assistant to President Roosevelt, in Moscow on a mission, persuaded Stalin to modify the Russian stand. The Yalta Formula remained, as in Article 27, but the sponsoring powers issued an agreed interpretation. According to this, no individual member of the Security Council could alone prevent consideration and discussion of a dispute, but where any action by the Security Council might initiate a chain of events which might end in measures of enforcement the unanimity rule should apply. This was grudgingly accepted by the smaller

organization expanded, for example, the upgrading of the Trusteeship and the Economic and Social councils to the level of "principal organs," and the expansion of clauses prescribing UN obligations and codes of conduct in these fields.

On June 26, 1945, the charter was signed. On July 28, the United States Senate approved it by 89 votes to 2. Other states quickly followed suit. By October 24, on what has subsequently been celebrated as United Nations Day, the necessary total of ratifications had been attained, and the charter came into force.

**2. Covenant and Charter**

The Charter of the United Nations was largely based on the Covenant of the League of Nations. Peace and security remain the principal goals. The voluntary cooperation of member states is still mainly relied on for achieving them. The General Assembly, in composition, is the League Assembly over again, the forum in which all member states are represented with equal rights of speech and vote. Although in matters of peace and security the Security Council has priority, and



SUGGESTED PRESIDENTIAL TOAST FOR  
DINNER HONORING QUEEN ELIZABETH  
DE YOUNG MUSEUM, MARCH 3, 1983

Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Majesty, I welcome you this evening on behalf of the American people, and in particular on behalf of the people of California -- of whom I am proud to be one. We are honored by your presence in our country and in this state.

I believe that it is fitting that this evening's banquet should be held in this place and in this city. The De Young Museum is one of the great cultural landmarks of this nation. It reflects the diversity of our people who have built a unique nation from many cultures on the firm foundations of democracy and law which we inherited from Britain. And it represents the dedication we share with our British cousins: the peaceful furtherance of art and science for the enrichment and progress of all mankind.

It is also appropriate to recall that, in a special way, San Francisco -- which has become home to so many different peoples -- represents the culmination of our nations' great wartime alliance. In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill set down in the Atlantic Charter their hope "to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will assure that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want..." Four years later in this city, America and Britain and forty-four other nations met to form the United Nations Organization as a



means of putting those great principles of the Atlantic Charter into practice.

Unhappily, subsequent events continued to put our values and ideals to the test. We have seen war, terrorism, and the oppression of people who seek a voice in their own future. We are challenged to restrain and reduce the destructive power of nuclear weapons; yet we must maintain our strength in the face of the enormous military buildup of our adversaries. And we must seek to restimulate economic growth and development without inflation.

All this we can do. We can find the strength to meet these dangers and face these challenges; it exists within free societies and free men. We need only look about us for inspiration. This beautiful city and this great state testify to the power and vision of free men inspired by the ideals and dedication to liberty of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson and John Stuart Mill and Abraham Lincoln.

I would like to conclude by recalling the words of a great American and warm friend of Britain, Franklin Roosevelt:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to honor our most welcome guest this evening by joining me in a toast.

To Her Majesty the Queen.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES ROSEBUSH  
FROM: MUFFIE BRANDON

*Muffie Brandon*

Please read this carefully. Is there any way we could use this as a "humanizing" event?

We need one!

*Aram Bakshian*

*maybe  
good material  
in here for  
the President  
toAST to  
HR # 11.*

*Jim R*



702 Camino de los Mares  
San Clemente CA 92672  
Feb. 2, 1983

Barry Glasser  
Director of Publicity  
20th Century-Fox Studios  
Box 900  
Beverly Hills CA 90213

RECEIVED

FEB 4 1983

Jerry Greenberg

Dear Sir:

From a bloke who used to help Robbin Coons and Hub Keavy in AP's reporting of the film industry, away back in the 1938-1941 era, comes a mild little suggestion that could easily wind up right there in your discard heap. Anyway, here it is.

You people are to honor the British royal couple at a dinner Feb. 28. How about surprising them and your other guests with gift copies of a brand new book for which Prince Philip wrote the Foreword? I wrote the book, as the enclosed material tells you.

The book is about the 243 young American volunteers who flew Hurricane and Spitfire fighters for Britain's Royal Air Force in 1940, 1941 and 1942, before their own country's entry into World War II. Many of them died there, and at the Eagle Squadron Association reunion in London in 1976 the British repeatedly demonstrated that they still remembered and were grateful for the help they needed so desperately when they were battling the Germans almost alone. The Eagles met and chatted with Prince Philip at the 1976 Farnborough Air Show, and that emboldened them later to seek his prefatory remarks for ~~the~~ informal history that is just now making its way into the bookstores.

The publisher--Jason Aronson Inc., 111 Eighth Avenue, New York 10011-- saw to it that the Duke of Edinburgh and Senator Barry Goldwater received the two very first copies off the press. I do not believe "The Eagles' War" is yet on sale overseas, however, so it is doubtful that members of the Prince's entourage have seen it. Norbert Slepian, Aronson's editorial director, tells me the book is a March-April selection for the Military Book Club. Scribner's is handling the U.S. distribution, but Slepian says it may be three or four months before the book is widely available. A friend in Tucson says he finds it in six stores there. I ran across a supply at Hunter's Books in La Jolla, by chance. Our two local shops, The Book Site and The Book Store, have copies. But generally throughout Orange County it's still not on hand.

Barry Mahon of North Hollywood, newly elected president of the Eagle Squadron Association, a long-time business manager for Errol Flynn until shortly before the actor's death, is available for any interviews that might be requested, as are a number of other Eagles in southern California.

Sincerely,

*Vern Haugland*  
Vern Haugland



*The remaining 85 members of the famed American Eagle Squadron are still working toward their dream of erecting a London memorial and a California museum exhibit.*

By Vern Haugland

*Photos courtesy the author*

# The Eagle Memorial Projects

**F**ive months ago, on the 40th anniversary of their transfer en masse into the United States Army Air Force, the former American Eagle Squadron fighter pilots of the British Royal Air Force were engrossed in two major missions—one in England and the other here at home.

Goal No. 1: Raise a tall obelisk in one of the most famous plazas in London as a memorial to the more than 100 Eagle Squadron volunteers who lost their lives in His Majesty's air service in World War II.

Goal No. 2: Establish a first-class museum exhibit of Eagle Squadron memorabilia at the International Aerospace Hall of Fame in San Diego. The eye-catching centerpiece is to be a *Spitfire*—the RAF aircraft in which the Eagles helped Britain beat back the Luftwaffe raiders of 1940 and 1941—suspended from the ceiling of the Aerospace Historical Center in San Diego's Balboa Park.

The ambitious twin projects, decried by some critics as "impossible dreams," have been beset and retarded by difficulties, but the survivors among the 243 Americans who served in the three Eagle squadrons are not discouraged.

"Our biggest problem is money," says Edwin D. "Jesse" Taylor of San Clemente, Calif., president of the Eagle Squadron Association in 1980, 1981 and 1982. "But we are staying on the programs until we get them."

In a June 27, 1940, letter to the Brit-



ish Air Ministry, a young American businessman living in London—Charles Sweeney—noted that a number of American volunteer pilots were making their way to a besieged England. He urged that an "American Air Defence Corps be formed as an adjunct to my American Mechanized (motorized) Defence Corps which has completed its first unit of 50 members for the London Defence."

Air Ministry responded by setting up, in September 1940, the first fighter squadron for Americans, No. 71. At Sweeney's request his uncle, Col Charles Sweeney of Utah, a famous international soldier of fortune, was made honorary commander of the new unit. The London Sweeney's younger

brother, Bobby, British amateur golf champion in 1937, became assistant adjutant. The squadron took its name and insignia from the eagle on the passport of its founder, Charles Sweeney. Initially, squadron leadership was shared between a combat-experienced Englishman, Walter M. Churchill, and American William E.G. Taylor, a former U.S. Marine pilot who had joined the Royal Navy four days before the outbreak of war in Europe and had flown from British aircraft carriers in operations off Norway. The RAF created two other American Eagle squadrons, Nos. 121 and 133, in May and August 1941.

A number of the Eagles became aces by shooting down five or more enemy planes. The RAF awarded 40 decorations—mainly the Distinguished Flying Cross and Distinguished Service Order—to 31 Eagles. In 18 months of operations with the RAF, the Eagle Squadron pilots shot down more than 73 enemy aircraft. Each squadron at some point led in total scoring throughout the RAF for a given month. On Sept. 29, 1942, the Eagle units transferred together into the USAAF to

(Right) Members of the first squadron—No. 71—as painted by British artist Olive Snell: (top row, left to right) Harold Strickland, Tommy Andrews and Oscar Coen; (middle, left to right) Jim Gray, Chesley Peterson and Gregory Daymond; and (bottom, left to right) Walter Hollander, Stanley Anderson and Brewster Morgan.



71 EAGLE SQUADRON.

DEBDEN. 1942.





become the 334th and 336th squadrons of the 4th Ftr Grp, Eighth AF. The 4th, in turn, profiting from the combat experience of the former Eagle pilots, eventually became the highest-scoring U.S. fighter group of World War II. In later wars the 4th became the highest-scoring wing in Korea and also established a fine record in Vietnam.

As the years rolled by, the aging fighter jockeys kept in touch with each other. Eleven Eagle alumni of 133 Sqdn held a reunion in 1964, and again in 1965 and 1966. In 1967 MGen C.W. McColpin, Chief of the 4th AF, Air Defense Command at Hamilton AFB, Calif., a leading Eagle ace and former commander of 133 Sqdn, acted as host to veterans of all three RAF-American fighter pilot units. The non-profit Eagle Squadron Association (ESA) was born. The Association voted to "inculcate and stimulate respect and love for country and flag," to encourage maintenance of an adequate military force and to oppose any influences calculated to weaken national security. More pragmatically, the ESA would keep an eye on veterans' benefits, would look into welfare needs of Eagle widows and would foster camaraderie among ex-Eagles and among the branches of the various services from which the Eagles were drawn. Reunions would be held annually. Officers would serve for three-year terms. ESA presidents between General McColpin and the incumbent, Taylor, have been Chesley G. Peterson, Ogden, Utah, Reade Tilley, Colorado Springs, Colo., and Richard L. Alexander, Piper City, Ill.

In time, friends of the Eagles became concerned that little was known publicly about this group of war heroes and the gallant role they had played. Over the years, almost nothing had been written about them. There were no major shrines to the memory of their dead.

The ESA began collecting the logbooks, photo albums, hand-written manuscripts and tape recordings of Eagles. These were turned over to a retired war correspondent, and in 1979 the first volume of an informal history of the Eagles, *The Eagle Squadrons—Yanks in the RAF 1940-1942*, made its debut at the ESA reunion in San Diego. To the surprise and delight of the members, a representative of the publisher appeared at a dinner meeting and handed out free copies to all Eagles. Thereafter, each Eagle divided his time between getting the autographs of all his buddies, and dipping into the book

to find out for the first time what was in there about him and his friends.

### PLANS FOR A MEMORIAL

In England, ESA committees began looking for an Eagles' memorial site, and studying possible architectural designs, cost estimates and revenue sources. After a series of meetings with the appropriate British agency chiefs and government officials, the ESA obtained tentative Westminster City Council approval for the construction and design of a memorial on a site owned by the British Petroleum Pension fund in London's famed Berkeley Square. ESA architects produced stunning drawings of three miniature fighter planes circling upward around a tapered spire. Many felt it was a visual representation of the beloved "High Flight" poem of John Magee: "Oh! I have slipped the surly bonds of earth, and danced the skies on laughter-silvered wings." The cost was estimated at something over \$12,000, and there were indications in mid-1981 that an American company with important British holdings was prepared to finance the entire project.

Then obstacles appeared. Two influential and strongly conservative English organizations objected to the modernistic, impressionistic style of the proposed memorial. They said a more conventional monument, topped by an eagle or a miniature plane like



Colorful ace E.D. "Jessie" Taylor in his Eagle Squadron days. He was president of the Eagle Squadron Association in 1980, 1981 and 1982.

similar memorials, would better blend with English architecture. The Eagles cast about for other designs, and at the same time found that costs were rising sharply. On top of that, under the impact of a worsening economy, the anticipated single source of revenue reportedly had dried up.

Meanwhile, in the United States, the ESA signed an agreement with the International Hall of Fame in San Diego for the housing of Eagle Squadron "artifacts and memorabilia," including the expected 6,000-pound British fighter plane. Surveys soon disclosed that few *Spitfires* suitable for display were available anywhere, and that the prices demanded for those few were escalating.

After many frustrations and disappointments, the ESA's Spitty Search Committee believed in mid-May 1981, that it had struck gold—"not just gold, but silver and and platinum and everything—the works!" one enthusiast said. He added: "We were put in touch with the head of something called a national endowment trust. He invited us to his office on the top floor of a tall bank building. It turned out to be extremely plush, and he turned out to be a handsome, well-dressed, articulate and affable man in his 30s or early 40s, well versed on the subject of *Spitfires*, tax shelters and the like.

"After hearing our story he said we had come to the right place. He was a pilot, a war veteran and he named some public figures who were his good friends. 'Would the Spit have to be flyable?' he asked. When we said no, he replied, 'Good. You've just cut \$100,000 or more off the price.' He said the people he represented had access not to millions but to billions of dollars, and the raising of the necessary money, while it might take a short while, would be 'no problem.' He said he'd be in touch with us."

The Eagles had three or four pleasant telephone chats with him, and he assured them things would get moving as soon as he cleared up some other work. Then, one day, the switchboard operator said the man had left town, but telephone messages and mail would be forwarded to him. Later the operator said he could be reached at a new address and phone number, on the other side of the continent. Operators at that number said he would return the calls later, but he never did. Finally, the man was no longer there, and had no new address or telephone.

"At first we felt like blasting that guy



San Diego's Aerospace Historical Center, home of the International Aerospace Hall of Fame and the Eagles' Memorial.

publicly," one Eagle said. "But then we figured his balloon had simply burst, and he didn't have the guts to let us know. He had seemed very sincere, and eager and able to help, at first. We weren't out any money—just a lot of dreams and hope. So what point would there be to expose him to ridicule and scorn? I feel sorta sorry for the guy."

### SEARCH FOR A SPITFIRE

The Eagles pushed on with their quest for a *Spitfire*, and for the funds with which to acquire it. They cast their eyes in the direction of a number of *Spitfires* serving as gate guards at military bases in England—"sitting out there in that miserable damp climate, in the wind and rain, when one of 'em could be housed high and dry inside, for millions of tourists to admire," an ESA Committee member groaned. The Spits were not for sale, but the British were willing to trade them for American World War II aircraft of equivalent value. Accordingly, the Eagles canvassed owners of U.S. fighters or bombers of acceptable price. Recently they learned, too late, that a Texas oil man had two World War II planes he wanted to give away. When the ESA called him, he said he had just donated the planes to another museum.

An Englishman, Kenny John of Stradbroke, Diss, Norfolk,—an ESA associate member because he was a fitter (ground crew member) for 121 Eagle Sqdn—bombarded the Air Ministry and even the Duke of Edinburgh with letters urging that a *Spitfire* be donated to the ESA San Diego exhibit as a token of gratitude for the Americans' aid to an embattled Britain of four decades ago. John even slyly told Prince Philip that England could send the Americans "the *Spitfire* that's owed to me." John said he had jumped into a Spit and taxied it to safety as German aircraft were starting an attack at this station—"and if I'd been killed or crippled my government claims by now would have paid for a *Spitfire*." (If anyone should hate the ESA, Kenny John well might. In *The Eagle Squadrons* he is shown in a group photograph, but the name in the caption is that of another man.)

A new-found friend of the Eagles is Kent Garrett, a Salem, Ore., air traffic controller who first learned about the colorful Americans in *The Eagle Squad-*



*rons*. Garrett, whose father was in the Royal Canadian Air Force with some of the Eagles, began collecting autographs and Eagle souvenirs, and has started his own *Spitfire* fund-raising campaign that has put hundreds of dollars into the ESA kitty.

Garrett also brought the ESA to the attention of a brilliant Independence, Ore., aviation artist, Mel Blanchard. Blanchard has made a striking painting of Eagle aircraft in action which will become a huge mural at the San Diego Hall of Fame. The ESA also has printed *Spitfire* and *Spitfire and Hurricane* posters, bearing autographs of 152 Eagles, which will each be available for a \$25 donation. It is offering original Eagle shoulder patches for a \$15 donation each, with all funds going to the ESA museum account. The Association is not yet ready to handle regular orders, but queries may be sent to ESA Secretary, 1582 Calle Enrique, Pleasanton, CA 94566.

McColpin contributed to the cause in an unusual manner. A fine artisan, he has fashioned 90 authentic RAF Eagle Squadron memorial plaques, and donated them to be distributed for ESA museum benefit to donors of \$50.

The ESA 40th anniversary reunion at Victoria, B.C., Canada in August 1982 featured the debut of the second volume of ESA history, *The Eagles' War*. His Royal Highness Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, honored the Eagles with a foreword for the book—striking evidence of Britain's affection, respect for and gratitude to the American volunteer pilots. In a separate preface, Sen. Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona said the reader of the volume could "actually feel what these men were doing—in the cockpit, sitting around the ready room, worrying

about aircraft, worrying about tactics and doing what every fighter pilot in the history of aviation has done: swear the next day is going to be his best." A third, final volume is in preparation.

### FINDING 'LOST' MEMBERS

A byproduct of the renewed interest in the Eagle Squadrons, as a result of the recent publicity, has been the recovery of at least two Eagles from the rosters of the dead. An ESA "in memoriam" list in *The Eagle Squadrons* contained among others the names of William C. Slade, shown as KOAS—Killed On Active Service—and James Edward Griffin. Both men have since notified the ESA that they are very much alive, Slade at Roswell, N.M., and Griffin at Tucson, Ariz. The first Eagle to become a prisoner of war—William I. Hall, a former Alaskan bush pilot last heard from in Quebec in the 1960s—was found to be living in Fanny Bay, B.C., just in time to attend the Victoria reunion.

The Eagles are uneasy about delays in their memorial projects. They note that three ESA members died in 1980, three in 1981 and another in 1982. With some 85 members remaining, they acknowledge that they are members of a last-men's club, and they may not have much time for more waiting around.

*Vern Haugland, author of The Eagle Squadrons and The Eagles' War, served as an Associated Press war correspondent in Southeast Asia. While there, he won the first Army Silver Star awarded to a civilian. He went on to complete 21 years as AP's aviation/space editor. His home is in San Clemente, Calif. This is his first article for The Retired Officer.*





## Eagle Squadron Association

Page 2

Calls since the article "The Eagle Memorial Projects" by Vern Haugland came out in the Retired Officer Magazine, January 1983.

(1) 3 Jan.'83. Call from Mike Greenstein, (Retired in 1971 from USAF.) His address- 1149 Via Esperanza, San Dimas, Calif. 91773. Phone- 714-599-7059. He would like to help us raise money for our memorial projects. Said he would talk to members of the Board of Dir. at San Dimas Country Club, and would suggest having a Golf Tournament to help raise money. Asked if some of our members would come to a meeting. Would be a short speech & briefing before tournament and some ESA members to play in tournament. He will contact me later with details.

(2) 4 Jan.'83. Call from Lt.Col. McFarland from Maxwell AFB, Alabama. Phone- 205- 293- 5506. They have over 600 students there from around the world in their classes.(School)

They sponsor a group each year. This year they will sponsor 25 WWII Combat Pilots from around the world. They would like for us to have a reunion there and would have a program to defray all of our expenses except getting there. We should discuss this at our next business meeting & by that time I will have all necessary details from him. Tilley will be there in March to lay a few pearls of wisdom about Combat flying on the folks.

(3) 7 Jan.'83 Call from Capt. Dale Wainwright, Seymour Johnson AFB.N.C. His address- 1803 Stephens St. Goldsboro, N.C. 27530. He is a member of 334 Sqdn..originally 71 Sqdn. Would like to do something to help us raise some money for our memorial projects. The C.O. of 334th Sqdn is Lt. Col. Mike Short. The Wing Commander is Col. Larry Huggins. The 3 Sqdns- 334th, 335th & 336th will be flying operation Red Flag at Nellis AFB. Las Vegas, Nevada, between dates 8 Jan and 19 Feb.'83. Any ESA members would be welcomed there. We will be in touch with Capt. Wainwright in the near future. He said they had never read either of our books. I will send him one of each- 2 books from the Association to be passed around & read by wing pilots. He phoned Sperry who will include information in the Newsletter.

I feel encouraged by all of this activity that came from the article in the Retired Officer magazine. I am optimistic that good things will be coming our way soon. Although I think it was wrong to list the English memorial as Goal # 1. I would rather had it mentioned that the English memorial would be financed over there.

Arrangements can be made to transport aircraft from the US to the UK or the UK to the US. If we get a Spitfire that has to be modified to suit our needs, it will be done over there where the parts are available, by Kenny John. We will get space for him to work at Mildenhall AFB



# 'Birdman' is soaring again with his 'Eagles'

## STILL SOARING WITH THE EAGLES —

Vern Haugland, who undoubtedly qualifies as San Clemente's most widely known resident since Whatzisname left town, dropped around the other day with an autographed copy of his sixth book, "The Eagles' War," which was a very neighborly thing for him to do.

If the name of Vern Haugland doesn't ring your Liberty Bell, then you know precious little about America's aviation history or pioneer space program — and probably never heard of World War II, even though it was in all the papers.

Much of what was in the papers (from the Pacific arena) was dispatched under the byline of Vern Haugland, who, at 74, still fingers a smoking typewriter. Before "retiring" here in 1973, he had toiled 37 years with the Associated Press — gaining such lofty distinction as a war correspondent that General MacArthur himself pinned him with a Silver Star (the first ever awarded by the Army to a civilian.)

I can recall, as a cub helping on the wire desk of The Reading (Pa.) Eagle four decades ago, admiring Haugland's prose as it came clattering over the Teletypes. And what a thrill it was catching up with him eight years ago as fellow-members of Dutch Treat Club/West — a ragtag lot of journalistic jetsam washed up on the shores of south Orangeshire.

But back to his latest book, now gracing the stalls:

For classy openers, "The Eagles' War: The Saga of the Eagle Squadron Pilots, 1940-45," (Jason Aronson, Inc. \$17.95) carries a foreword by His Royal Highness Prince Phillip, and a preface by Senator Barry M. Goldwater.

Prince Philip, saluting "the gallant and vital contribution of the Eagle Squadrons during the critical days of the Battle of Britain," writes, in part:

"Forty years may be a long time to wait, but sooner or later the story of the Eagle Squadrons had to be written. This account of the volunteers from the United States who felt strongly enough about the issues at stake to commit their skills and their lives to the struggle against the aggressor cannot fail to stir the blood. It is a timely reminder that there will always be more to be admired in altruism and sacrifice than in the pursuit of security and self-interest."

There's a glowing sendoff in Publisher's Weekly: "World War II buffs and flying enthusiasts will enjoy this account of the Americans who flew with the RAF and RCAF... Theirs is a stirring story and one that makes absorbing reading."

For author-historian Haugland, it's a splendid follow-up to his 1979 book, "The Eagle Squadrons," and there's a third tome, "Caged



**JERRY  
KOBRIIN**

Eagles," in the oven.

This corner is much too cramped to render full justice unto modest, unassuming Vern Haugland, who dwells here quietly (except when he's revving up his typing machine) with his one and only sweetheart, the former Tesson McMahon of Butte, Mont.

Minnesota-born Haugland, whose family moved in 1913 (when he was five)

to a ranch near Bozeman, Mont., has become a folk-hero back home. Several weeks ago, his old gazette, The Montana Standard, devoted nearly two pages to his remarkable career. The photos included the Silver Star decoration by Big Mac, while Vern was lying semi-conscious in an Army hospital near Port Moresby — after he had bailed out of a B-26 over New Guinea, and survived a 42-day trek through the jungles.

There's another picture taken in Samoa, where he covered the 1970 splashdown of Apollo 13. For the last 21 years of his wire-service career, he was the AP's aviation and space editor — covering every major event in America's space program from its frustrating beginnings in 1957 through the final Skylab mission in 1974.

As for his still-in-progress trilogy on the Eagle Squadrons, Haugland enjoys telling the story about how The Montana Standard first got word of his latest literary outpourings. Last Aug. 19, he received a letter from an editor of The Standard, and it began:

"A reader, Agnes Hjelmsstad of Butte, called our newspaper this week with the suggestion that you be the focus of an article. She said you recently published your second book about eagles..."

Laughs Haugland, veteran author of war and space: "Just call me The Birdman of San Clemente."

This has been my week for aviation luminaries.

At a gemütlich dinner party the other night at the Leisure World home of kinsperson Beatrice Young, I had the pleasure of meeting her 88-year-old neighbor, Forrest E. Wysong.

Wysong, still frisky, has enough personal "wild blue yonder" stories to send Haugland's typewriter into overdrive. He is, for a starter, America's oldest living naval aviator. In 1915, Wysong built and flew his own biplane, a 75 horsepower Roberts with tricycle landing gear; in World War I, he was shot down over the North Sea while in the process of dispatching The Hun with a single burst; and then, for many scary years, he served as a Douglas test pilot.

I plan to introduce Haugland and Wysong, and then get lost. Once they start swapping yarns, they'll never know I'm gone.

Contact!



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*Misty*

MEMORANDUM

1/25/83

TO: WILLIAM HENKEL (Coordinate with William Clark & James Rosebush)  
FROM: WILLIAM K. <sup>Bill</sup>SADLEIR  
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3:00 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

NOTE: AS PROJECT OFFICER FOR THIS ACTIVITY, IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SUBMIT A COMPLETE, CONFIRMED LIST OF STAFF AND ATTENDEES, IDENTIFIED BY TITLE, TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING WITHIN FIVE (5) DAYS AFTER THE EVENT.

Time reserved for Visit of Queen Elizabeth:

MEETING: 3/1/83 - AM - Meeting - Ranch  
3/3/83 - 7:30 pm - State Dinner - San Francisco

DATE: As shown  
TIME: As shown  
DURATION: As shown  
LOCATION: State Dinner location to be determined  
REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes  
MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office  
FIRST LADY  
PARTICIPATION: Yes

cc: A. Bakshian M. McManus W. Clark  
M. Brandon J. Rosebush M. Wheeler  
R. Darman B. Shaddix C. Tyson  
R. DeProspero W. Sittmann  
D. Fischer L. Speakes  
C. Fuller WHCA Audio/Visual  
W. Henkel WHCA Operations  
E. Hickey A. Wrobleski



economies or our security. Together and independently, our two countries have acted to renew and protect our way of life. We're restoring incentives and opportunities in our marketplaces by reducing excessive taxation and regulation. By lifting the heavy hand of government, we're placing our faith in the working men and women of Britain and the United States.

Our two countries have been united in commitment to free trade, and we are both making economic sacrifices for the sake of Western security. But an important challenge still looms before us: the protection of our personal freedoms and national interests in the face of hostile ideologies and enormous military threats. We must find the right balance of deterrent forces and arms reductions to secure a lasting peace for generations to come.

The United Kingdom is a great symbol of Western thought and values. The British people are known for their vision and dedication. Yours has been an empire of ideas, nourishing freedom and creating wealth around the globe. Here is, as I said earlier today, the birthplace of representative government, constitutional rights, and economic freedom—a body of ideas that has raised the standard of living and improved the quality of life for more people in less time than any that ever came before.

Your leadership, Madam Prime Minister, has also been far-seeing and courageous, returning your country and your people to the roots of their strength. You remind me of something one of our wiser Americans, the late Will Rogers, once said about the paradox of being a great leader. He said, "The fellow that can only see a week ahead is always the popular fellow for he's looking with the crowd. The great leader, the true leader, has a telescope. His biggest problem is getting people to believe he has it." [Laughter]

But you have a telescope and your focus is true. You also have the eloquence and the determination necessary to lead, and your people have the wisdom and the tenacity to persevere. We Americans believe this combination promises great things for not only Great Britain but for the world.

Nancy and I thank you for this warm reception among friends. I would like to propose a toast and, again, similar in that it's to

the bonds between our people, but also to the Right Honorable Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Thatcher, and to the Queen. To the Queen.

*Note: Prime Minister Thatcher spoke at 2:25 p.m. at Number 10 Downing Street, her London residence.*

*Following the luncheon, the President returned to Windsor Castle.*

## Windsor, England

*Toasts at a Dinner Honoring the President.  
June 8, 1982*

*The Queen.* Mr. President, I'm so glad to welcome you and Mrs. Reagan to Britain.

Prince Phillip and I are especially delighted that you have come to be our guests at Windsor Castle, since this has been the home of the Kings and Queens of our country for over 900 years.

I greatly enjoyed our ride together this morning, and I was much impressed by the way in which you coped so professionally with a strange horse and a saddle that must have seemed even stranger. [Laughter]

We hope these will be enjoyable days for you in Britain, as enjoyable as our stays have always been in the United States. We shall never forget the warmth and hospitality of your people in 1976 as we walked through the crowds in Philadelphia, Washington, New York, and Boston to take part in the celebrations of the Bicentennial of American Independence.

Two hundred years before that visit, one of my ancestors had played a seemingly disastrous role in your affairs. [Laughter] Yet, had King George III been able to foresee the long-term consequences of his actions, he might not have felt so grieved about the loss of his colonies.

Out of the War of Independence grew a great nation, the United States of America. And later there was forged a lasting friendship between the new nation and the country to whom she owed so much of her origins. But that friendship must never be



taken for granted, and your visit gives me the opportunity to reaffirm and to restate it.

Our close relationship is not just based on history, kinship, and language, strong and binding though these are. It is based on the same values and the same beliefs, evolved over many years in these islands since Magna Carta and vividly stated by the Founding Fathers of the United States.

This has meant that over the whole range of human activity, the people of the United States and the people of Britain are drawing on each other's experience and enriching each other's lives. Of course, we do not always think and act alike, but through the years our common heritage, based on the principles of common law, has prevailed over our diversity. And our toleration has moderated our arguments and misunderstandings.

Above all, our commitment to a common cause has led us to fight together in two World Wars and to continue to stand together today in the defense of freedom.

These past weeks have been testing ones for this country, when, once again, we have had to stand up for the cause of freedom. The conflict in the Falkland Islands was thrust on us by naked aggression, and we are naturally proud of the way our fighting men are serving their country. But throughout the crisis, we have drawn comfort from the understanding of our position shown by the American people. We have admired the honesty, patience, and skill with which you have performed your dual role as ally and intermediary.

In return, we can offer an understanding of how hard it is to bear the daunting responsibilities of world power. The fact that your people have shouldered that burden for so long now, never losing the respect and affection of your friends, is proof of a brave and generous spirit.

Our respect extends beyond the bounds of statesmanship and diplomacy. We greatly admire the drive and enterprise of your commercial life. And we, therefore, welcome the confidence which your business community displays in us by your massive investment in this country's future. And we also like to think we might have made some contribution to the extraordinary success story of American business.

In darker days, Winston Churchill surveyed the way in which the affairs of the British Empire, as it then was, and the United States would become, in his words, "somewhat mixed up." He welcomed the prospect. "I could not stop it if I wished," he said. "No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll." How right he was. There can be few nations whose destinies have been so inextricably interwoven as yours and mine.

Your presence at Versailles has highlighted the increasing importance, both to Britain and to America, of cooperation among the industrial democracies. Your visit tomorrow to Bonn underlines the importance to both our countries of the continued readiness of the people of the Western Alliance to defend the ways of life which we all share and cherish. Your stay in my country reflects not only the great traditions that hold Britain and the United States together but above all, the personal affection that the British and American people have for one another. This is the bedrock on which our relationship stands.

Mr. President, I raise my glass to you and to Mrs. Reagan, to Anglo-American friendship, and to the prosperity and happiness of the people of the United States.

*The President.* Your Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Nancy and I are honored to be your guests at this beautiful and historic castle. It was from here that Richard the Lion-Hearted rode out to the Crusades, and from here that his brother, King John, left to sign the Magna Carta. It's a rare privilege to be even a momentary part of the rich history of Windsor Castle.

As we rode over these magnificent grounds this morning, I thought again about how our people share, as you have mentioned, a common past. We are bound by so much more than just language. Many of our values, beliefs, and principles of government were nurtured on this soil. I also thought of how our future security and prosperity depend on the continued unity of Britain and America.

This place symbolizes both tradition and renewal, as generation after generation of your family makes it their home. We in America share your excitement about the impending birth of a child to the Prince



and the Princess of Wales. We pray that God will continue to bless your family with health, happiness, and wisdom.

It's been said that the greatest glory of a free-born people is to transmit that freedom to their children. That is a responsibility our people share. Together, and eager for peace, we must face an unstable world where violence and terrorism, aggression and tyranny constantly encroach on human rights. Together, committed to the preservation of freedom and our way of life, we must strengthen a weakening international order and restore the world's faith in peace and the rule of law.

We in the free world share an abiding faith in our people and in the future of mankind. The challenge of freedom is to reject an unacceptable present for what we can cause the future to be. Together, it is within our power to confront the threats to peace and freedom and to triumph over them.

Your Majesty, Nancy and I and all of our party are very grateful for your invitation to visit Great Britain and for your gracious hospitality. Our visit has been enormously productive and has strengthened the ties that bind our peoples.

I would like to propose that we raise our glasses to Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom, to the continued unity of our two nations, the preservation of our freedom for generations to come. I propose a toast to Her Majesty the Queen.

*Note: Queen Elizabeth II spoke at 9:47 p.m. in St. George's Hall at Windsor Castle.*

## London, England

*Remarks to Reporters Following a Breakfast Meeting With Prime Minister Thatcher. June 9, 1982*

*The Prime Minister.* May we report to you on the talks we've had and the way we think that this whole visit has gone.

Of course there is always a very great welcome in Britain for a visit by our great ally and friend, the United States. But this visit has been something more than an ordi-

nary welcome. It's been an extraordinarily warm welcome, which I think we must attribute to the way in which President Reagan has appealed to the hearts and minds of our people.

The reception he's had, not only from Parliament—which was a triumph—but also from the people of this country who listened to his speech before Parliament, that reception has been one of great affection and one which recognizes that here is a leader who can put to the uncommitted nations of the world the fact that we in Britain and the United States have a cause in freedom and justice that is worth striving for and worth proclaiming. And we do indeed thank him for that and congratulate him most warmly on everything—all the speeches and everything he's done—since he has been with us for this very brief visit. It is a triumph for him as well as a great joy to have our ally and friend with us.

We have, of course, discussed matters of defense in the context of East-West relations. Once again we take a similar view. We cannot depend upon the righteousness of our cause for security; we can only depend upon our sure defense. But we recognize at the same time that it is important to try to get disarmament talks started so that the balance of forces and the deterrents can be conducted at a lower level of armaments. In this, again, the President has seized the initiative and given a lead, and we wish those talks very well when they start. And we'll all be behind him in what he is doing.

This morning we have also discussed the question of what is happening in the Middle East. We have discussed it in a very wide context. As you would expect, we are wholly agreed on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 508, that there must be cessation of hostilities coupled with withdrawal. And the United Kingdom is wholly behind Mr. Habib in the efforts he is making to bring that about. We have discussed it also in the very much wider context of the whole difficult problems of the Middle East, which we've all been striving to solve for so many years now.

Finally, I would like once again to record our thanks to our American friends, to the President and to Mr. Secretary Haig for the



The last freedom—freedom to flee.  
BERLINER ILLUSTRATE, *ibid.*

We do not live in the Bavarian forests. We do not live on the west bank of the Rhine. We live behind the Communist guns in this encircled city. That is a geographical fact. But we belong to the West and we will continue belonging to the West.

WILLY BRANDT, mayor of Berlin, *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1958.

We cannot say now that these Nazis were only a handful of Germans. They were people out of our midst, from our own blood, out of our own kind. We cannot deny this.

OTTO DIBELIUS, Bishop, German Evangelical Church, address over West Berlin radio on the eve of the Eichmann trial, *New York Times*, April 11, 1961.

My only task is to be silent. I must feel my way back in the world.

GRAND ADMIRAL KARL DOENITZ, Adolf Hitler's successor, on being released after serving a ten-year sentence for war crimes, Oct. 1, 1956.

We have agreed on the shell of an egg. What will be in the egg, we do not know.

LUDWIG ERHARD, Vice Chancellor, following international conference on formula for reducing tariffs, *Newsweek*, June 3, 1963.

I am an American invention.

LUDWIG ERHARD, who, on succeeding Konrad Adenauer in 1963 as Chancellor of West Germany, recalled that his anti-Nazi war record had attracted the confidence of the U.S. Army and gave rise to his appointment as an economic administrator, *Time*, Nov. 1, 1963.

Eighty per cent were cheering the Queen, ten per cent were cheering the horses, and ten per cent were cheering me—and those were German tourists.

THEODOR HEUSS, President of West Germany, on state visit to Elizabeth II, in London, *Newsweek*, Nov. 3, 1958.

... The next war criminals will come from the chemical and electronics industries.

ALFRED KRUPP, head of Krupp industries, on being asked if he would again make guns for warfare, *New York Times*, Jan. 18, 1959.

### Ghana

It is very unfair—to be accused of being Communist on the basis of anti-colonialism. I think anti-colonialism was invented by the United States of America.

KWAME NKRUMAH, President of Ghana, *New York Times*, March 9, 1961.

### Great Britain

I think the British have the distinction above all other nations of being able to put new wine into old bottles without bursting them.

CLEMENT ATTLEE, Prime Minister, on rebuilt House of Commons, *Time*, Nov. 6, 1950.

It's nice to keep in touch—besides, it's the only place in London where you can park a car.

LORD ATTLEE, former Prime Minister, on why he attends House of Lords, *The Times*, London, Feb. 4, 1962.

Democracy means government by discussion but it is only effective if you can stop people talking.

LORD ATTLEE, *Anatomy of Britain* by Anthony Sampson, Harper & Row, 1962.

The job of a prime minister is to get the general feeling—collect the voices. And then when everything reasonable has been said, to get on with the job and say, "Well, I think the decision of the Cabinet is this, that or the other. Any objections?" Usually there aren't.

LORD ATTLEE, *ibid.*



People talk as if derailments were infectious. There is, in any case, no question of adopting Continental signalling systems, any more than we shall be serving zabaglione in the British dining cars.

RICHARD BEECHING, chairman, British Transport Commission, after several railway accidents, *Punch*, Feb. 14, 1962.

The House of Lords is the British Outer Mongolia for retired politicians.  
ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN, Lord Stansgate, *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1962.

If you have to have an adjectival phrase, then "the persistent commoner" would be better.

ANTHONY WEDGWOOD BENN, objection to being called "the reluctant peer" during his long and eventually successful campaign for peers to have the right to relinquish their titles, *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1963.

It takes two to make love and two partners to make trade agreements work. Unrequited trade or unrequited exports pay no better than unrequited love.

R. A. BUTLER, Chancellor of the Exchequer, comparison of affairs of state to affairs of the heart, news summaries of Jan. 29, 1954.

. . . Six hundred men all thinking a great deal of themselves and very little of each other.

SIR JAMES CASSELS, retired justice, on House of Commons, *Anatomy of Britain* by Anthony Sampson, Harper & Row, 1962.

The party system is much favored by an oblong form of chamber. It is easy for an individual to move through those insensible gradations from left to right, but the act of crossing the floor [to change parties] is one which requires serious consideration. I am well-informed on this matter for I have accomplished that difficult process not only once but twice.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, argument for retaining rectangular shape of the House of Commons in its post-war rebuilding, *Time*, Nov. 6, 1950.

During these last months the King walked with death as if death were a companion . . . whom he recognized and did not fear. In the end, death came as a friend and after a happy day of sunshine and sport, after "good-

night" to those who loved him best, he fell asleep as every man and woman who strives to fear God and nothing else in the world may hope to do.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, on death of George VI, Feb. 6, 1952.

To quell the Japanese resistance man by man and conquer the country yard by yard might well require the loss of a million American lives and half that number of British. Now all this nightmare picture had vanished. In its place was the vision—fair and bright indeed it seemed—of the end of the whole war in one or two violent shocks.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, recalling his feelings on learning in 1945 of successful U.S. test of atomic bomb, *Triumph and Tragedy*, Houghton Mifflin, 1953.

There never was a moment's discussion. . . . There was unanimous . . . agreement around our table.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, on swift decision of U.S. and Britain, at Potsdam, to drop atomic bomb on Japan, *ibid.*

. . . Just before dawn I awoke suddenly with a short stab of almost physical pain. A hitherto subconscious conviction that we were beaten broke forth and dominated my mind. All the pressure of great events, on which I had mentally so long maintained my "flying speed," would cease and I should fall.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, on his post-war election defeat, *ibid.*

The honorable member must not, in his innocence, take the bread from the mouths of the Soviet secret service.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, reply to question in Parliament on Britain's protection against atom bomb attack, news summaries of April 26, 1954.

All over the globe there has been a sense of kindly feeling and generous admiration. Even envy wore a friendly smile.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, address asking Commons to adopt a resolution welcoming home Elizabeth II from her first tour of Commonwealth, news reports of May 18, 1954.

It was the nation and the race dwelling all 'round the globe that had the lion's heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the lion's roar. I



also hope that I sometimes suggested to the lion the right place to use his claws.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, address on 80th birthday,\* news reports of Dec. 1, 1954.

. . . It may be that we shall by a process of sublime irony have reached a stage in this story where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, on hydrogen bomb, news reports of March 3, 1955.

I do not see any way of realizing our hopes about world organization in five or six days. Even the Almighty took seven.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, message to President Roosevelt prior to Yalta Conference, quoted in papers made public by U.S. State Dept. in March, 1955.

No more let us falter. From Malta to Yalta. Let nobody alter.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, message to Roosevelt on completion of plans for Malta meeting prior to Yalta Conference, *ibid.*

Never have the august duties which fall upon the British monarchy been discharged with more devotion than in the brilliant opening of Your Majesty's reign. We thank God for the gift He has bestowed upon us and vow ourselves anew to the sacred causes and wise and kindly way of life of which Your Majesty is the young, gleaming champion.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, toast to Elizabeth II at dinner attended by the Queen at No. 10 Downing Street on eve of Churchill's resignation as Prime Minister, news reports of April 4, 1955.

This conference should not be overhung by a ponderous or rigid agenda or led into mazes of technical details, zealously contested by hordes of experts and officials drawn up in a vast cumbrous array.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, on what a "summit conference" should not be, recalled at time of Geneva Conference, news reports of July 10, 1955.

\* To mark Churchill's 80th year, John Masefield, poet laureate of England, wrote "On the Birthday of a Great Man":

This Man, in darkness saw, in doubtings led;  
In danger did; in uttermost despair,  
Shone with a Hope that made the midnight fair.  
The world he saved calls blessings on his head.

It is a remarkable comment on our affairs that the former prime minister of a great sovereign state should thus be received as an honorary citizen of another. I say "great sovereign state" with design and emphasis for I reject the view that Britain and the Commonwealth should now be relegated to a tame and minor role in the world. Our past is the key to our future, which I firmly trust and believe will be no less fertile and glorious. Let no man underrate our energies, our potentialities and our abiding power for good.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, accepting honorary U.S. citizenship conferred by act of Congress, *New York Times*, April 10, 1963.

We are, I suggest rightly, so anxious that neither the police nor the security service should pry into private lives, that there is no machinery for reporting the moral misbehavior of Ministers. . . . It is perhaps better thus, than that we should have a "police state."

LORD DENNING (Alfred Thompson Denning), Master of the Rolls, concluding his official report on sex scandal that involved Cabinet Minister John Profumo, *Life*, Oct. 11, 1963.

The judges of England have rarely been original thinkers or great jurists. Many have been craftsmen rather than creators. They have needed the stuff of morals to be supplied to them so that out of it they could fashion the law.

LORD PATRICK DEVLIN, Judge of the High Court, quoted by Ludovic Kennedy, "The Legal Barbarians," *Spectator*, Sept. 15, 1961.

I declare before you all that my whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your service and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH, address on her 21st birthday, recalled five years later on death of her father, George VI, Feb. 6, 1952.

I pray that God will help me to discharge worthily this heavy task that has been laid upon me so early in my life.

ELIZABETH II, on succeeding to throne, news summaries of Feb. 29, 1952.

To that new conception of an equal partnership of nations and races I shall give myself, heart and soul, every day of my life.

ELIZABETH II, in her Christmas address from Auckland, New Zealand, Dec. 25, 1953.



. . . It is my resolve that under God I shall not only rule but serve. That is not only the tradition of my family. It describes, I believe, the modern character of the British Crown.

ELIZABETH II, speech from throne opening a session of Australian parliament, news reports of Feb. 16, 1954.

In the turbulence of this anxious and active world many people are leading uneventful, lonely lives. To them dreariness, not disaster, is the enemy. They seldom realize that on their steadfastness, on their ability to withstand the fatigue of dull repetitive work and on their courage in meeting constant small adversities depend in great measure the happiness and prosperity of the community as a whole. . . . The upward course of a nation's history is due in the long run to the soundness of heart of its average men and women.

ELIZABETH II, Christmas broadcast from Sandringham to Commonwealth, Dec. 25, 1954.

There are long periods when life seems a small, dull round, a petty business with no point, and then suddenly we are caught up in some great event which gives us a glimpse of the solid and durable foundations of our existence. I hope that tomorrow will be such an occasion.

ELIZABETH II, on eve of becoming first reigning monarch to open Canadian parliament, news reports of Oct. 14, 1957.

In the old days the monarch led his soldiers onto the battlefield and his leadership at all times was close and personal. Today things are very different. I cannot lead you into battle. I do not give you laws or administer justice but I can do something else—I can give my heart and my devotion to these old islands and to all the peoples of our brotherhood of nations.

ELIZABETH II, Christmas address to Commonwealth, Dec. 25, 1957; annual event was televised for first time.

Now therefore I declare my will and pleasure that while I and my children shall continue to be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor, my descendants other than descendants enjoying the style, title or attributes of Royal Highness and the titular dignity of Prince or

Princess and female descendants who marry and their descendants who marry and their descendants, shall bear the name of Mountbatten-Windsor.

ELIZABETH II, decree incorporating family name of her husband, issued shortly before birth of Prince Andrew whose children would be first called Mountbatten-Windsor, *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1960.

We are fortunate to have inherited an institution [the House of Lords] which we certainly should never have had the intelligence to create. We might have been landed with something like the American Senate.

LORD ESHER (Oliver S. B. Brett, 3rd Viscount Esher), *Wall Street Journal*, May 2, 1963.

. . . That fascinating and paradoxical association of sovereign nations known as the Commonwealth.

GEOFFREY GODSELL, an editor of *The Christian Science Monitor*, writing on "The Commonwealth," Oct. 24, 1960.

We are proud of the stock from which we came. . . . This is no snobbery: it is not foolish pride. It is common piety that we honor our fathers and our mothers, that we praise famous men and the fathers who begat us.\*

LORD HAILSHAM (Quintin Hogg), addressing Lords during debate on peers' right to drop a title, quoted by Charles Hussey,† British editor, in article entitled, "Call Me Mister, Peers Request," *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1963.

Why employ intelligent and highly paid ambassadors and then go and do their work for them? You don't buy a canary and sing yourself. I therefore give notice that from about midsummer I shall go on strike and sit more in the control tower—just in time to avoid visiting a foreign secretary in the moon.

LORD HOME (Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home, 14th Earl of Home), Foreign Secretary, exhausted by "this business of perambulation," *New York Times*, April 21, 1961.

\* Within the year Lord Hailsham dropped his peerage to seek a seat in Commons and was thus quoted by *Newsweek*, Dec. 9, 1963: "If you have a name like Hogg, the first thing to establish is that you are proud of it. . . . Lord Hailsham is dead! God bless Quintin Hogg!"

† Of non-hereditary titles, Hussey wrote: "Life peers not only have no pride of noble ancestry, they also have no hope of noble posterity for their peerage dies with them. There are no coronets on their 24 male chromosomes."



. . . In spite of strong claims of several rivals, the right choice for us is the robin. . . In addition to slight differences of plumage, the British race of the robin is also distinguished from continental races by its open and exceptionally friendly behaviour to human beings in both town and country.

LORD HURCOMB (Cyril William Hurcomb, 1st Baron Hurcomb), chairman, British Section, International Council for Bird Preservation, announcing selection of the robin as Britain's national bird, *New York Herald Tribune*, Dec. 28, 1960.

You gave the world the guillotine  
But still we don't know why the heck  
You have to drop it on our neck.  
We're glad of what we did to you,  
At Agincourt and Waterloo.  
And now the Franco-Prussian War  
Is something we are strongly for.  
So damn your food and damn your wines,  
Your twisted loaves and twisting vines,  
Your table d'hôte, your à la carte,  
Your land, your history, your art.  
From now on you can keep the lot.  
Take every single thing you've got,  
Your land, your wealth, your men, your dames,  
Your dream of independent power,  
And dear old Konrad Adenauer,  
And stick them up your Eiffel Tower.

ANTHONY JAY, programs editor, British Broadcasting Corp., on France's rejection of Britain as a member of Common Market, *Time*, Feb. 8, 1963.

It is the day we have all been looking forward to for over 14 years. It is the last day of food rationing. I regard it as a great privilege to be the Minister of Food on this day.

GWILYM LLOYD GEORGE, on lifting of controls on meat—the last rationed item of World War II, news reports of July 4, 1954.

He is forever poised between a cliché and an indiscretion.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, on office of Foreign Secretary (one of his former posts), *Newsweek*, April 30, 1956.

People are so much nicer to you in other countries than they are at home. At home, you always have to be a politician; when you're abroad, you almost feel yourself a statesman.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, Prime Minister, *Look*, April 15, 1958.

The wind of change is blowing through the continent.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, address to South African Parliament, Feb. 4, 1960. Later *The Christian Science Monitor* observed editorially that the Prime Minister had added a durable phrase to the language of freedom—the wind of change—and recalled that statesmen had been similarly inspired as long ago as 458 B.C. when Aeschylus in his *Libation-Bearers* wrote: "Zeus at last may cause our ill wind to change."

. . . A strange, a perverted creed that has a queer attraction both for the most primitive and for the most sophisticated societies. . . Once the bear's hug has got you, it is apt to be for keeps.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, on Communism, *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1961.

Power? It's like a Dead Sea fruit. When you achieve it, there is nothing there.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, *Parade*, July 7, 1963.

I was determined that no British government should be brought down by the action of two tarts.\*

HAROLD MACMILLAN, on withstanding demands that he resign following a sex scandal that shook Britain and caused War Minister John Profumo to leave the Cabinet, news reports of July 13, 1963.

. . . You must be like an oak tree—your branches spreading out widely so that the new saplings may grow in their shade. You must not be a beech tree, growing so straight that you give no shade to the next generation.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, on leadership of younger men who composed majority of his Cabinet, *Newsweek*, July 22, 1963.

\* This poem was widely quoted in Britain and the U.S. after Profumo admitted he had been false in March, 1963, in denying to Commons that there had been no truth in reports about his intimacy with Miss Christine Keeler.

What have you done? cried Christine.  
You've wrecked the whole party machine.  
To lie in the nude may be rude,  
But to lie in the House is obscene.

Commenting on the publicity, *Time*, June 21, 1963, referred to Miss Keeler as "Britain's fastest rising fallen woman."



I have never found, in a long experience of politics, that criticism is ever inhibited by ignorance.

HAROLD MACMILLAN, *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 13, 1963.

. . . A man of charm, charm, charm and luck, luck, luck.

LEONARD MOSLEY, describing Lord Mountbatten, *The Last Days of the British Raj*, Harcourt, Brace, 1962.

In the end it may well be that Britain will be honored by the historians more for the way she disposed of an empire than for the way in which she acquired it.

SIR DAVID ORMSBY GORE, ambassador to U.S., *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1962.

It's no good shutting your eyes and saying "British is best" three times a day after meals and expecting it to be so. We've got to work for it by constantly criticizing and improving.

PRINCE PHILIP, DUKE OF EDINBURGH, on national complacency, *Look*, Aug. 7, 1956.

All money nowadays seems to be produced with a natural homing instinct for the Treasury.

PRINCE PHILIP, DUKE OF EDINBURGH, *Wall Street Journal*, June 6, 1963.

The House of Lords can play only the part of a constitutional obstacle to progressive legislation. I and my party are for complete abolition of this chamber.

WOGAN PHILIPPS, second Baron Milford, "maiden speech" on becoming House of Lords' first Communist member, *Time*, July 12, 1963.

The real rulers of England are not so much in the center of a solar system, as in a cluster of interlocking circles, each one largely preoccupied with its own professionalism and expertise, and touching others only at one edge. . . . They are not a single Establishment but a ring of Establishments, with slender connections.

ANTHONY SAMPSON, *Anatomy of Britain*, Harper & Row, 1962.

Lord Hailsham said the other day that the machinery of government was creaking. My Lords, it is not even moving sufficiently to emit a noise of any kind.

LORD SANDWICH (Alexander V. E. P. Montague, 10th Earl of Sandwich), addressing House of Lords, *New York Times*, April 21, 1963.

Better "red" than dead.

Slogan of nuclear disarmament movement in England during the 1960's.

Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his friends for his life.

JEREMY THORPE, member of Parliament, on changes in the cabinet, *Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 20, 1962.

The British are a self-distrustful, diffident people, agreeing with alacrity that they are neither successful nor clever and only modestly claiming that they have a keener sense of humor, more robust common sense, and greater staying power as a nation than all the rest of the world put together.

THE TIMES, of London, in an editorial quoted in *Fourth Leaders From The Times*, 1950, Times Publishing Co., Ltd.

We can't vote for the President of the United States, but he is the most important executive officer we possess. We can't have any voice in who is to be Secretary of State, but he is the most important diplomatic officer we possess. You didn't ask for it; we didn't ask for it; but that is the situation.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE, on American elections, news summaries of Jan. 15, 1951.

Britain Friday withdrew the farthing from circulation as a coin of the realm because after 800 years it isn't worth a farthing any more.

UPI dispatch, *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 30, 1960.

Fortunately for the sons of Kings, the ceremonies with which British life abounds afford a series of nursery slopes down which a diffident and inarticulate Royal apprentice may be conducted, by gentle stages, into



public life at little risk to his own reputation, and without imposing too much embarrassment upon the people.

DUKE OF WINDSOR, in his biography, *A King's Story*, Putnam, 1951.

On the single occasion that I . . . set out from the Palace on foot, the cry of wounded tradition that went up could not have been louder had I traveled third-class by train to Windsor.

DUKE OF WINDSOR, *ibid.*

From her invincible virtue and correctness she looked out as from a fortress upon the rest of humanity with all of its tremulous uncertainties and distractions.

DUKE OF WINDSOR, on his mother, the dowager Queen Mary, *ibid.*

## India

### *The Population Explosion.*

CBS television program, Nov. 11, 1959, dealing with problems of India's rapidly increasing population. The title at once was adopted by advocates of birth control.

It is clear now—and this phenomenon is in itself sufficient to restore faith in the superiority of a free society—that the sacred soil of India has a concrete and potent meaning which has converted us overnight into a monolith in the face of the enemy. It is possible that nationhood requires to be tempered in the fires of war. If this is so, then we are ready now to be tested.

B. K. NEHRU, ambassador to U.S., *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1961, on eve of first anniversary of Communist Chinese invasion.

I am writing you about the humble broom. The normal Indian broom can be used only if one bends down to it or sits. A broom or brush with a long handle, which can be used while a person is standing, is far more effective and less tiring. All over the world these standing brooms are used. Why then do we carry on with a primitive method which is inefficient and psychologically wrong? Bending down to sweep in this way encourages subservience in mind.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, Prime Minister, letter to his ministers, supporting project of Mrs. Harriet Bunker, wife of U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, *Time*, Aug. 8, 1960.

All this business of Communism conquering the world. No doubt you can quote from their texts . . . [But] read the old tracts of any religion—they all wanted to conquer the world. Nevertheless they settled down after the first burst of enthusiasm. . . . When there are enough things to go around, it is far better to produce them than to break each other's heads.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, in television interview, *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 10, 1960.

Democracy is good. I say this because other systems are worse.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1961.

The very swiftness of the end showed the correctness of the Indian assessment.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, on seizure of Portuguese enclaves, Goa, Duma, and Diu, *Newsweek*, Jan. 1, 1962.

## Israel

In Israel, in order to be a realist you must believe in miracles.

DAVID BEN-GURION, Prime Minister, CBS-TV, Oct. 5, 1956.

I'm living in a house and I know I built it. I work in a workshop which was constructed by me. I speak a language which I developed. And I know I shape my life according to my desires by my own ability. I feel I am safe. I can defend myself. I am not afraid. This is the greatest happiness a man can feel—that he could be a partner with the Lord in creation. This is the real happiness of man—creative life, conquest of nature, and a great purpose.

DAVID BEN-GURION, on new country he helped to build, NBC-TV, Sept. 22, 1957.

The real thing . . . is that people throughout the world realize what happened in our very lifetimes.

DAVID BEN-GURION, during preparations for trial of Adolph Eichmann, *New York Journal-American*, March 16, 1961.



## 1020. Rosalyn Drexler

(1926- )

- 1 Working with women is a new adventure; it is exciting. We are pioneering, beginning again. There is a feeling of conspiracy, that we are going to forge ahead.

Quoted in *AFTRA Magazine*  
Summer, 1974

- 2 "I'm just a dog. Look, no opposable thumb."  
*The Cosmopolitan Girl* 1975
- 3 He visited the Museum of Modern Art, and was standing near the pool looking at his dark reflection when a curator of the museum noticed him. "My, my, what a fine work of art that is!" the curator said to himself. "I must have it installed immediately." Ibid.
- 4 We reject the notion that the work that brings in more money is not more valuable. The ability to earn money, or the fact that one already has it, should carry more weight in a relationship. Ibid.

## 1021. Marie Edwards

(1926?- )

- 1 Books, magazines, counselors, therapists sell one message to unmarrieds: "Shape up, go where other singles are, entertain more, raise your sex quotient, get involved, get closer, be more open, more honest, more intimate, above all, find Mr. Right or Miss Wonderful and get married."

*The Challenge of Being Single,*  
with Eleanor Hoover 1975

- 2 "... an intense, one-to-one involvement is as socially conditioned as a hamburger and malt. . . ." Ibid.

## 1022. Elizabeth II

(1926- )

- 1 My whole life, whether it be long or short, shall be devoted to your [the public's] service and the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong. But I shall not have strength to carry out this resolution alone unless you join in it with me.

Radio Broadcast April 21, 1947

## 1023. Cissy Farenthold

(1926- )

- 1 I am working for the time when unqualified blacks, browns and women join the unqualified men in running our government.

Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*  
September 18, 1974

## 1024. Wilma Scott Heide

(1926- )

- 1 The only jobs for which no man is qualified are human incubator and wet nurse. Likewise, the only job for which no woman is or can be qualified is sperm donor.

Quoted in *NOW Official Biography*  
1971

- 2 . . . we whose hands have rocked the cradle, are now using our heads to rock the boat. . . . Ibid.
- 3 . . . we will no longer be led only by that half of the population whose socialization, through toys, games, values and expectations, sanctions violence as the final assertion of manhood, synonymous with nationhood. Ibid.
- 4 The pedestal is immobilizing and subtly insulting whether or not some women yet realize it. We must move up from the pedestal. Ibid.
- 5 The path to freedom for women or men does not lie down the bunny trail! Ibid.
- 6 To date, we have taught men to be brave and women to care. Now we must enlarge our concepts of bravery and caring. Men must be *brave enough to care* sensitively, compassionately and contrary to the masculine mystique about the quality and equality of our society. Women must *care enough* about their families and all families to *bravely assert* their voices and intellects to every aspect of every institution, whatever the feminine mystique. Every social trait labelled masculine or feminine is in truth a human trait. It is our human right to develop and contribute our talents whatever our race, sex, religion, ancestry, age. Human rights are indivisible! Ibid.

- 7 As your president [of NOW] . . . I am one of thousands of us privileged to experience the joy, the risks, the gratifications, bone weariness, tragedies and triumphs of activist feminism. There are women and men and children in our lives and whose lives we touch who may never know how profoundly we care about ourselves and them and the quality of the world we must share and make liveable for all. We are self-helpers with the courage of our commitment. Quoted in *NOW Accomplishments* 1973

- 8 Now that we've organized [NOW] . . . all over the United States and initiated an international movement and actions, it must be apparent that feminism is no passing fad but indeed a profound, universal behavior revolution.

Quoted in "About Women,"  
*Los Angeles Times*  
May 12, 1974



Let Pitt then boast of his victory to his nation of shopkeepers.

—BERTRAND BARÈRE (1755-1841) before the French National Convention, 1794

England is the mother of parliaments.

—JOHN BRIGHT (1811-1889) Speech, 1859

If I should die, think only this of me:

That there's some corner of a foreign field

That is forever England.

—RUPERT BROOKE (1887-1915) *The Soldier*

Oh, to be in England,  
Now that April's there.

—ROBERT BROWNING (1812-1889) *Home-Thoughts from Abroad*

England is a paradise for women and hell for horses; Italy a paradise for horses, hell for women, as the proverb goes.

—ROBERT BURTON (1577-1640) *Anatomy of Melancholy*

Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her march is o'er the mountain waves,  
Her home is on the deep.

—THOMAS CAMPBELL (1777-1844) *Ye Mariners of England*

God save our gracious king,  
Long live our noble king,

God save the king.

—HENRY CAREY (d. 1743) *God Save the King*

The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, all

that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age, made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, 'This was their finest hour.'

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874- ) Speech, June 18, 1940

If it is thought best for France in her agony that her Army should capitulate, let there be no hesitation on our account, because whatever you may do we shall fight on for ever and ever and ever.

—Idem (to Paul Reynaud, at time of the fall of France, 1940)

Dash the bomb on the dome of Paul's—

Deem ye the fame of the Admiral falls?

Pry the stone from the chancel floors,—

Dream ye that Shakespeare shall live no more?

Where is the giant shot that kills Wordsworth walking the old green hills?

—HELEN GRAY CONE (1859-1934) *A Chant of Love for England*

For Englishmen especially, of all the races of the earth, a task, any task, undertaken in an adventurous spirit acquires the merit of romance.

—JOSEPH CONRAD (1857-1924) *Under Western Eyes*

Fee, fi, fo, fum!

I smell the blood of an Englishman.

—ENGLISH FOLK TALE *Jack and the Bean Stalk*

Merry England.

—ENGLISH PHRASE

Hearts of oak are our ships,

Jolly tars are our men,

We always are ready, steady, boys,  
steady,

We'll fight and will conquer again  
and again.

—DAVID GARRICK (1717-1779) *Hearts of Oak*

He is an Englishman!

For he himself has said it,

And it's greatly to his credit,

That he's an Englishman!

For he might have been a Rooshian

A French or Turk or Prooshian,

Or perhaps Ital-i-an.

But in spite of all temptations

To belong to other nations,

He remains an Englishman.

—SIR WILLIAM S. GILBERT (1836-1911) *H.M.S. Pinafore*, Act I

For what there is of it—for such as it is—and for what it may be worth—will you drink to England and the English?

—RUDYARD KIPLING (1865-1936)

England expects every man to do his duty.

—HORATIO, VISCOUNT NELSON (1758-1805) (signal to the fleet at the battle of Trafalgar, 1805)

He that would England win, must with Ireland first begin.

—PROVERB

God and my right. [Dieu et mon droit.]

—MOTTO OF ROYAL ARMS OF ENGLAND (in memory of the victory of Richard I at Gisors, where it was the password of the day)

O England; model to thy inward greatness,

Like little body with a mighty heart,  
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,

Were all thy children kind and natural!

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616) *Henry V*, II, Prologue, 16

Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;

Or close the wall up with our English dead!

—*Ibid.* III, ii, 1

Heaven take my soul, and England keep my bones.

—Idem *King John*, IV, iii, 10

Come the three corners of the world in arms,

And we shall shock them. Nought shall make us rue,

If England to itself do rest but true.

—*Ibid.* V, vii, 116

The English take their pleasures sadly.

—DUC DE SULLY (1560-1641) *Mémoires*

That man's the true Conservative  
Who lops the moulder'd branch away.

Hands all round!  
God the tyrant's hope confound!

To this great cause of Freedom drink,  
my friends,

And the great name of England round  
and round.

—ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON (1809-1892) *Hands All Around*

Rule, Britannia! Britannia rules the waves!

Britons never shall be slaves.

—JAMES THOMSON (1700-1748) *Alfred*

On a fine day the climate of England is like looking up a chimney; on a foul day, like looking down one.

—UNKNOWN

When I see an Englishman subtle and full of lawsuits, I say "There is a Norman, who came in with William



the Conqueror." When I see any man good-natured and polite, "That is one who came with the Plantagenets"; a brutal character, "That is a Dane."  
—VOLTAIRE (1694-1778) *Philosophical Letters On the English*

He was inordinately proud of England, and he abused her incessantly.

—H. G. WELLS (1860-1946) *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*

Set in this stormy Northern sea,  
Queen of these restless fields of tide,  
England! what shall men say of thee,  
Before whose feet the worlds divide?

—OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900) *Ave Imperatrix*

I travelled among unknown men  
In lands beyond the sea;  
Nor, England! did I know till then  
What love I bore to thee.

—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850)  
*I Travelled Among Unknown Men*

They called thee Merry England in  
old time;

A happy people won for thee that  
name

With envy heard in many a distant  
clime.

—Idem *They Called Thee Merry England*

#### I. ENGLAND: PRAISE

Ask what you please; look where you will, you cannot get to the bottom of the resources of Britain. No demand is too novel or too sudden to be met. No need is too unexpected to be supplied. No strain is too prolonged for the patience of our people. No suffering or peril daunts their hearts.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874- )  
Speech, 1918

In all my life I have never been treated with so much kindness as by the people who have suffered most. One

would think one had brought some great benefit to them, instead of the blood and tears, the toil and sweat which are all I have ever promised.

—Idem Speech, October, 1940

They [the British] are the only people who like to be told how bad things are—  
—who like to be told the worst.

—Idem Speech, June, 1941

Nay, nay, sweet England, do not grieve!

Not one of these poor men who died  
But did within his soul believe

That death for thee was glorified.  
—WALTER DE LA MARE (1873- )  
*How Sleep the Brave*

The English nation is never so great as in adversity.

—BENJAMIN DISRAELI (1804-1881)  
Speech, 1857

If there be one test of national genius universally accepted, it is success; and if there be one successful country in the universe for the last millennium, that country is England.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882)  
*English Traits*

England produces under favorable conditions of ease and culture the finest women in the world. And, as the men are affectionate and true-hearted, the women inspire and refine them.

—*Ibid.*

A Frenchman must be always talking, whether he knows anything of the matter or not; an Englishman is content to say nothing when he has nothing to say.

—SAMUEL JOHNSON (1709-1784) in  
Boswell's *Life of Johnson*

Take of English earth as much  
As either hand may rightly clutch . . .  
Lay that earth upon thy heart,  
And thy sickness shall depart!

—RUDYARD KIPLING (1865-1936) *A Charm*

The strength of England lies not in armaments and invasions; it lies in the omnipotence of her industry, and in the vivifying energies of her high civilization.

—WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR (1775-1864) *Imaginary Conversations: Dascy and Merino*

The three wonders of England are the churches, the women and the wool.

—MEDIEVAL LATIN SAYING

The history of England is emphatically the history of progress.

—THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY (1800-1859) *Essays: Mackintosh's History of the Revolution*

There'll Always Be an England.

—ROSS PARKER and HUGHIE CHARLES  
Title of song, 1939

This England never did, nor never shall,

Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.  
—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)  
*King John*, V, vii, 112

This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,

This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

This other Eden, demi-paradise,  
This fortress built by Nature for herself

Against infection and the hand of war,  
This happy breed of men, this little world,

This precious stone set in the silver sea,

Which serves it in the office of a wall  
Or as a moat defensive to a house,  
Against the envy of less happier lands,  
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

—Idem *Richard II*, II, i, 140

I thank the goodness and the grace,  
Which on my birth have smiled,

And made me, in these Christian days,  
A happy English child!

—ANN TAYLOR (1782-1866) and JANE TAYLOR (1783-1824) *Rhymes for the Nursery*

Island of bliss! amid the subject seas,  
That thunder round thy rocky coasts,  
set up,

At once the wonder, terror, and delight

Of distant nations, whose remotest shore

Can soon be shaken by thy naval arm;  
Not to be shook thyself, but all assaults

Baffling, like thy hoar cliffs the loud seawave.

—JAMES THOMSON (1700-1748) *The Seasons: Summer*

Oh, it's a snug little island!

A right little, tight little island.

—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850)  
*The Snug Little Island*

#### II. ENGLAND: CRITICISM

The harlot's cry from street to street  
Shall weave old England's winding-sheet,

The winner's shout, the loser's curse,  
Dance before dead England's hearse.

—WILLIAM BLAKE (1757-1827) *Auguries of Innocence*

England, ah! perfidious England!

—JACQUES BÉNIGNE BOSSUET (1627-1704) Sermon, 1652

I am sure my bones would not rest in an English grave, or my clay mix with the earth of that country. I believe the thought would drive me mad on my deathbed, could I suppose that any of my friends would be base enough to convey my carcass back to your soil.

—GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON (1788-1824) Letter to John Murray, 1819



Though I love my country, I do not love my countrymen.

—Idem Letter to Count d'Orsay, 1823

In England there are sixty different religions, and only one sauce.

—FRANCESCO CARACCIOLI (1752-1799)

Be England what she will,  
With all her faults she is my country still.

—CHARLES CHURCHILL (1731-1764)  
*The Farewell*

England, with all thy faults I love thee still.

—WILLIAM COWPER (1731-1800) *The Task*

Twenty thousand thieves landed at Hastings. These founders of the House of Lords were greedy and ferocious dragoons, sons of greedy and ferocious pirates.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882)  
*English Traits*

Not only England, but every Englishman is an island.

—FRIEDRICH LEOPOLD VON HARDENBERG (1772-1801) *Fragments*

The Englishwoman cannot dress herself.

—BEN JONSON (1572-1637) *Volpone*, Act III

Oh England is a pleasant place for them that's rich and high,

But England is a cruel place for such poor folks as I.

—CHARLES KINGSLEY (1819-1875)  
*The Last Buccaneer*

They are strange people, the British. If their manners were as good as their courage is great, they would merit the opinion they have of themselves.

—SOMERSET MAUGHAM (1874- )  
*On a Chinese Screen*

Things they don't understand always cause a sensation among the English.

—ALFRED DE MUSSET (1810-1857) *The White Blackbird*

The Englishman has all the qualities of a poker except its occasional warmth.

—DANIEL O'CONNELL (1775-1874), attr.

England is the paradise of individuality, eccentricity, heresy, anomalies, hobbies, and humours.

—GEORGE SANTAYANA (1863- ) *Soliloquies In England*

There are only two classes in good society in England: the equestrian classes and the neurotic classes.

—GEORGE BERNARD SHAW (1856-1950)  
*Heartbreak House*

No Englishman has any common sense, or ever had or ever will have.

—Idem *John Bull's Other Island*, Act I

There is nothing so bad or so good that you will not find Englishmen doing it; but you will never find an Englishman in the wrong. He does everything on principle. He fights you on patriotic principles; he robs you on business principles; he enslaves you on imperial principles.

—Idem *The Man of Destiny*

Englishmen never will be slaves; they are free to do whatever the government and public opinion will allow them to do.

—Idem *Man and Superman*, Act II

We don't bother much about dress and manners in England, because, as a nation we don't dress well and we've no manners.

—Idem *You Never Can Tell*

How hard it is to make an Englishman acknowledge that he is happy.

—WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY (1811-1863) *Pendennis*

The English always manage to muddle through.

—UNKNOWN

Mad dogs and Englishmen go out in the noonday sun.

—UNKNOWN

A scientist says: Roast beef made England what she is today. Moral: Eat more vegetables.

—UNKNOWN

Those comfortably padded lunatic asylums which are known, euphemistically, as the stately homes of England.

—VIRGINIA WOOLF (1882-1941) *The Common Reader*

### III. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

English as She Is Spoke.

—P. CAROLINO Title of a "guide of the conversation in Portuguese and English," 1882

I would make boys all learn English; and then I would let the clever ones learn Latin as an honour and Greek as a treat. But the only thing I would whip them for is not knowing English. I would whip them hard for that.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874- )  
*Roving Commission*

English is the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty.

—JOHN MILTON (1608-1674) *Areopagitica*

Wondrous the English language, language of live men,

Language of ensemble, powerful language of resistance,

Language of a proud and melancholy stock, and of all who aspire,

Language of growth, faith, self-esteem, rudeness, justice, friendliness, prudence, decision, exactitude, courage.

—WALT WHITMAN (1819-1892) *As I Sat Alone*

The king's English.

—SIR THOMAS WILSON (?-1581) *The Arte of Rhetorique*

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue

That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold

Which Milton held.

—WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1770-1850)  
*It Is Not To Be Thought Of*

### IV. ENGLAND AND AMERICA

Let it roll. Let it roll on—full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and better days.

—WINSTON CHURCHILL (1874- )  
Message to Parliament, 1940

United we stand secure.

Let us then move forward together in discharge of our mission and our duty, fearing God and nothing else.

—Idem Speech, 1949

One thing has struck me as very strange, and that is the resurgence of the one-man power after all these centuries of experience and progress. It is curious how the English-speaking peoples have always had this horror of one-man power. They are quite ready to follow a leader for a time, as long as he is serviceable to them; but the idea of handing themselves over, lock, stock and barrel, body and soul, to one man, and worshipping him as if he were an idol—that has always been odious to the whole theme and nature of our civilization.

—Idem *Blood, Sweat and Tears*

England and the United States are natural allies, and should be the best of friends.

—ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT (1822-1885) *Personal Memoirs*

The snow lies thick on Valley Forge,  
The ice on the Delaware,



water, but may perhaps fairly protest against being drenched with the rinsings of an unclean imagination.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners*

It's a complex fate, being an American, and one of the responsibilities it entails is fighting against a superstitious valuation of Europe.

HENRY JAMES, letter, 1872

They hired the money, didn't they?

CALVIN COOLIDGE, of French and British difficulty in paying war debts

These wars in Europe are not wars in which our civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder. There is no Genghis Khan or Xerxes marching against our Western nations. This is simply one more of those age-old struggles within our own family of nations.

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, speech, America First rally, 1940

The Wave of the Future.

ANNE MORROW LINDBERGH, title of book, 1940. The book advocated domestic reforms in keeping with those of certain European countries.

When I was in Mexico, two years ago, my sleep was constantly disturbed by the barking of wild dogs which, besides their discordant howling, constitute a great danger of epidemics in the American influence zone. Thus I had the idea to have these animals exported to Europe to feed the hungry inhabitants.

COLONEL ROBERT R. MCCORMICK, in the *Chicago Tribune*, during national debate concerning the sending of food to Europe, 1946

If only we could shake off Europe! Fussy and censorious mother, spend-thrift sibling, run-down neighbor, complaining grandparent, shameless sponge and smuggest critic, she is surely the most infuriating of our burdens. If we could cast that weight into the mill pond, would we not then be as free as a cloud . . . ?

The thirteen-year old does not understand that the concealed object of his impatience is neither parent, friend nor cousin but himself, and that it

is himself from whom he hopelessly seeks to flee. Is it so with us and our image of Europe?

JAMES BURNHAM, *What Europe Thinks of America*, "Introduction," 1953

We Americans have always thought either too much or too little of ourselves, as we have thought either too much or too little of Europe. As in the nineteenth century we thought too much of Europe, so we are in danger of thinking too little of it now.

VAN WYCK BROOKS, "A Writer's Notebook," *Nation*, November 14, 1953

## GREAT BRITAIN

We must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1802

The feudal system survives in the steep inequality of property and privilege, in the limited franchise, in the social barriers which confine patronage and promotion to a caste, and still more in the submissive ideas pervading these people. The fagging of the schools is repeated in the social classes. An Englishman shows no mercy to those below him in the social scale, as he looks for none from those above him: any forbearance from his superiors surprises him, and they suffer in his good opinion. But the feudal system can be seen with less pain on large historical grounds. It was pleaded in mitigation of the rotten borough, that it worked well, that substantial justice was done. Fox, Burke, Pitt, Erskine, Wilberforce, Sheridan, Romilly, or whatever national man, were by this means sent to Parliament, when their return by large constituencies would have been doubtful. So now we say, that the right measures of England are the men it bred; that it has yielded more able men in five hundred years than any other nation; and, though we must not play Providence, and balance the chances of producing ten great men against the comfort of ten thousand mean men, yet retrospectively we may strike a balance, and prefer one Alfred, one Shakespeare, one Milton, one Sidney, one Raleigh, one Wellington, to a million foolish democrats.

The American system is more democratic, more humane; yet the American people do not yield better or more able men, or more inventions or



books or benefits, than the English. Congress is not wiser or better than Parliament.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *English Traits*

I saw everywhere in the country proofs of sense and spirit, and success of every sort: I like the people; they are as good as they are handsome; they have everything and can do everything; but meantime, I surely know that as soon as I return to Massachusetts I shall lapse at once into the feeling, which the geography of America inevitably inspires, that we play the game with immense advantage; that there and not here is the seat and centre of the British race; and that no skill or activity can long compete with the prodigious natural advantages of that country, in the hands of the same race; and that England, an old and exhausted island, must one day be contented, like other parents, to be strong only in her children.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Ibid.*

Steam is almost an Englishman. I do not know but they will send him to Parliament next, to make laws.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Ibid.*

It is difficult to speak adequately or justly of London. It is not a pleasant place; it is not agreeable, or cheerful, or easy, or exempt from reproach. It is only magnificent. You can draw up a tremendous list of reasons why it should be insupportable. The fogs, the smoke, the dirt, the darkness, the wet, the distances, the ugliness, the brutal size of the place, the horrible numerosity of society, the manner in which this senseless bigness is fatal to amenity, to convenience, to conversation, to good manners—all this and much more you may expiate upon. You may call it dreary, heavy, stupid, dull, inhuman, vulgar at heart and tiresome in form. I have said all these things at times so strongly that I have said, "Ah, London, you too are impossible?" But these are occasional moods; and for one who takes it as I take it, London as a whole is the most possible form of life. I take it as an artist and a bachelor; as one who has the passion of observation and whose business is the study of human life. It is the biggest aggregation of human life—the most complete compendium of the world.

HENRY JAMES, 1876

The English are the only people who can do great things without being clever.

HENRY JAMES, spoken to Alice James, 1891

King George does not reign—he only sprinkles.

JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE, when he was Ambassador to England, c. 1905

I know why the sun never sets on the British Empire. God wouldn't trust an Englishman in the dark.

DUNCAN SPAETH

Never burn an uninteresting letter is the first rule of British aristocracy; never let a banality perish, but transcribe it and file it as a *bon mot*. The delight of the British aristocracy over a bit of commonsense, such as is quite ordinarily met with in other walks of life, has always been a marvel to those who have had the mental advantages of a humble origin. In the best British families, a word or two of commonsense is often preserved as an heirloom.

FRANK MOORE COLBY, *The Colby Essays*, "A Note on the Literature of Malicious Exposure"

Suppose my neighbor's home catches fire, and I have a length of garden hose. . . . If he can take my garden hose . . . I may help him to put out the fire. Now what do I do? I don't say to him . . . "Neighbor, my garden hose cost me \$15; you have to pay me \$15 for it." . . . I don't want \$15—I want my garden hose back after the fire is over.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, press conference, explaining Lend-Lease, 1940. Senator Burton K. Wheeler: "Lend-Lease would plow under every fourth American boy."

England was consciously refusing the twentieth century; knowing full well that they had gloriously created the nineteenth century and perhaps the twentieth century was going to be too many for them.

GERTRUDE STEIN, *Paris, France*, 1940

This war is lost. . . . It is not within our power today to win the war for England, even though we throw the entire resources of our nation into the conflict.

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, April 19, 1941

Beneath this East River Drive [at East 25th Street] of the City of New York lie stones, brick, and rubble from the bombed City of Bristol. . . .



These fragments that once were homes shall testify while men love freedom to the resolution and fortitude of the people of Britain.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, inscription for East River Drive, Manhattan

### FRANCE

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Every man has two countries, France and his own (*Chaque homme a deux patries, la sienne et la France*).

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

France, freed from that monster, Bonaparte, must again become the most agreeable country on earth. It would be the second choice of all whose ties of family and fortune give a preference to some other one, and the first choice of all not under those ties.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1814

Good Americans, when they die, go to Paris.

THOMAS GOLD APPLETON

He came down the rue de la Paix in the sun and, passing across the Tuileries and the river, indulged more than once—as if on finding himself determined—in a sudden pause before the bookstalls of the opposite quay. In the garden of the Tuileries he had lingered, on two or three spots, to look; it was as if the wonderful Paris spring had stayed him as he roamed. The prompt Paris morning struck its cheerful notes—in a soft breeze and a sprinkled smell, in the light flit, over the garden-floor, of bare-headed girls with the buckled strap of oblong boxes, in the type of ancient thrifty persons basking betimes where terrace-walls were warm, in the blue-frocked, brass-labelled officialism of humble rakers and scrapers, in the deep references of a straight-pacing priest or the sharp ones of a white-gaitered, red-legged soldier. He watched little brisk figures, figures whose movement was as the tick of the great Paris clock, take their smooth diagonal from point to point; the air had a taste as of something mixed with art, something that presented nature as a white-capped master-chef. . . .

In the Luxembourg gardens he pulled up; here at last he found his nook, and here, on a penny chair from which terraces, alleys, vistas, foun-

tains, little trees in green tubs, little women in white caps and shrill little girls at play all sunnily "composed" together, he passed an hour in which the cup of his impressions seemed truly to overflow.

HENRY JAMES, *The Ambassadors*, 1903

French is so poverty-stricken that about the only way a person can say anything intelligible is the right way.

ALBERT JAY NOCK, *A Journal of These Days*, 1934

On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, speech describing the Italian attack on France

The last time I see Paris will be on the day I die. The city was inexhaustible, and so is its memory.

ELLIOT PAUL, *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, 1942

### RUSSIA

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The sum of my certainty is that America has a very clear century of start over Russia, and that western Europe must follow us for a hundred years, before Russia can swing her flail over the Atlantic.

HENRY ADAMS, letter to Elizabeth Cameron, 1901

I am half crazy with fear that Russia is sailing straight into another French revolution which may upset all Europe and us too. A serious disaster to Russia might smash the whole civilized world. Other people see only the madness; I see only the ruin. Russia is completely off her head.

HENRY ADAMS, letter to Elizabeth Cameron, 1904

Our so-called civilization has shown its movement, even at the centre, arrested. It has failed to concentrate further. Its next effort may succeed, but it is more likely to be one of disintegration, with Russia for the eccentric on one side and America on the other.

HENRY ADAMS, letter to Brooks Adams



W. Fulbright. This description followed the release, 5 Feb., 1951, of a report by a Senate committee, headed by Fulbright, that charged irregularities in the functioning of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and connected them to "an influence ring with White House contacts."

<sup>1</sup> Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run.

MARK TWAIN, *The Facts Concerning My Recent Resignation*.

<sup>2</sup> Intelligence appears to be the thing that enables a man to get along without education. Education appears to be the thing that enables a man to get along without the use of his intelligence.

ALBERT EDWARD WIGGAM, *The New Decalogue of Science*.

<sup>3</sup> We must believe the things we teach our children.

WOODROW WILSON. (COHN, *The Fabulous Democrats*)

<sup>4</sup> Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education. Justice to them, the welfare of the States in which they live, the safety of the whole Republic, the dignity of the elective franchise,—all alike demand that the still remaining bonds of ignorance shall be unloosed and broken, and the minds as well as the bodies of the emancipated go free.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, *Yorktown Oration*, 19 Oct., 1881.

## EGGS

<sup>5</sup> All the goodness of a good egg cannot make up for the badness of a bad one.

CHARLES A. DANA, *The Making of a Newspaper Man*, maxim 5.

<sup>6</sup> There is always a best way of doing everything, if it be to boil an egg.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Behavior*.

<sup>7</sup> No wonder, Child, we prize the Hen, Whose Egg is mightier than the Pen.

OLIVER HERFORD, *The Hen*.

<sup>8</sup> Can you unscramble eggs?

J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

<sup>9</sup> Put all your eggs in one basket, and—watch the basket.

MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar*.

## EGOTISM

See also Conceit, Self-Love, Vanity

<sup>10</sup> The pest of society is egotists.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Culture*.

<sup>11</sup> It is an amiable illusion, which the shape of our planet prompts, that every man is at the top of the world.

EMERSON, *Table-Talk*.

<sup>12</sup> E is the Egotist dread

Who, as some one has wittily said,

Will talk till he's blue

About Himself when you

Want to talk about Yourself instead.

OLIVER HERFORD, *The Egotist*.

<sup>13</sup> When a man tries himself, the verdict is usually in his favor.

EDGAR WATSON HOWE. (*New American Literature*, p. 490)

<sup>14</sup> Intolerance itself is a form of egoism, and to condemn egoism intolerantly is to share it.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, *Words of Doctrine*, p. 151.

<sup>15</sup> When I'm playful, I use the meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude for a seine, and drag the Atlantic ocean for whales. I scratch my head with the lightning and purr myself to sleep with the thunder.

MARK TWAIN, *Life on the Mississippi*.

## ENDURANCE

<sup>16</sup> Behold, we live through all things,—famine, thirst,

Bereavement, pain; all grief and misery, All woe and sorrow; life inflicts its worst On soul and body,—but we can not die, Though we be sick and tired and faint and worn,—

Lo, all things can be borne!

ELIZABETH AKERS ALLEN, *Endurance*.

<sup>17</sup> The victory of endurance born.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, *The Battle-Field*, st. 8.

<sup>18</sup> All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, *Inaugural Address*, 20 Jan., 1961, after summarizing his goals.

<sup>19</sup> I don't understand why we're suddenly so fatigued. The struggle won't be over in this century.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, *Statement at press conference*, Washington, D.C., 14 Nov

1963. He was referring to Congressional reluctance to accept his foreign-aid program. He added, "I feel certain that whoever succeeds me as President of the United States will continue it." Eight days later he was succeeded by Lyndon B. Johnson.

<sup>1</sup> Sorrow and silence are strong, and patient endurance is godlike.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, *Evangeline*, pt. ii, sec. 1, l. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Endurance is the crowning quality, And patience all the passion of great hearts.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *Columbus*.

## ENEMY

<sup>3</sup> They love him, gentlemen, and they respect him, not only for himself, but for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will; but they love him most for the enemies he has made.

GOVERNOR EDWARD S. BRAGG of Wisconsin, *Speech*, seconding the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the presidency at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 9 July, 1884. "They" referred to the young men of Wisconsin; "enemies," to Tammany Hall, which opposed the nomination.

<sup>4</sup> The truly civilized man has no enemies.

CHARLES F. DOLE, *The Smoke and the Flame*.

<sup>5</sup> The assailant makes the strength of the defense. Therefore, we ought to pray, give us a good enemy.

EMERSON, *Journal*, 1865.

<sup>6</sup> Do good to thy friend to keep him, to thy enemy to gain him.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanac*.

<sup>7</sup> Love your Enemies, for they tell you your Faults.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard*, 1756.

<sup>8</sup> You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am

Yours, Benjamin Franklin.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Letter to William Strahan*, 5 July, 1775.

<sup>9</sup> Nobuddy ever fergits where he buried a hatchet.

KIN HUBBARD, *Abe Martin's Broadcast*.

<sup>10</sup> We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have

strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Inaugural Address*, 4 Mar., 1861.

<sup>11</sup> If we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each man's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, *Driftwood*.

<sup>12</sup> None but yourself, who are your greatest foe.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, *Michael Angelo*, pt. ii, sec. 3.

<sup>13</sup> The man who has no enemies has no following.

DONN PIATT, *Memories of the Men Who Saved the Union: Preface*.

<sup>14</sup> A man's greatness can be measured by his enemy.

DONN PIATT, *Memories of Men Who Saved the Union: Appendix*.

<sup>15</sup> It takes your enemy and your friend, working together, to hurt you to the heart: the one to slander you and the other to get the news to you.

MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar*.

<sup>16</sup> I'm lonesome. They are all dying. I have hardly a warm personal enemy left.

J. A. MCNEILL WHISTLER. (SEITZ, *Whistler Stories*)

<sup>17</sup> I no doubt deserved my enemies, but I don't believe I deserved my friends.

WALT WHITMAN. (BRADFORD, *Biography and the Human Heart*, p. 75)

## ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH

<sup>18</sup> A nation of shopkeepers.

SAMUEL ADAMS, *Oration* said to have been given in the State House, Philadelphia, 1 Aug., 1776. There is doubt as to whether the oration was actually delivered; no American edition is known, though copies of a professed English reprint exist. Adam Smith used the phrase in *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii, bk. iv, ch. 7 (1775).

Governments of nations of shopkeepers must keep shop also.

EMERSON, *Journal*, 1862.

<sup>19</sup> The English are not an inventive people; they don't eat enough pie.

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



<sup>1</sup> The sea which, according to Virgil's famous line, divided the poor Britons utterly from the world, proved to be the ring of marriage with all nations.

EMERSON, *English Traits*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> I find the Englishman to be him of all men who stands firmest in his shoes.

EMERSON, *English Traits*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Every one of these islanders is an island himself, safe, tranquil, incommunicable.

EMERSON, *English Traits*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> The stability of England is the security of the modern world.

EMERSON, *English Traits*, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> England has no higher worship than Fate. She lives in the low plane of the winds and waves, watches like a wolf a chance for plunder; . . . never a lofty sentiment, never a duty to civilization, never a generosity, a moral self-restraint.

EMERSON, *Journal*, 1862.

<sup>6</sup> An Englishman has firm manners. He rests secure on the reputation of his country, on his family, and his expectations at home. There is in his manners a suspicion of insolence. If his belief in the Thirty-nine Articles does not bind him much, his belief in the fortieth does:—namely, that he shall not find his superiors elsewhere.

EMERSON, *Journal*, 1868.

<sup>7</sup> England is my wife—America, my mistress. It is very good sometimes to get away from one's wife.

SIR CEDRIC HARDWICKE. (Associated Press obituary of Sir Cedric, datelined New York City, 6 Aug., 1964)

<sup>8</sup> Englishmen are not made of polishable substance.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, *Journals*, 13 Feb., 1854.

<sup>9</sup> His home!—the Western giant smiles,  
And twirls the spotty globe to find it;—  
This little speck the British Isles?

'Tis but a freckle,—never mind it!

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *A Good Time Going*.

<sup>10</sup> He [the Englishman] is like a stout ship, which will weather the roughest storm uninjured, but roll its masts overboard in the succeeding calm.

WASHINGTON IRVING, *Sketch Book: John Bull*.

<sup>11</sup> His very faults smack of the raciness of his good qualities.

WASHINGTON IRVING, *Sketch Book: John Bull*.

<sup>12</sup> An Englishman is never so natural as when he's holding his tongue.

HENRY JAMES, *The Portrait of a Lady*, ch. 10.

<sup>13</sup> This is the true character of the English Government, and it presents the singular phenomenon of a nation, the individuals of which are as faithful to their private engagements and duties, as honorable, as worthy as those of any Nation on earth, and yet whose government is the most unprincipled at this day known.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xii, p. 376.

<sup>14</sup> The real power and property of the government is in the great aristocratical families of the nation. The nest of office being too small for all of them to cuddle into it at once, the contest is eternal which shall crowd the other out. For this purpose they are divided into two parties, the INS and the OUTS.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xii, p. 376.

<sup>15</sup> Of all the sarse thet I can call to mind, England *doos* make the most onpleasant kind:

It's you're the sinner ollers, she's the saint;  
Wut's good's all English, all thet is n't ain't;

Wut profits her is ollers right an' just,  
An' ef you don't read Scriptur so, you must;

She's praised herself ontill she fairly thinks  
There ain't no light in Natur when she winks;

She's all thet's honest, honnable, an' fair,  
An' when the vartoo's died they made her heir.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *The Biglow Papers: Mason and Slidell*.

<sup>16</sup> Not a Bull of them all but is persuaded he bears Europa upon his back.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners*.

<sup>17</sup> The New World's Sons, from England's breasts we drew

Such milk as bids remember whence we came;

Proud of her Past, wherefrom our Present grew,

This window we inscribe with Raleigh's name.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Inscription on

the Raleigh window in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

<sup>1</sup> I have loved England, dearly and deeply,  
Since that first morning, shining and pure,  
The white cliffs of Dover I saw rising steeply

Out of the sea that once made her secure.

I had no thought then of husband or lover,  
I was a traveler, the guest of a week,  
Yet when they pointed "the white cliffs of Dover,"

Startled I found there were tears on my cheek.

ALICE DUER MILLER, *The White Cliffs of Dover*, stanzas i, ii. This first appeared in *Life*, 31 Mar., 1944.

<sup>2</sup> The expression "as right as rain" must have been invented by an Englishman.

WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, *The Country or the City*.

<sup>3</sup> And broad-based under all  
Is planted England's oaken-hearted mood,  
As rich in fortitude  
As e'er went worldward from the island-wall.

BAYARD TAYLOR, *America*.

<sup>4</sup> The English are mentioned in the Bible: Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar*.

<sup>5</sup> A power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech, 7 May, 1834.

(*Works*, vol. iv, p. 110)

<sup>6</sup> O Englishmen!—in hope and creed,  
In blood and tongue our brothers!  
We too are heirs of Runnymede;  
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed

Are not alone our mother's.  
JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER, *To Englishmen*.

## ENTHUSIASM

<sup>7</sup> He too serves a certain purpose who only stands and cheers.

HENRY ADAMS, *The Education of Henry Adams*, ch. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Nothing great was ever achieved without enthusiasm.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Circles*.

<sup>9</sup> Enthusiasm is the leaping lightning, not to be measured by the horse-power of the understanding.

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

<sup>10</sup> Every great and commanding moment in the annals of the world is the triumph of some enthusiasm.

EMERSON, *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures: Man the Reformer*.

<sup>11</sup> Two dry Sticks will burn a green One.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard*, 1755.

<sup>12</sup> A little ginger 'neath the tail  
Will oft for lack of brains avail.

T. F. MACMANUS, *Cave Sedem*.

<sup>13</sup> An ounce of enterprise is worth a pound of privilege.

FREDERIC R. MARVIN, *The Companionship of Books*, p. 318.

<sup>14</sup> I don't think I've come to it yet.  
BRANCH RICKEY, Reply to an interviewer when, at 77, Rickey was asked to name his greatest thrill in baseball.

## ENVY

<sup>15</sup> There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance.

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

<sup>16</sup> Things we haven't got we disparage.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Philistine*, vol. xxvii, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> Men always hate most what they envy most.

H. L. MENCKEN, *Prejudices*, ser. iv, p. 130.

<sup>18</sup> Pity is for the living, envy is for the dead.

MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar*.

## EQUALITY

<sup>19</sup> Every denial of freedom, every denial of equal opportunity for a livelihood, for an education, for the right to participate in representative government diminishes me. There, is the moral basis for our cause.

EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, paraphrasing John Donne, in commenting on the civil-



grams, amusing definitions, illustrations from biography, inspiring quotations, and anecdotes. In this book there are over 5,000 items on hundreds of subjects to help the toastmaster or speaker to discharge his responsibilities effectively. These items come from a great many past and present authors, philosophers, statesmen, businessmen, teachers, lawyers, and scientists. Men and women with brilliant minds and from numerous walks of life have made challenging, humorous, and inspiring observations.

It is inexcusable for a toastmaster to be dull. His remarks normally are brief as he introduces a speaker or a subject for discussion. Anything the person in charge of a meeting can do to make his own comments sparkle, arouse the interest of an audience, and win its attention, will help greatly to make a meeting successful. That means thorough preparation by the toastmaster if his performance is to be competent.

The book contains over 700 humorous stories, more than 1,300 epigrams, almost 725 examples of the wit and wisdom of world political leaders and famous persons, 200 inspirational quotations and illustrations, 240 toasts and sentiments for special occasions, more than 300 amusing and unusual definitions, over 200 unusual facts, stories, and quotations from biography, 350 proverbs of many nations, 160 stimulating thoughts of distinguished Americans, and hundreds of other items to help the toastmaster.

We believe this book presents an unusual amount of material which has not previously been so organized for toastmasters. The book is meant to be a practical, helpful reference book not only for toastmasters, but also for lawyers, teachers, salespeople, businessmen, ministers, union officials, and those in political positions who are called on frequently or occasionally for brief remarks. General readers will find humor, wisdom, and inspiration in the more than 5,000 items the book contains.

H.V.P.  
H.V.P., Jr.

## Humorous Stories, Anecdotes, and Verse

1 *Good Reason*

First mechanic: "Which do you prefer, leather or fabric for the upholstery in cars?"

Second mechanic: "I like fabrics. Leather is too hard to wipe your hands on."

2 *It Was Fresher Than*

A young army recruit was sent, by others in his company, to the commanding officer to complain that the bread served to them at mealtime wasn't too good.

"If George Washington had had that bread at Valley Forge, he would have eaten it with relish!" snapped the C.O.

"Yes, sir," replied the recruit, "but we don't have any relish!"

3 *A Whole Day*

The visitor to London was quite disgusted. "Rain, rain, rain, fog, fog, fog," he shouted to his guide. "When do you have summers in England?"

"I say," replied the guide. "That is a difficult question. Last year I believe it came on a Wednesday."

4 *Can't Change Them*

In her school essay on "Parents," a little girl wrote: "We get our parents at so late an age that it is impossible to change their habits."