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Roosevelt Speaks on Citizenship

(Continued From Page One.)

the Sorbonne lying in that famous section of Paris.

The largest hall in the handsome buildings of the Sorbonne, seating 3,000, was crowded long before the time set for the appearance of the former president.

The crowd swelled rapidly and even the heavy force of police, under the personal direction of Prefect Lepine, had difficulty in keeping order and maintaining a right of way through the throngs for the distinguished guests and the holders of admission cards.

Nine hundred English-speaking students had been selected to hear the address.

So terrific had been the demand for seats for two months that a score of extra clerks had been kept busy sending refusals, and M. Liard, rector, suffered a breakdown. He recovered for today's event, however.

The Sorbonne, oldest and most famous of French colleges, dates from 1253. It now comprises the three faculties of theology, science, and literature of the academy of Paris.

Confiscated in 1793 it was re-opened by Napoleon in 1808, and between 1884 and 1893 nearly \$5,000,000 was spent in new buildings, in one of which Mr. Roosevelt spoke today.

Mr. Roosevelt said, in part:

Strange and impressive associations rise in the mind of man from the New World who speaks before this august body in this ancient institution of learning. Before his eyes pass the shadows of mighty kings and warlike nobles, of great masters of law and theology; through the shining dust of the dead centuries he sees crowded throngs that tell of the power and learning and splendor of times gone by; and he sees also the innumerable host of humble students to whom clerkship meant emancipation, to whom it was well-nigh the only outlet from the dark twilight of the Middle Ages.

This was the most famous university of mediæval Europe at a time when no one dreamed that there was a New World to discover. Its services to the cause of human knowledge already stretched far back into the remote past at the time when my forefathers, three centuries ago, were among the sparse bands of traders, plowmen, wood-choppers and fisherfolk who in hard struggle with the iron unkindliness of the Indian-hunted land, were laying the foundations of what has now become the giant republic of the west.

Today I shall speak to you on the subject of individual citizenship, the one subject of vital importance to you, my hearers, and to me and my countrymen, because you and we are citizens of great democratic republics. A democratic republic such as each of ours—an effort to realize in its full sense government by, of, and for the people—represents the most gigantic of all possible social experiments. The one fraught with greatest possibilities alike for good and for evil. The success of republics like yours and like ours means the glory, and our failure the despair, of man kind, and for you and for us the question of the quality of the individual citizen is supreme. Under other forms of government, under the rule of one or of a very few men, the quality of the rulers is all-important. If, under such governments, the quality of the rulers is high enough, then the nation may for generations lead a brilliant career, and add substantially to the sum of world achievement, no matter how low the quality of the average citizen; because the average citizen is an almost negligible quantity in working out the final results of that type of national greatness.

But with you and with us the case is different. With you, here, and with us in my own home, in the long run, success or failure will be conditioned upon

FELL FROM HEAVEN

Creating Great Excitement in His Neighborhood.

(From the Bloomington, Ind., Daily Telephone.)

Mr. Martin Vanwick drove sixteen miles to town this morning to get three bottles of Root Juice. He said: "The remedy has done wonders at my house and everybody in my neighborhood is excited over it. If it had fallen from heaven it could not be any better. I wouldn't take a fortune for what it has done for my wife. Before taking Root Juice she was in bed and everyone thought her case was hopeless. Even water would sour on her stomach and gas would form and press up against her heart so that it would almost stop beating. Her tongue was badly coated and she would complain of a bitter, then a sour taste in her mouth. Sometimes her bowels would be running off and at other times she was badly constipated. The doctors said that her stomach, liver, kidneys and bowels were all badly diseased. When I got the first bottle of Root Juice she was reduced to a mere skeleton, and we feared that she couldn't take it, as no medicine we had tried lately would lay on her stomach, but the first dose of the Juice seemed to soothe her stomach and do her good. She has used hardly two bottles, but is now out of bed and is rapidly recovering strength, flesh and health. The number of people that are going to Hicks' drug store to inquire about the remedy is increasing daily, as so many of those who are using it are praising it very highly to their friends. It is sold for \$1 a bottle or three bottles for \$2.50. Many are buying three bottles at a time in order to save fifty cents.

"77"

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the way in which the average man, the average woman, does his or her duty, first in the ordinary, every-day affairs of life, and next in those great occasional crises which call for the heroic virtues. The average citizen must be a good citizen if our republics are to succeed. The stream will not permanently rise higher than the main source; and the main source of national power and national greatness is found in the average citizenship of the nation. Therefore it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high; and the average cannot be kept high unless the standard of the leaders is very much higher.

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles or where the door of opportunity has been closed. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, and comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be filled by those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat. Shame on the man of cultivated taste who permits refinement to develop into a fastidiousness that unfits him for doing the rough work of a workaday world.

Let those who have, keep, let those who have not strive to attain, a high standard of cultivation and scholarship. Yet let us remember that these standards need to be raised, and that there is need of a sound body, and even more need of a sound mind. But above mind and above body stands character—the sum of those qualities which we mean when we speak of a man's force and courage, of his good faith and sense of honor. I believe in exercise for the body, always provided that we keep in mind that physical development is a means and not an end. I believe, of course, in giving to all the people a good education. But the education must contain much besides book-learning in order to be really good.

Such ordinary every-day qualities include the will and the power to work, to fight at need, and to have plenty of healthy children. The need that the average man shall work is so obvious as hardly to warrant insistence. There are a few people in every country so born that they can lead lives of leisure. These fill a useful function if they make it evident that leisure does not mean idleness; for some of the most valuable work needed by civilization is essentially non-remunerative in its character, and of course the people who do this work should in large part be drawn from those to whom remuneration is an object of indifference. But the average man must earn his own livelihood. He should be trained to do so, and he should be trained to feel that he occupies a contemptible position if he does not do so; that he is not an object of envy if he is idle, at which ever end of the social scale he stands, but an object of contempt, an object of derision.

Finally, even more important than ability to work, even more important than ability to fight at need, is to remember that the chief blessings for any nation is that it shall leave its seed to inherit the land. It was the crown of blessings in Biblical times and it is the crown of blessings now. The greatest of all curses is the curse of sterility, and the severest of all condemnations should be that visited upon willful sterility. The first essential in any civilization is that the man and the woman shall be father and mother of healthy children, so that the race shall increase and not decrease. If this is not so, if through no fault of the society there is failure to increase, it is a great misfortune. If the failure is due to deliberate and willful fault, then it is not merely a misfortune, it is one of those crimes of ease and self-indulgence of shrinking from pain and effort and risk, which in the long run Nature punishes more heavily than any other.

Character must show itself in the man's performance both of the duty he owes himself and of the duty he owes the state. The man's foremost duty is owed to himself and family; and he can do this duty only by earning money, by providing what is essential to material well-being; it is only after this has been done that he can hope to

build a higher superstructure on the solid material foundation; it is only after this has been done that he can help in movements for the general well-being.

Of course, all that I say of the orator applies with even greater force to the orator's latter-day and more influential brother, the journalist. The power of the journalist is great, but he is entitled neither to respect nor admiration because of that power unless it is used aright. He can do, and he often does, great good. He can do, and he often does, infinite mischief. All journalists, all writers, for the very reason that they appreciate the vast possibilities of their profession, should bear testimony against those who deeply discredit it. Offenses against taste and morals, which are infinitely worse if made into instruments for debauching the community through a newspaper. Mendacity, slander, sensationalism, insanity, rapid triviality, all are potent factors for the debauchery of the public mind and conscience. The excuse advanced for vicious writing, that the public demands it and that the demand must be supplied, can no more be admitted than if it were advanced by the purveyors of food who sell poisonous adulterations.

In short, the good citizen in a republic must realize that he ought to possess two sets of qualities, and that neither avails without the other. He must have those qualities which make for efficiency; and he must also have those qualities which direct the efficiency into channels for the public good. He is useless if he is inefficient. There is nothing to be done with that type of citizen of whom all that can be said is that he is harmless. Virtue which is dependent upon a sluggish circulation is not impressive. There is little place in active life for the timid good man. The man who is saved by weakness, from robust wickedness is likewise rendered immune from the robust virtues. The good citizen in a republic must first of all be able to hold his own. He is no good citizen unless he has the ability which will make him work hard and which at need will make him fight hard. The good citizen is not a good citizen unless he is an efficient citizen.

The citizen must have high ideals, and yet he must be able to achieve them in practical fashion. No permanent good comes from aspirations so lofty that they have grown fantastic and have become impossible and indeed undesirable to realize. The impracticable visionary is far less often the guide and precursor than he is the embittered foe of the real reformer, of the man who, with stumblings and shortcomings, yet does in some shape, in practical fashion, give effect to the hopes and desires of those who strive for better things.

We can just as little afford to follow the doctrinaires of an extreme individualism. Individual initiative, so far from being discouraged, should be stimulated; and yet we should remember that, as society develops and grows more complex, we continually find that things which once it was desirable to leave to individual initiative can, under the changed conditions, be performed with better results by common effort. It is quite impossible, and equally undesirable, to draw in theory a hard and fast line which shall always divide the two sets of cases. This every one who is not cursed with the pride of the closest philosopher will see, if he will only take the trouble to think about some of commonest phenomena. For instance, when people live on isolated farms or in little hamlets, each house can be left to attend to its own drainage and water supply; but the mere multiplication of families in a given area produces new problems which, because they differ in size, are found to be not only in degree but in kind from the old; and the questions of drainage and water supply have to be considered from the common standpoint. It is not a matter for abstract dogmatizing to decide when this point is reached; it is a matter to be tested by practical experiment. Much of the discussion about socialism and individualism is entirely pointless, because of failure to agree on terminology. It is not good to be the slave of names. I am a strong individualist by personal habit, inheritance and conviction; but it is a mere matter of common sense to recognize that the state, the community, the citizens acting together, can do a number of things better than if they were left to individual action. The individualism which finds its expression in the abuse of physical force is checked very early in the growth of civilization, and we of today should in our turn strive to shackle or destroy that individualism which triumphs by greed and cunning, which exploits the weak by craft instead of ruling them by brute force. We ought to go with any man in the effort to bring about justice and the equality of opportunity, to turn the tool user more and more into the tool owner, to shift burdens so that they can be more equitably borne. The deadening effect on any race of a logical and extreme socialistic system could not be overstated; it would spell sheer destruction; it would produce grosser wrong and outrage, fouler immorality, than any existing system. But it does not mean that we may not with great advantage adopt certain of the principles professed by some given set of men who happen to call themselves Socialists; to be afraid to do so would be to make a mark of weakness on our part.

To say that the thriftless, the lazy, the vicious, the incapable, ought to have the reward given to those who are far-sighted, capable, and upright, is to say what is not true and cannot be true. Let us try to level up, but let us beware of the evil of leveling down. If a man stumbles, it is a good thing to help him on his feet. Every one of us needs a helping hand now and then. But if a man lies down, it is a waste of time to try to carry him; and it is a very bad thing for every one if we make men feel that the same reward will come to those who shrink their work and to those who do it.

So much for the citizenship of the individual in his relations to his family, to his neighbor, to the state. There remain duties of citizenship which the state, the aggregation of all the individuals, owes in connection with other states, with other nations. Let me say at once that I am no advocate of a foolish cosmopolitanism. I believe that a man must be a good patriot before he can be a good citizen of the world. Experience teaches that the average



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