

SENATOR TOM COTTON'S SPEECH AT THE 2015
FEDERALIST SOCIETY NATIONAL LAWYERS
CONVENTION

BY SENATOR TOM COTTON*

Thank you, Gene, for the very kind introduction, and thank you all for the warm welcome. It is always an honor to speak to The Federalist Society. Back when I was a student and lawyer, as Eugene mentioned, I belonged to The Federalist Society because I believed in individual freedom, constitutional government, the rule of law, and the free enterprise system. I hold those beliefs firmly still today, even as a recovering lawyer.

But I also have a less abstract and more personal affinity for you now. I met my wife at a Federalist Society lunch. Shortly after being sworn into the House of Representatives, I spoke to the local lawyers chapter. My wife, Anna, attended that day, and she's here with us today as well. If she could recount our meeting, it would have a long back story with lots of explanation about mutual interest and mutual friends who encouraged her to attend and meet me and so on and so forth. But since I have the privilege of wielding the microphone today, I will tell my shorter, yet 100 percent truthful version. I gave a speech, and a pretty girl gave me her phone number afterwards.

It's particularly humbling to speak to you again on this occasion, the 15th Annual Barbara K. Olson Memorial Lecture. I am truly grateful for the honor, and Ted, thank you for being here today. I didn't know Barbara personally. Of course, I knew Barbara from her frequent television appearances and her writing in the 1990s. She was a fierce advocate for limited government and individual liberty. Barbara also worked tirelessly to expose the Clinton machine's corruption and abuse of power. It was a target-rich environment back then, as it is today. And Barbara had excellent aim.

I did meet Barbara once at the annual summer barbecue she and

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Ted hosted for Federalist Society students at their home. Many of you probably attended a similar party in those days, and you probably recall Barbara's warmth, her passion, her zest for life. However vivacious, thoughtful, and graceful she may have seemed on television, the screen still didn't do her justice. She made a big impression on me, as she did on so many others.

I was, therefore, deeply saddened when she died a few weeks later, one of the nearly 3,000 Americans killed on September 11, 2001. Right away, though, I learned, to no one's surprise, that Barbara didn't sit quietly by as Flight 77 hurdled towards the Pentagon. In those most fearful and chaotic moments, Barbara had the courage and the presence of mind to call her husband, Ted, not only as a husband, but as a high-ranking official at the Department of Justice who could alert the authorities. When the call dropped, she called back.

Ted explained back then that Barbara was enormously, remarkably, incredibly calm, but she was calculating. She was wondering, "What can I do to solve this problem?" Barbara wasn't cowered by those terrorists. She refused to meekly surrender. As they say in the Army, she went out with her boots on. That made an even bigger impression on me. To the best of my knowledge, Barbara was the only person whom I knew killed in the 9/11 attacks, though I've known too many killed because of those attacks.

Barbara's actions that day and in all the days prior and the character displayed by her actions set a high example for us all, though she would not live to know it. That's the thing about character. It echoes through the ages, far beyond one's own earshot. It's impossible to know how many lives Barbara touched, but it must have been a lot.

I can share one story I do know, a story about a young woman called Susan Grant. Barbara and Susan had a lot in common. Both grew up in Middle America, Barbara in Texas and Susan in Nebraska. Both were Catholics of German descent. Both loved and lived the arts. Barbara was a ballerina, performing in San Francisco and New York. Susan was also a dancer as well as a singer and an actress. In fact, Susan moved to Hollywood at the tender age of seventeen to perform and study at the Academy of Dramatic Arts. Somewhat surprisingly, for Susan, like Barbara, was a political conservative. Susan joined a union, just as Ronald Reagan had done during his acting career. Barbara made her own unlikely

sojourn to Hollywood hoping to earn the money needed to pursue her dream of going to law school, which she did. And here is where the story moves from coincidence to influence and inspiration. Barbara went to Cardozo Law School at Yeshiva University in New York, something of a peculiar choice for a Catholic girl from Texas. Ted says that people told her she wouldn't fit in and that she would be miserable. Far from it. Barbara thrived, becoming immensely popular, and founding the Cardozo Federalist Society chapter.

Years later, with Hollywood behind her, Susan came to the exact same crossroads looking at law schools in New York. Admitted to Cardozo and intrigued by it, she nonetheless wondered if a Catholic girl from Nebraska could ever fit in there. Then, in the school's promotional material, she read a profile of Barbara who had died just a few months earlier. Susan had never met Barbara but recognized and admired her from television appearances and from her writing. Susan took the plunge and followed Barbara's path to Cardozo.

Like Barbara before her, Susan thrived there. Before her third year, pursuing her interest in constitutional law, she interned in the Solicitor General's office, much as Barbara had interned in the Office of Legal Counsel. Returning for her final year at Cardozo, Susan earned the Barbara Olson Scholarship, which is awarded to female students at Cardozo who exemplify Barbara's ideals and values. What Barbara had founded, Susan took over, becoming the President of the Cardozo Federalist Society Chapter. While there probably weren't many more conservatives in Susan's time than there were in Barbara's, the chapter was equally active.

Neither Barbara nor Susan took the typical path to a big New York law firm. Barbara went to Washington where she moved successfully from private practice to the U.S. Attorney's Office to Capitol Hill. Susan moved to Montana where she clerked for the Supreme Court and then, like Barbara, became a federal prosecutor. Susan left her dream job to move to Wyoming where her parents had retired and her father had fallen ill. She went into private practice as she helped care for her father who thankfully recovered. Then, like Barbara, Susan ultimately made her way to our Nation's Capital going to work for the CIA and devoting herself to keeping our country safe. In matters known and as yet unknown to all but a handful of Americans, Susan is entrusted with our nation's most sensitive secrets.

Today, Susan is also the most trusted confidante of a United

States Senator. Most important of all, she's the new mother to a baby boy, Gabriel, my son—my son, Gabriel Cotton—because Susan Grant was my wife's stage name in Hollywood.

I tell this improbable story to demonstrate my larger point. The character we display and the example it sets extend far beyond our ability to comprehend. Barbara never met my wife, and she could not have known that her example would inspire Anna at critical moments in Anna's life.

How does one develop such character? The word itself comes from a Greek word that means "to etch or engrave."¹ This suggests that a lot of work must be done to develop character, and once done, it will be lasting. Aristotle, the first great teacher of character, wrote a lot about this concept.² The only way to develop character is the hard way: the way of making each choice, each day for a thousand days and then for a thousand more, the way of listening to one's conscience when pleasure beckons or pain repels, of developing one's judgment to see good both in the circumstances immediately present and the eternal truths.³

Aristotle teaches that true virtue isn't merely knowing the good, but also doing it.⁴ He says we are not studying in order to know what virtue is, but to become good,⁵ for otherwise there would be no profit in it. The key to character development for Aristotle is practical wisdom: the ability to observe circumstances combined with the knowledge of right principles, to reach sound judgments in moral matters.⁶ The habitual exercise of practical wisdom in every situation is what ultimately leads to virtue.⁷ But, Aristotle observes, "to do all this to the right person, to the right extent, at the right time, for the right reason, and in the right way is no longer something easy . . . [wherefore] good conduct is rare, praiseworthy, and noble."⁸

1. *Character*, MERRIAM-WEBSTER'S COLLEGIATE DICTIONARY (11th ed. 2008).

2. *See generally* ARISTOTLE, NICOMACHEAN ETHICS (Martin Ostwald trans., Prentice Hall 1999).

3. *Id.* at 33–35 (explaining how intellectual and moral virtue is the result of good habits).

4. *Id.* at 38–40.

5. *Id.* at 35 ("[W]e are not conducting this inquiry in order to know what virtue is, but in order to become good, else there would be no advantage in studying it.").

6. *Id.* at 152–54 (defining the virtue of practical wisdom). Some translations call this same virtue "prudence." *See, e.g.*, ARISTOTLE, NICOMACHEAN ETHICS 89–90 (Terence Irwin trans., Hackett Publishing 2d ed. 1999).

7. ARISTOTLE, NICOMACHEAN ETHICS 170–73 (Martin Ostwald trans., Prentice Hall 1999) (showing that the virtue of practical wisdom is tied to "virtue in the full sense").

8. ARISTOTLE, *supra* note 2, at 50.

In the virtuous soul, the desires and the judgment cooperate in this fashion to produce good action reliably and persistently, despite danger, despite wariness, despite temptation. The man or woman of good character can be depended upon. Moreover, this kind of practical wisdom and virtue, this kind of character isn't only a good in itself, though it is that. It also influences and inspires others by its example.

In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, for instance, he explains that one of the most powerful kinds of argument is the example,⁹ which moves from particular case to particular case by induction. Aristotle ties argument- by-example to ethos: the influence of character and credibility on speech and persuasion.¹⁰ The point here is that the development of sound character doesn't end with one's own excellence, but also has a practical effect on how others act and are influenced.¹¹ Good character not only inspires, it makes a kind of argument that has a persuasive and compelling effect on others, whether individually or as a people. It has an effect on what they believe and how they will act. Put simply, in the words of Aristotle, a soul never thinks without the image of another.¹²

Probably the simplest and most memorable statement about the power of good character and its ability to inspire and influence comes from Jesus, as is often the case. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus preached:

Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.¹³

Truly, a city upon a hill cannot hide. It is there for all to see, good or bad. The city can be brilliantly lit, a shining beacon of hope, or it can be dark and foreboding. The same is true for each

9. ARISTOTLE, *THE RHETORIC AND THE POETICS OF ARISTOTLE* 26 (W. Rhys Roberts trans., Modern Library 1984).

10. *Id.* at 22 ("Persuasion is clearly a sort of demonstration, since we are most fully persuaded when we consider a thing to have been demonstrated. The orator's demonstration is an enthymeme, and this is, in general, the most effective of the modes of persuasion.")

11. *Id.* at 90–91 ("[The orator] must also make his own character look right Particularly in political oratory . . . it adds much to an orator's influence that his own character should look right and that he should be thought to entertain the right feelings towards his hearers . . .").

12. ARISTOTLE, *DE ANIMA (ON THE SOUL)* 208–09 (Hugh Lawson-Tancred trans., Penguin Books 1986).

13. *Matthew* 5:14–16 (King James).

of us. We cannot hide our character. It is there for all to see. What we can do is build our character, to light our candle, so that others may see our flame and walk in its path.

Not only do individuals have character, though, nations have a character too, and none more so than America. After all, the metaphor of a “City upon a Hill” is used more often in connection with our national character than our personal virtue. Most people associate the metaphor with Ronald Reagan, yet the image of America as the “City upon a Hill” goes all the way back to 1630 when John Winthrop preached to his fellow pilgrims aboard their ship *Arbella* while waiting to disembark in what became New England.¹⁴ Winthrop did not mean this in a prideful or a boastful way. On the contrary, he exhorted his fellow pilgrims to walk in the path of the Lord, and to act honestly by Him and by each other. Winthrop knew America would be an example to the world. He wanted to be sure it was a *good* example.

Reagan resurrected this particular metaphor,¹⁵ but Americans have always seen our country as an example for the world. Not surprisingly, the first paragraph of the Federalist Papers begins with this very point:

It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. . . . [A] wrong election of the part we shall act may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.¹⁶

Our Founders did not think this important question was settled by any means. The long and sorrowful litany of failed republics (both ancient and modern) cataloged throughout the Federalist Papers demonstrates just how hard it is to establish and preserve

14. Governor John Winthrop, A Model of Christian Charity (1630) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/1Qca9QL> [perma.cc/3HE7-WKVW]).

15. E.g., Ronald Reagan, We Will Be a City Upon a Hill (Jan. 25, 1974) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/1Mc2AOK> [perma.cc/UU6H-6FZH]); Ronald Reagan, Election Eve Address (Nov. 3, 1980) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/22ouz5f> [perma.cc/M4YP-28K6]); Ronald Reagan, Farewell Address to the Nation (Jan. 11, 1989) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/1Oj2GTe> [perma.cc/3XKF-6A76]).

16. THE FEDERALIST NO. 1, at 27 (Alexander Hamilton) (Clinton Rossiter ed., Signet Classic 2003).

free government.¹⁷ America was richly blessed from its earliest days: a New World, a free people, plentiful land, abundant natural resources, and the protection of oceans. If the American experiment failed despite all these blessings, how could the people of the Old World—so crowded and cramped, riven with ethnic and religious animosity, burdened with historical injustice—ever expect to live in freedom? While the whole world might not live in freedom if America succeeded, surely no one would if America failed. A failed America would indeed be a great misfortune for all of mankind.

Facing the very real risk of such failure, Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address cast the Civil War in the same universal terms: “[O]ur fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure.”¹⁸ The familiarity of these words can obscure the deep truth they contain about America and our national character. The Civil War in Lincoln’s eyes wasn’t simply an American war but a war for human freedom for all the ages. Why would that be so? Most civil wars, terrible though they are, merely exchange one set of strong men with another. But America is not like most countries. America was born so that we might rule ourselves.

America had fathers, fathers who brought forth a new nation, and that in itself is remarkable. Most nations aren’t new, and they don’t have birthdays, at least not old and great nations. The old nations of Europe have existed in one form or another across the centuries, the moment of their beginnings lost in the mists of time. But we Americans know our birthday—July 4th, 1776—and we know our fathers. We also know the circumstances of our conception: in liberty, dedicated to the natural equality of all mankind and self-government based on reflection and choice—the only government worthy of a free people.

This is what Margaret Thatcher meant when she said, “[t]he European nations are not and can never be like [America]. They are the product of history and not of philosophy.”¹⁹ Yet we also

17. THE FEDERALIST NO. 6, at 48–54 (Alexander Hamilton) (Clinton Rossiter ed., Signet Classic 2003) (noting the histories of Sparta, Athens, Rome, Carthage, Venice, Holland, and England as illustrative of the difficulties in establishing and preserving a republic).

18. Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address (Nov. 19, 1863) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/1bXCawX> [perma.cc/27GC-A4L3]).

19. Margaret Thatcher, Speech at Hoover Institution Lunch (Mar. 8, 1991) (transcript

know the circumstances of our conception were imperfect, and it took a great Civil War to preserve our nation as one dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. America had its new birth of freedom. Our nation was born again in the blood of our countrymen in a war whose dead nearly outnumber those killed in all our other wars combined.²⁰ To quote the fifth stanza of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*: “As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free.”²¹ Without their sacrifice, America would have failed, and it would have suggested that no free nation can long endure.

But we did not fail. We fought for the principle of justice. We showed the world that a free nation such as ours can endure and that it is worth fighting for. That is one reason why our founding and the Civil War are so important, and why they belong not only to us Americans, but to all mankind for all the ages. That is why America has been a beacon of hope and aspiration throughout the world. Look at everything that has resulted from the simple, brilliant light of human equality put upon a hill. From an uncertain birth, our Constitution is now the oldest written governing charter in the world.²² We govern ourselves as free men and women from the Congress to the school board. Despite all our sharp political differences, we transfer power peacefully between parties and people. America based its politics on the natural rights of mankind. We got our politics right, and many material blessings flowed from that.

In just 170 years, America went from a global backwater to the greatest superpower in history.²³ Not only do we possess the world’s largest and most advanced economy, we also provide one of the highest standards of living ever known to the working man, with unlimited opportunity for advancement and success.²⁴ In America,

available at <http://bit.ly/1R6OwCR> [<https://perma.cc/RV8S-34PH>].

20. Jennie Cohen, *Civil War Deadlier Than Previously Thought?*, HISTORY IN THE HEADLINES (June 6, 2011), <http://bit.ly/1VeLTW2> [perma.cc/5G3D-P2U4].

21. *Civil War Music: The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, CIVIL WAR TRUST, <http://bit.ly/1R6R1oR> [perma.cc/PE6V-BV9F] (last visited Mar. 17, 2016).

22. John H. Killian, *Constitution of the United States*, SENATE.GOV., <http://1.usa.gov/1mZ9h9Q> [perma.cc/HY9M-4DE2] (last visited Apr. 7, 2016) (stating that “the United States Constitution is the world’s longest surviving written charter of government.”).

23. Ian Bremmer, *These Are the 5 Reasons Why the U.S. Remains the World’s Only Superpower*, TIME (May 28, 2015), <http://ti.me/1LN9EN4> [perma.cc/3E9S-R9XL]; GEORGE C. HERRING, FROM COLONY TO SUPERPOWER: U.S. FOREIGN RELATIONS SINCE 1776 (2008).

24. *Gross Domestic Product 2014*, THE WORLD BANK DATABANK, <http://bit.ly/1iz15uj> [perma.cc/WM9T-DTP9] (last visited Apr. 7, 2016) (ranking the United States’ Gross Domestic Product highest in the world as of 2014); *Human Development Report 2015*, UNDP

equality is not just an abstract ideal. In practice, it means we champion self-reliance and individualism. Anyone who works hard and plays by the rules warrants equal dignity and respect. He is entitled to the fruits of his labor, and rightly chafes against undue infringements and meddling in his affairs.

Success is respected in America. Class envy and resentment have always been much weaker political forces here than abroad. In America, as the saying goes, a father and his son see a Rolls-Royce on the street, and the father says, "One day, son, we'll get you into that car." In too many other countries, the father says, "One day, son, we'll get him out of that car."

America's national character—free, equal, and independent—is attractive to people around the world. As Aristotle said of individual character, it inspires them and it influences them, which is why they emulate it and celebrate it.²⁵ When the oppressed Chinese rose up against their communist government in Tiananmen Square, they constructed a model of the Statue of Liberty²⁶—not Big Ben, not the Eiffel Tower, and certainly not the Kremlin. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Poland and Romania erected statues to Ronald Reagan.²⁷ Georgia named a street after George W. Bush, and Albania erected a statue in his honor.²⁸ Kosovo honored Bill Clinton with both a street and a statue.²⁹ But it is not only our presidents who the world finds so appealing. Hundreds of millions of people around the world watch our movies, listen to our music, dress in our fashions, use our technology, and travel to our country to study, work, and live.³⁰ Illegal immigration is a grave problem, to

(2015), <http://bit.ly/1lfu5e8> [perma.cc/GTD9-RERG] (ranking the U.S. eighth from among 49 countries worldwide that had achieved "very high human development," a category determined by a combination of variables, including labor statistics, gender development, population trends, health outcomes, education achievements, national income and resources, environmental sustainability, employment, human security, and international integration).

25. ARISTOTLE, *supra* note 12.

26. Noah Rayman, *5 Things You Should Know About the Tiananmen Square Massacre*, TIME.COM (June 4, 2014), <http://ti.me/1kEqYT0> [perma.cc/7C3B-QHS3].

27. *Poland Unveils Statue of Ronald Reagan in Warsaw*, FOXNEWS.COM (Nov. 21, 2011), fxn.ws/1QyP4Ax [perma.cc/8Z3L-3Z6Y]; Victor Lupu, *A Statue of Former U.S. President Ronald Reagan Will Be Unveiled in Ploiesti*, THE ROMANIA J. (Feb. 4, 2015), <http://bit.ly/1Xq1xvL> [perma.cc/54KN-YKSS].

28. Lizol, *Tbilisi Officials Name Street After Bush*, FREE REPUBLIC (Sep. 15, 2005), <http://bit.ly/1SNdixm> [perma.cc/9NVN-NVJG]; Fatos Bytyci, *Albanian Town Thanks George W. Bush with Statue*, REUTERS (July 6, 2011), reut.rs/1TfcGPy [perma.cc/P73P-NT4S].

29. Scott Allen, *8 U.S. presidents with Statues Abroad*, THE WEEK (Nov. 20, 2012), <http://bit.ly/1UKGeoK> [perma.cc/HD39-MBG9].

30. See generally PETER CONRAD, HOW THE WORLD WAS WON: THE AMERICANIZATION OF EVERYWHERE (2014) (surveying America's influence on the world from an international perspective); *Chapter 2. Attitudes Toward American Culture and Ideas*, PEW RESEARCH CENTER

be sure, but perhaps we should take pride in the fact that we live in a country that people are willing to die to reach, rather than a country that people are willing to die to escape.

Unfortunately but inevitably, our national character supplies an example not only to our friends, but also to our foes. We were targeted on 9/11 not for what we did, but for who we are: freedom's home and exemplar. As President Bush said just nine days after those attacks, "[t]hey hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other."³¹

In this regard, they weren't much different from the totalitarian ideologies we defeated in the 20th century, Nazism and communism. Whether marching under the banner of the swastika, the sickle, or the sword, these fanatics knew their ambition for world domination could not succeed as long as America lived. That's why Hitler declared war on the U.S., even though it was a terrible strategic mistake. That's why Soviet apparatchiks referred to the U.S. as the main enemy, as Russia's KGB state does again today. That's why Iran's ayatollahs still chant "Death to America."³²

In their hatred, though, they often miscalculate America's willingness and ability to fight the enemies of freedom, much as Hitler did. Most famously, Osama bin Laden called the United States a "weak horse," saying that people would root instead for the "strong horse" of Islamic radicalism.³³ Indeed, in his 1996 fatwa against the United States, bin Laden taunted us for cowardice, not for aggression and arrogance. He mocked American retreats from Lebanon, Yemen, and Somalia.³⁴ He believed America would retreat further, or even surrender, if attacked directly and on our own soil.

Ultimately, all of our past enemies, from Hitler to bin Laden, learned about American resolve the hard way. But new enemies have emerged and still question our commitment. The Islamic

GLOBAL ATTITUDES & TRENDS (June 13, 2012) <http://pewrsr.ch/1ROzTrZ> [perma.cc/K2NZ-ZAML] (detailing international attitudes toward America).

31. *Text: President Bush Addresses the Nation*, WASH. POST (Sep. 20, 2001), <http://wapo.st/My0Lh0> [perma.cc/GEB9-ZVDN].

32. Sam Wilkin & Babak Dehghanpisheh, *Iran's Top Leader Rejects U.S. 'Bullying' in Nuclear Talks*, REUTERS, (Mar. 21, 2015), <http://reut.rs/1QdYLDV> [perma.cc/N64P-74PS].

33. *Transcript of Bin Laden Videotape*, NPR (Dec. 31, 2001), <http://n.pr/211idfh> [perma.cc/8CBB-MPNM].

34. Bin Laden's Fatwa, PBS NEWSHOUR (Aug. 23, 1996), <http://to.pbs.org/1EARP3O> [perma.cc/9YEV-KQXJ] ("You have been disgraced by Allah and you withdrew; the extent of your impotence and weaknesses became very clear.").

State's so-called caliph, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, reportedly told Americans when he was released from detention during the Iraq War, "I'll see you guys in New York."³⁵ Such contempt for American power suggests that, despite the lessons of the past, our enemies remain unconvinced of the righteousness and the sturdiness of our character. In this regard, we may never fully convince them.

Here, then, I want to return to the "City upon a Hill." We must remember that the city is on a *hill*, not on an island or within a fortress. It must interact with the outside world. When they watch the city, some foreigners will grow jealous and resentful, coveting its prime territory and its riches, and they will come to take those things. Furthermore, the citizens must leave the city and descend into the valley to draw their water, and into the fields to grow crops and cultivate their herds. They must traverse the roads and build ports to cross the seas to exchange goods for those they lack. They will travel not only as merchants and traders, but also as tourists. For beautiful though the city may be, its citizens will surely want to discover the world.

In short, the "City upon a Hill" will not live in splendid isolation, nor can it adopt a pacifist creed and hope to survive. Walls will be needed, as will guards to protect those walls. An army and a navy must be raised to defend the borderlands, guard the valleys and the fields, secure the ports and open the sea lanes, and protect its citizens around the world. The city cannot easily do these things alone. It must make alliances with other cities and concern itself with their affairs, security, and conflicts.

None of this is to say that the city must lose its luster. On the contrary, the city can shine even brighter as an example for the world, representing not merely an abstract ideal of justice, but a very real commitment to defend it. The city, if it holds fast to its principles and is willing to fight for them, will inspire the just and terrify the wicked.

And here, I'll come back to Barbara and the union of our national and individual character, for the character of a city depends on the character of its citizens. The moral character esteemed by Aristotle is not spontaneous or natural. It must be taught, and it must be practiced.³⁶ So it is with our national

35. Kellan Howell, *'I'll See You Guys in New York,' ISIS Terror Leader Told U.S. Troops in 2009*, WASH. TIMES (June 14, 2014), bit.ly/1IHRiSV [perma.cc/3QQN-ZUR3].

36. ARISTOTLE, *supra* note 2, at 33–34 ("Intellectual virtue or excellence owes its origin and development chiefly to teaching, and for that reason requires experience and time. Moral virtue, on the other hand, is formed by habit This is corroborated by what

character. As Lincoln said:

Let reverence for the laws, be breathed by every American mother, to the lisping babe, that prattles on her lap—let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in Primers, spelling books, and in Almanacs;—let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the *political religion* of the nation³⁷

Our political religion—the natural equality of mankind and self-government founded upon the natural rights of mankind—is an invaluable yet fragile thing. In each generation we must recommit not only to our faith, but also to our willingness to fight for that faith. In doing so, we inspire and influence each other, and we remain the shining example for the world.

Barbara knew these things. She dedicated her life to them and ultimately gave her life for them. She knew that if there's nothing worth killing for or nothing worth dying for, then there's nothing worth living for. Our memorial today pays tribute to her life, but the best tribute of all is to follow her example every day as individuals and as a country. Thank you. God bless you. God bless America, and God bless the memory of Barbara Olson.

happens in states. Lawgivers make the citizens good by inculcating good habits in them").

37. Abraham Lincoln, *The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions: Address Before the Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Ill.* (Jan. 27, 1838) (transcript available at <http://bit.ly/1pIR1Cd> [perma.cc/96HN-KGEG]).