

DIARY

Book 129

Temple University Speech

June 16, 1938

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RE PROPOSED TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
COMMENCEMENT SPEECH

May 18, 1938.
3:30 p.m.

Present: Mr. Gaston
Mr. Haas
Mrs Klotz
Mr. White
Mr. Seltzer

Haas: Were you looking for Larry?

H.M.Jr: Yes, I sent for him.

Kieley, no interruptions for half an hour. Tell them on the phone. I don't want to be interrupted for half an hour.

(On phone) No interruptions for half an hour, until after - for half an hour.

H.M.Jr: I have this invitation from Temple University to make a commencement address, see? And I thought I'd let them know Friday whether I'm going to do it or not, see?

Gaston: Yes.

H.M.Jr: Well - and I wanted to talk out a little bit.

(Door opens)

I'm going to murder somebody.

Haas: Bet it's Larry.

(Seltzer comes in)

H.M.Jr: Hello, Larry. Larry, I've been asked to make a commencement address on the 16th.

Seltzer: Oh.

H.M.Jr: At Temple University. And I'm not going to make up my mind until Friday whether I'm going to do it or not, see?

Seltzer: Uh-huh.

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H.M.Jr: And of course, the difference between this and trying to do the one in New York is that in New York I had to make one on economic subjects and I couldn't go up and make a stuffed shirt address. I had to either give them something or nothing. This I could try to make a real address, and then, if my brain couldn't clear on this thing, I could always come through and tell the boys to be good and work hard and never be bad, and they'll make a success in life.

White: That's what they usually get.

H.M.Jr: I mean I could always fall back on that, so that - and so it isn't like the other thing, where you had a gun to your head and had to go through and talk about fiscal policy. So I feel a little bit more inclined to do it.

But what I'd like to do just this afternoon is for me to talk a little bit and tell you people some of the things I've got in my mind. See? And the thought that I had - I don't know whether this is at all a title which is original or not, but the title that I had in my mind was something like "Which Way America?" Now, what do I mean by that?

White: It's not original, but it's still good.

H.M.Jr: Well, who used it?

White: "Whither America?"

H.M.Jr: Well, who used it?

White: "Whither America?" It's common.

Seltzer: First thing that comes to anybody's mind is: "Fascism?"

H.M.Jr: Well, I was not thinking of that.

Seltzer: That's what I was afraid of.

H.M.Jr: Well, what I was thinking of - let's talk out - is the question of, were we - sort of an outgrowth of

yesterday's conversation -: are we here in Washington really in our hearts trying to model a government which is going to stay on a capitalistic system? That's what I had in mind, see? Or are we gradually - are all of these things pointing up towards state socialism? See?

And then, if that's what I want to talk about, discuss the things which we have done here which - some of the things which we have done which make a better capitalistic system. Now, I think - I mean for example, I think when Mr. Roosevelt came in United States Steel worked two shifts of twelve hours each. I think that's within five years.

White: I think they went to the 8-hour shift after that.

H.M.Jr: Yes. Now, you just take a thing like that as an example. I mean within five years we have gone from two shifts of twelve hours each to

White: One-fourth shift.

H.M.Jr: You - an 8-hour - eight hours?

White: When they work.

H.M.Jr: All right. O.K.

I mean now I got a lot of ideas, and one of the reasons that I want to do this thing is that, if it does nothing else, it may clarify my own thinking, and also some of the thinking for the people in the Treasury. And I'd like to set out the things that we have attempted to do along wages and hours and all that sort of thing, and try to justify it in a capitalistic country, see?

Now, I think that that whole question of a profit system and a capitalistic one is one of the fundamental things that bothers the business man a lot, and I'd like to take down all of what you might call the liberal things we have done and put them down on one side and see if you can justify them; or do they really point up towards state socialism? See?

Seltzer: Yes.

H.M.Jr: I once suggested to Harry - I don't think he did anything about it; he may have - or George - I don't know, one or the other - to take an inventory, and does business do better under a democratic form of government than it does under a totalitarian system? I asked somebody once to do that.

Haas: Yes. At the occasion we both were there. We have probably both done equally well on the subject.

White: The answer can be given rather quickly.

H.M.Jr: Well, what is the answer?

White: The answer is that: A, that

H.M.Jr: Talk louder.

White: You can take the position - you could take the position that not only do these various liberal measures make for better capitalism, or a better system of private enterprise rather than capitalism, but that capitalism can not survive without these liberalizing measures.

If you try to compare democracies versus totalitarian states now, you will have to fall back on the kind of reasoning which would be involved in your speech. You can't prove it by facts, because right now the democratic states aren't doing any too well. Therefore, you have to fall back on other things which I think that you can well do in your speech: to show that these things, in order to work, must be liberalized; that the reason they haven't worked is because they haven't been liberalized; and that every step that this administration has taken has been in the direction of making it possible for the system of private enterprise - free enterprise and competition to work.

H.M.Jr: Well, that - I mean I'm going to throw a lot of things at you, and as I say, I'm talking to myself.

Now, along that line, on this question of comparing democracies with state socialism, comes up the other idea which may be a part of it - is to take an inventory of the last five years in the United States and compare it Now, for example, we

still are able to finance, through deficit financing, this government at the lowest interest rates of any country in the world. England doesn't seem to be able to do that any more. The last - either county or federal, so to speak - loan that England made has been a complete failure.

Seltzer: Of course, you couldn't mention that in a speech - mention England.

H.M.Jr: No, but I - when I'm taking When I was in France for two days and I talked with Professor Rist for a little while, it was the best thing that happened to me, almost, at that particular time, because his opinion of the United States was so much better than our own. See? And I think now that if I should go to Europe next month and could talk to some of the people over there, I'd find that they, looking at us three thousand miles away, regard us so much more highly than we regard ourselves.

Seltzer: Oh, surely.

H.M.Jr: The result of which - most recent thing - I mean I'm throwing all these things out - England is sending 150 million dollars worth of gold to the North American continent. And why?

White: Not because she isn't a democracy. I mean we're on something else.

H.M.Jr: No, this is all stuff that I'm throwing out at you. Why does she send it here? Because the North American continent is the safest place to have wealth today. And why does Sweden send her money here? Not because she needs it here. They want it here because it is a safe place to have it. I mean there's an argument against American people that are carping so hard against our own conditions. But if they go over to England or France or Czechoslovakia, take a look at things there, then take a look at the United States, they would be awful glad they're doing business here. What?

Haas: For instance, these men yesterday talked about all these unsettling conditions. "We have no confidence. Have to do something to instill confidence." If

you asked any of those corporation heads, "Where on this globe would you rather set up business than the United States?" they'd say, "Right here," and if they made that comparison, they'd feel a lot better than they do today. I mean that's the same point you're developing.

H.M.Jr: Which gets it down to these boys - that they're going out in the world, and are they lucky that they are graduating from an American university, to go into American life? What would conditions be if they were graduating from a university in any other place in the world?

White: You can pin a lot on that.

H.M.Jr: I mean "You boys are so lucky and so fortunate that you are graduating today from an American university. Now let's take a look - supposing you were graduating from some other place. What opportunities would you have?"

White: That's a very good line.

H.M.Jr: "And what would you be facing the next ten or fifteen years?"

Another reason, as I say - last night at the house I had this young Kuehn, who is a brother-in-law of one of Mrs. Morgenthau's best friends - you know, from London, head of the Times bureau in London. He said, "Would you care to say - we're so blue, living in London - how do you feel about Europe, what's the future of Europe?"

So I said, "Well, I don't believe in my time - I don't think that I will live to see again a happy Europe. I don't think that I will live to see it. I mean such things as 'Federated States of Europe,' with these states living happily side by side, with their tariff barriers down, and with these people not" And I said they might - "You might just as well make up your mind that the big fellows are going to get bigger and the little countries are going to get smaller or disappear off the map, always remembering that Russia is the unknown factor."

But I mean I'm throwing a lot of ideas out, and

as I say, the thought of - as I say, going back to the idea "You're graduating here today, and what's your chance?"

Incidentally, they give a thousand degrees there.

"You boys who are graduating here today, what is your chance, which way are we heading, as against some fellow that would be graduating in any other university today?"

White: Let that be the - I mean I think we ought not to confuse it. Let that be the theme. Not where we are headed, which is involved, but "What is confronting you as compared with what would be confronting you in any other country?"

H.M. Jr: That's what I mean.

Gaston: General theme of confidence in the future of America. "There are admittedly difficult problems. But it is really a very new situation that we are facing, and the best chance of meeting this problem that affects the whole world, is under the democratic processes that we have in this country."

White: Not "the capitalistic system."

Gaston: No. "Democratic processes."

White: "The capitalistic system," which is another term for it, has a bad odor. The system of free enterprise, of competition, is involved in the democratic process, an essential part of that process, and you can include in that not only the various economic factors which you have mentioned, but all of the possibly equally or more important political factors: political factors in the sense of freedom of conscience, liberty, expression, opportunity, so on.

H.M. Jr: Now, that gets entirely away from the spending and the balancing the budget or trying to justify the November speech or anything else.

White: That's right.

H.M. Jr: What?

Haas: Make a very good speech, excellent speech for these boys.

Gaston: I think it would be a swell speech, and I think you can show that this flight to tyranny in the face of all the troubles of Europe is a temporary phase, an outworn method of government; it can't last.

White: Difficult thesis to prove, but ...

Gaston: Not so difficult.

Haas: The fact the American has - his refusal to meet the problems; that's the thing to tell the boys.

White: Wherein I think it has its significance - in addition to being appropriate, you can weave into that the justification for the New Deal.

H.M.Jr: Very possible.

Now, on this thing I'm going to say, "My purpose today is" The first thing - "Now, what are the things that I say? Five years ago, if I had addressed you, I would have said, 'Well, one of the things we're not entirely free from danger - we have to watch the situation in the Pacific,' and I'd say today any fear from the Pacific is removed. That thing for the next ten, fifteen, twenty years, and what's happened in the last year - that removes any fear from the Pacific." Now

White: I would agree.

H.M.Jr: You would?

White: Yes.

H.M.Jr: But I think it's interesting. I made that statement the other day. I mean if I had addressed the boys five years ago, everything we were doing, the whole question of maneuvering the fleet and everything else - always have to have Japan. I mean I'm not going to say Japan, I can say Pacific. Always would have had that. "But I say today that the United States has no enemy north, east, south, or west that she has to fear - today - and that any boy graduating from a university in any other place on the North

American - or the American continents, let's say that - the first thing he would have to ask in choosing his life's work - he couldn't help but - one of the things he would have to consider in his mind is, 'What's the chances of my being called to the colors?' And that with this thing in the Pacific, what's happened (without referring to the past year) - I prophesy that that fear of any young man graduating today - that he doesn't have to have that in his mind."

And then go on, and if you want to we can talk a little bit about what we have done with our Navy in the last five years and where it was when Mr. Roosevelt picked it up.

- White: Be a lot of things you put in at the start and cut out later. It's all right; we want plenty.
- H.M.Jr: I mean look at how it was when we stepped in here. We had a lousy Navy. I mean I saw that fleet review when Roosevelt was here the first year, and saw all those old washtubs go by.
- White: And now that the menace has been removed from the Pacific, we are making it bigger. Well, we'd have to leave that out of the picture, I think.
- H.M.Jr: That's all right.
- White: I mean within the same speech.
- H.M.Jr: Well, I mean - any way - how did we know, with a big Navy coming on, that Japan didn't face west instead of east?
- White: There is so much else in the speech that you - there's plenty of material.
- H.M.Jr: Let me just - I haven't got it all out of my system yet. And I think that the people - I know Dr. Warren always used to say that it always made all the difference in the world the year you were born. I mean the year you graduated and the year you went into business. Now, I'd like to ask you fellows - I mean, after all, the boy that graduated from the university in 1930 - he had a tough time.
- Haas: Yes.

H.M.Jr: Now, how about these boys graduating in '38?

Haas: Worse.

Seltzer: Tougher.

Klotz: Tough.

Seltzer: Very tough.

H.M.Jr: Can you give them anything to look forward to?

White: I think on the basis you outlined

Klotz: He's entitled to it. So much worse.

White: A fight to make those institutions which will give him a chance.

Haas: If they must graduate in '38, this is the best place. We're not sure it's the best time.

White: They have no choice as to the year or the month.

H.M.Jr: Well, all right, it's - but that's the thought. I mean "You're graduating in the year '38, and the idea - let's take an inventory of conditions in the world. And when we get through, you're mighty lucky you're graduating from Philadelphia, U.S.A."

White: That's right, that's the note you can sound, rather than that they are very fortunate in being born in a world of conflict; but the fact they're here

Gaston: It's the same world, Harry.

White: But with a lot of different problems. The only thing that's the same about it are the dimensions. I don't think that's the same.

Gaston: Same in just that respect you're talking about: world of conflict.

White: That's a very good standpoint. I think you can make a very appropriate and excellent speech. We can have in almost anything you want.

H.M.Jr: Thought of that while my teeth were being cleaned this morning.

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Klotz: That's a very good thought.

White: Your difficulty would be what to keep out.

H.M.Jr: I've had a lot of this stuff. It's just been kind of bubbling over, and I've been thinking, getting ready for this tonight.

White: Those speeches are usually long. Make them as short or long... But frequently they are three-quarters or an hour long.

H.M.Jr: Got something - take a look before we go what they did - the Philadelphia paper covering their graduation.

White: Is it marked there?

H.M.Jr: Yes.

From 20 to 30 minutes. Rather I didn't go over 30 minutes, which is plenty for

Haas: Yes. If you've got a theme

Gaston: 20, 25 minutes.

H.M.Jr: Would you ask for a radio hook-up? It's in the morning. Be easy to get it at that time. The university would love to have one; they've never had one.

Gaston: They'll probably do it automatically.

Seltzer: What day of the week?

H.M.Jr: It's the 16th.

Gaston: But I would tell - I think the

Klotz: Thursday.

Gaston: I think the best thing to do is tell Columbia and N.B.C. that you're going to do this speech, and tell them if they want it to get in touch with Temple University.

H.M.Jr: Well, I haven't accepted it yet. I wouldn't do this until Friday.

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White: (Looking at newspaper file) Did you see the thesis of Jesse Jones' - did you have a chance to go over these?

H.M.Jr: No, I haven't.

White: He spoke on the return of traditional American self-reliance, and warned that delay is dangerous. A return to self-reliance - I suppose that's taking government out of business. That would be Jones' thesis. That's June 10. That was last year. He was given a Doctor of Laws. Well, this is the same.

H.M.Jr: It's just his speech there.

White: I'll get the speech out. It's probably

H.M.Jr: They gave me the choice of an L.L.D. or Humane Letters.

Gaston: I think L.L.D. is much more appropriate.

White: L.L.D., without question.

Gaston: Much more appropriate. Humane Letters is more appropriate for an author.

White: Or poet. I should prefer, even if I had a choice, even if they were equally appropriate, I think, an L.L.D.

H.M.Jr: Jesse Jones, Humane Letters.

White: They gave Doctor of Laws.

Seltzer: The more usual thing is L.L.D. for public men.

White: Moreover, not very many people are familiar with the other. They wouldn't know what it is. Not as familiar; it's not as common.

Haas: You know, in Sweden - when I was going over - thinking of the speech - talking to the captain of the boat; he had a son who was just graduating from engineering in Sweden. He was very concerned about what the boy was going to do. He said, "There's no opportunity in Sweden. They only allow so many to

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go into the University to study engineering, because of their lack of opportunity. The state doesn't want to pay for their education along those lines." He said, "Formerly they could go to the United States." In other words, that was their outlook - of a boy born in Sweden: to come over here. But even that - he felt the opportunities weren't very good. So the situation abroad is very difficult for young men.

- White: Here's a peculiar thesis. This is by Dr. Reverend Daniel Poling. It's in the mid-year - I guess February he gave it. "The United States has no choice between Fascism and Communism, and must keep her faith in her own plan of American government." This must be a typographical error. Probably is "but must keep her own" "The United States has no choice between Fascism and Communism."
- H.M.Jr: Doesn't say which one.
- Gaston: What he means to say is that one is as bad as the other and we mustn't choose either of them.
- White: I imagine so, but the excerpt is not clear there.
- Seltzer: Of course, you're going to have a little difficulty in not making the tone something like this: "You boys are not going to do so very well, the outlook is very dour, but see how much worse it is elsewhere." Well, you know that isn't very stimulating to a boy of 20, 22.
- Gaston: You can ...
- Seltzer: He's got to have some
- Gaston: You can deal with that, Larry. "The most satisfactory thing is to have a real job of work to do and do it well."
- White: Yes. "Life is a challenge." The thesis can be well developed. While we don't need to use that word, the idea is good.
- Seltzer: That is, you have to reach 50 or something like that to see something in Epictetus - things looking so much worse.

- H.M.Jr: Well, that isn't - well, that could be the theme, but that isn't exactly what I had in my mind. As I said, that - after all, here's the Treasury; we have the economic facts as to ... Take an inventory of the United States against an inventory of any other country in the world. And you listen to this young Kuehn, and they say it's just terrible the way the ground is sliding out from under the feet of England, and they - how depressed they are there; and he says the atmosphere - you can just cut it with a ... And he said he saw Sir John Simon the day after - of the Austrian thing, and he said the man was just as white as a sheet and had aged ten years.
- White: Too bad he didn't take on 30 or 40 more.
- H.M.Jr: And he felt the responsibility so keenly himself, see, for everything - League of Nations and all that. And I just - I just - listening to those people there ... It's perfectly true a fellow can drown in eight feet of water just as well as a hundred, but on the other hand I'd like to believe and like to try to build a case that if we are all down the ladder, the chances of going up are so much better in this country - getting back on your feet - for a young man than they are any other place. In other words, the jumping-off place and his chances of landing somewhere are so much better in the United States than anywhere else. Now, I honestly believe that. If I didn't
- Seltzer: I think we all do.
- H.M.Jr: What?
- Seltzer: I think we all do, without question. That isn't a hard thing to prove.
- H.M.Jr: Let's say we're all down, and whether this depression started here first or England first, conditions are terrible. But here the boy is starting out at 21; what are his chances for the next ten years?
- White: Well, to me the theme must be more than that which you have implied. In order to justify - in order to make a real speech, there must be the theme that in order to make good that promise, in order to insure

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that ability to climb, they have to support that philosophy and those measures which have an excellent chance of continuing the democratic institutions which will make that possible; and that's the time to bring forth support for the measures.

H.M.Jr: Now, if you want to - if you want to get personal and say that Mr. Pew - P-e-w - of the Sun Oil Company of Philadelphia, and his Republican candidate for Governor - gives us a very clear-cut demarcation as between what the Republican Party really stands for and what we are really trying to do. I don't think we want to - there would be a spot to do it - I don't think we ought to get down to that level.

But the fact remains that what's-his-name said at lunch - who did we have?

Gaston: Mellett? Clapper?

H.M.Jr: Clapper - that this fact - that now the Republican Party is starting all over again in Philadelphia with Mr. Pew's candidate - ultra-conservative, going back to the Vares and all that; now we can reorient this party, the Democratic Party, and really go forward on a liberal plane, we've got a marvelous opportunity still. I mean I'm just throwing this stuff out, you know.

Haas: Well, I think this is the big danger to America: failure to recognize fundamental forces which are taking place, which the New Deal has tended to foster; to go back to a reactionary position in which they closed their eyes and refused to see the situation which exists in this country, as well as some of the other countries, would be something that the youth of the country would have to fear. That's a little political-wise, but that's fundamentally sound.

White: Yes, it's fundamental. That's the thing that will throw them into the prospects in the future which are now confronting the youth of Europe. It is the fight for the liberalizing tendencies as represented - as reflected by the New Deal that holds forth the promise for those youth.

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Haas: Yes. That's the thesis.

H.M.Jr: Well, I'm just - the only reason that I'm undertaking this thing is that I'd like to - while it makes me very nervous and I get very much upset and I drive everybody else around here nuts, I think it is worth while to do it twice a year. And as I say, out of the thing - not only does it help me, but I think everybody in the Treasury more or less gets a chance to clear the cobwebs, and we haven't done anything like this now

Seltzer: Except financing.

H.M.Jr: Pardon me?

Seltzer: Except financing. You say we haven't anything else just now.

H.M.Jr: Oh well, that financing, that's child's play.

White: It's in the bag.

H.M.Jr: I mean that's just a question of how Scotch I want to be.

Haas: There's no interest any more, you know.

H.M.Jr: Yes, they're paying me for the privilege of borrowing. But I - the beauty of this speech is, if we fall flat in turning out a really A-1 speech, we can give them a pretty speech.

White: You can give them what they usually get. If it falls flat, you can give them what they usually get.

H.M.Jr: But I couldn't do that in New York. I had either to deliver a fiscal policy or nothing. And on that basis I am willing to accept.

White: They usually expect it before, so they'll be more or less pleasantly surprised.

Gaston: Put some news into it.

H.M.Jr: Now, are you fellows willing to take this on, the four of you, put your teeth into it?

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White: A pleasure.

H.M.Jr: What?

Seltzer: Sure.

Gaston: Yes.

H.M.Jr: Have you (Seltzer) the intestinal fortitude for this?

Seltzer: Oh sure.

H.M.Jr: I mean are you up to it?

Seltzer: After the financing, anyway.

H.M.Jr: Listen, you let me worry about the financing and you worry about the speech, and I'll pay for the milk.

Seltzer: O.K.

H.M.Jr: All right. Now, how are you going to - each fellow do his own and then - how do you usually work it? Do you go in your own huddles?

Gaston: I make a good suggestion, that we all go down to Key West and stay there for two weeks and come back with a speech.

Klotz: You can't go without me.

Haas: I'll make a suggestion how to do it.

Klotz: Can't go without me.

Haas: The way to get something started ...

H.M.Jr: I've got "speechitis."

Haas: ... - have to get something down on paper, no matter what it is. If Herbert writes something down on paper and we all get it, then

Seltzer: Lots of it must be down in there (Stenotype notes).

Klotz: That's the speech, yes.

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Gaston: We can start in by writing four speeches.

H.M.Jr: I think it's better - he'll do that and make four copies and give you what's there. Can you (reporter) type that up by noon tomorrow?

Reporter: I can if I work tonight.

H.M.Jr: Well, I would. It's a good suggestion. I never would have thought of it. We'll all have to suffer; now, you might as well. All right. And you can have Saturday morning off. How's that?

Reporter: Swell.

H.M.Jr: Then give them each a copy of what's here and let each fellow take it; then Monday or Tuesday we'll take a look at it, huh? Tuesday - today's Wednesday - I think you can do something like this, huh?

Gaston: Yes.

H.M.Jr: I think the boys can do it.

And of course - I don't know if you can - we can have this in, but no one has put up a good talk of what happened to the United States during the two years that England devalued and we stayed on the gold, and the fact that our competitive position in the world is just fine now and we are keeping our export business, with our favorable balance of a hundred million dollars a month, and that it has just been the anchor to the windward; and that our monetary policy is responsible for that, and, thanks to our monetary policy and the foresight of the tripartite agreement and all the rest of that stuff, we have been able to maintain our favorable position in the world's trade.

White: I'm reminded of the story of the Philippine boy, you know - Philippine boy in the United States. When he was asked by his professor to describe a cow, he said, "A cow is a four-legged animal with a tail and a head, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." All roads lead to our monetary position.

H.M.Jr: Well, there's a whole - but I have some friends at Ithaca who say that is the only thing that's any good in the whole New Deal - is the monetary thing.

Gaston: If you noticed Paul Mallon last night, he said desterilization of gold and the change in reserve requirements looked as if they might take hold and produce some revival in the capital markets.

H.M.Jr: But if you take the school of thought up there, that's the only thing that they can subscribe to in the New Deal.

But - I did notice Paul Mallon - but see what you can do. And it doesn't have to be too moral. I think you can do it.. Don't you (Seltzer)?

Seltzer: Uh-huh.

Haas: How many, about 25 minutes?

H.M.Jr: What do I do, 120 words a minute?

Gaston: About 120, yes. There would be 2400 words - thing ought to run from 2400 to 3000 words.

H.M.Jr: Well, I believe the boys will get restless.

Gaston: Ten pages.

H.M.Jr: I'd say not more than 2500 words.

Klotz: No.

Seltzer: Well, no figures to get, and so on, huh?

H.M.Jr: No. And this thing - there's no particular checking with the White House either.

Seltzer: I suppose the State Department would want to look at it for some of the things you say.

Gaston: They can read it in the paper.

H.M.Jr: We'll let Dan Roper read it too.

Well, if you people are willing to take on the burden, I'll tell them that I'll talk, if

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- Gaston: I think we should by all means.
- H.M.Jr: O.K. They - I don't like to rub it in, George, but you look so healthy, I'd like to take advantage of your health.
- Haas: O.K.
- H.M.Jr: I'll try to see that you stay healthy at the end of the speech.
- Haas: Well, we'll soon be getting summer vacation, I take it, so I can slide into that anyway.
- H.M.Jr: All right. Well now, you do four copies for these people and let's see what it looks like.

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I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938, and through them to the youth of America. My presence here is a particularly happy occasion for me because a few years ago this University paid a similar honor to my father.

There is much I should like to say, and yet I confess that I approach my opportunity with much the same trepidation as each of you approaches the new phase of life on which he is embarking. Ten years ago I should have been more confident. But no one who has been close to the seat of government and has had to grapple with the complex problems of the last decade can speak glibly of the road that is before you.

Were you graduating ten or more years ago you probably would have been assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and the growth of amity among the nations. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with unequalled, yet equal, opportunities for all. You would have been told of the

rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty.

I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties. In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling that change will be even more rapid in the months and years to come. The world today is one which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will attain a rich fulfillment.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud. Seldom in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

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You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and the driving force of individual initiative destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by ^{an imposed} ~~a totalitarian~~ philosophy -- ^a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on youth.

There every year ^{from kindergarten through university} new restraints are being put on the pursuit of knowledge. ^{There} Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war.

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is either non-existent or is being steadily whittled away.

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Even the elementary right to move freely from occupation to occupation is being drastically curtailed, while the opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or dying.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the ~~totalitarian~~ states, *which have abandoned democracy* It is being carried boldly

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and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes increasingly dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have "a rendezvous with destiny".

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you, the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged. You may study what and where you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will. You are not cogs in a war machine. You don't have to

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devote fruitful years of your life to the science of killing. You are not forced to put behind you for one, two, or three years all thought of creative effort, of cultural pursuits, of a full life and peaceful endeavor toward which you have been looking and for which you have so earnestly prepared. You are not compelled ^{en bloc} to doff your cap and gown for a uniform and entrain for an army camp.

All the liberties denied in the ^{non-democratic} ~~totalitarian~~ State are yours. They are yours because your Government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. In these disturbed times when freedom is being assailed throughout the world, those liberties will remain yours only so long as you give them your whole-hearted allegiance.

In my generation we took our liberties largely for granted. They were handed to us on a silver platter and we accepted them as a matter of course. Your generation cannot afford such complacency. The retention of the decencies and amenities of

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civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. None can afford to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him or that the outcome will not depend on his own efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

We must jealously guard our liberties against infringement. We must never forget that they will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic principles of democracy -- minorities as well as majorities -- are consistently protected and preserved. Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or State strikes at the liberties of all of us. When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by an individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

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We cannot expect our Government to do all the fighting for us. No truly democratic Government can move faster or farther than the people. But we do expect it to express the people's will for the defense of democracy; we do expect it to take the lead in anticipating the basic needs of the people.

How has our Government done that? How has it fostered the conditions under which our democratic institutions will thrive and the right to economic security become a meaningful reality?

Our Government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has ~~helped~~ ^{sought} to arrest the tide of war by rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to ~~recognize illegal~~ ^{condone} acts of aggression. In its dealings with small nations it no longer permits the intrigues of "~~dollar~~ diplomacy". It pursues the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin American nations. We are not among the warmongers. "The American nation hates war." It has sought peace and pursued it. It has taken the initiative in cooperative efforts to introduce order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade. Lastly, it has ~~built up a~~ ^{built up} Navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion.

At home our Government arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during

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the first years of the depression. To an extent unparalleled in history it provided useful work for the unemployed by a vast system of public works which have permanently increased the wealth of our country. It has introduced basic reforms long overdue. Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of speculation. Our banking system has been strengthened and made more flexible; the adoption of deposit insurance gives protection to the small depositor. The securities markets function as a concern fraught with public interest and must now bear the responsibilities which public interest demands. More equitable relations between capital and labor have been promoted, and we have taken the first and most difficult steps toward a system of social security.

The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. We set up the Civilian

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Conservation Corps which has brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves. We created the National Youth Administration which has enabled hundreds of thousands of young men and women to attend high schools and colleges or to obtain vocational experience through part-time work. Among you here today there are doubtless a number who can attest to the utility of that program.

True, this program has involved large expenditures. But I consider those expenditures a necessary investment to maintain the physical and spiritual health of the people. As I stated in my address of November of last year "... in no event will this Administration allow anyone to starve, nor will it abandon its broad purpose to protect the weak, to give human security, and to seek a wider distribution of our national income."

There remains much to be done: Millions of decent homes to be built; slums wiped out; transportation reorganized; the

machinery of Government administration improved. The excessive power of monopolies must be restricted. Our taxation system must be revised so as to eliminate cumbersome overlapping of Federal, State and local taxes and attain more equitable distribution of tax burdens. These are only some of the tasks.

The major task, however, is to get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies. Until we succeed in that task, our liberties will not be safe. When men and women are haunted by the spectre of unemployment, they may fall prey to antidemocratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ready to exploit hardship and suffering for his own private advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability the Government has already incurred the enmity of those who,

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firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising from unbridled economic power, are willing to deprive others of the liberties which democracy gives. In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions for their own purposes. We must not let the issue become confused. We must not be tricked into exchanging our liberties for an illusory mess of pottage. We must not forget that the liberties we cherish for their own sake are the very weapons with which the fight for economic security must be won.

There are those who still tell us we ought not to plan our future, that we ought to take refuge in the good old practices and precepts of the past when all seemed well. That is a perfectly comprehensible attitude. But it is the dream-thinking of beaten men who seek solace in the surroundings

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and the associations of a less troubled time in the hope of recapturing the past. The past will not return. We cannot turn the clock back. We live in different times and history confronts us with new problems that the past had no need to solve and cannot solve for us.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear; that the immediate pressing problems were over. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner". But our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. The basic reforms carried through under the leadership of President Roosevelt are only a beginning. They prevent a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm, but the fight to alleviate and end the present recession, to make further recessions impossible and to bring about order better than we have yet seen is still before us. It is a task that calls for effort and sacrifice, for wisdom and courage, patience and vision.

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You are living in hard times, yet adventurous times.

The geographical frontiers are gone, but there are new, ever-expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them.

In the past we concentrated on the development of our natural resources. More recently, and somewhat tardily, we turned our attention ~~to the~~ conservation of those resources. The time has now come for us to devote a much larger share of our energies to an even vaster task -- the maintenance and development of our human resources.

America is a land of economic potentiality which can provide for the full development of our people. Nature has endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a high standard of living for all. We have far more capital resources than any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of ~~large-scale~~ production is advanced. We have a political and social set-up

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which fosters initiative and inventiveness. We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living.

The solution of the economic problems of providing an abundant life for all is temptingly within our grasp. It is no longer a will-o-wisp. But it still escapes us. We find one-third of this, the richest nation in the world, ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad. Bumper crops of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton, -- yet poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital idle, millions of hands with no work to do. The best-equipped factories in the world working quarter- and half-time, while millions lack the goods these factories could make. Warehouses full, yet larders empty. This year the prospect of unusually abundant crops confronts us. Instead of giving rise to rejoicing, this prospect arouses fear that the farmers will have a lower income. Technological progress is steadily occurring in most industrial fields. But this progress is often accompanied by displacement of labor,

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reduced employment, and the emergence of stranded areas. It is indeed a tragic commentary that abundance alarms us more than scarcity, that inventions which ultimately raise the standard of living take such heavy toll, that increased capacity to produce may actually reduce the national income.

Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method, there must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and yet retain private incentive. It must be possible, while retaining our democratic liberties, to win for the people of America the realization of

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the most fundamental right, the right to work, -- to work at tasks suited to their capacities and training, under conditions in keeping with human dignity, without restrictions on genuine collective bargaining, for wages yielding a decent standard of living. It must be possible to so organize our economy as to insure economic security for all.

This is your challenge. These are the frontiers you must explore, the worlds you must conquer. Your discoveries, your conquests, will yield riches infinitely greater than pioneering of geographical frontiers. They will demand all the courage and audacity you have.]

It will be written in history that my generation began to solve the problem of balance production and of the equitable distribution of income without which balanced production is impossible. We have taken the first steps in the right direction. When history passes judgment on your generation, let the verdict be more favorable. Let it pronounce that you succeeded. Let it say that you resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

The post-war generation has sometimes been called the lost generation. Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer seduced by the glittering prizes that blind chance awards to the few, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare of the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

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This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy — ~~the philosophy that man exists to serve the state, rather than that the state exists to serve the needs of man~~ — the philosophy which is having its greatest impact on youth.

There every year new restraints are being put on the pursuit of knowledge. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war.

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45 *for*

May 19, 1938.

To: Mrs. Klotz

From: Mr. White

Attached is a digest of the Commencement Address of Jesse Jones and the Rev. Poling, and a copy of the President's address at Temple University Commencement. Possibly the Secretary may be interested in glancing over them.

Possibly we might obtain a complete copy of Jesse Jones' speech from the R.F.C. I am dubious as to the wisdom of asking for it. What do you think?

Miss Diamond is collecting some more commencement addresses, as suggested by the Secretary.

Jesse H. Jones' Commencement Address, Temple University,

June 10, 1937.

Mr. Jones spoke of the American tradition of self-independence and the threat to this tradition which has come from the recent economic upheaval and social disarrangements attending it. "Just how we are to get back to self-reliance and quit demanding so much of the Government will test the wits and ingenuity of all of us". "Habits are not easily broken and we have got into the habit of expecting everything of the Federal Government."

Mr. Jones paid tribute to Dr. Conwell, the founder of Temple University, and then asserted that America "must go forward" but that progress can not be achieved ~~by leaps~~ and bounds. "It is a slow process and if today we see liberalism going forward a dozen steps at a time we should remember that reaction may cancel a part of that gain but we must and will go forward."

Mr. Jones thought it was impossible to equalize opportunities completely and asserted that we would always have some poverty which society must take care of. He also stated that "try as hard as we may to prevent panics and booms we will probably always have them. The best way to avoid panics is to prevent booms -- inflated values. A way has not been found to do this but happily definite progress has always been made between panics".

Mr. Jones stated that the \$15 billion of active credit created by the Federal Government was the principle factor in recovery and he intimated that "political expediency" is the reason why the Federal budget has not been balanced. He thought that if Congress voted sufficient taxes to balance the budget at least half of the members would not be reelected. He also deplored the tendency of Members of Congress to "see how much they can get out of the Federal Treasury for their home districts".

Mr. Jones ended his address by asserting that "we are in a new social order" and urged the graduates to take a keen interest in their Government representatives and to be forever mindful that the ordinary cost of Government, the work of providing for the unemployed, is borne by everyone.

Rev. Daniel A. Poling, Founders' Day And Commencement Address
at Temple University, February 15, 1937

"Over the world youth marches today. Everywhere nationalism and super-nationalism is a rising tide. Even as I speak battle joins on two continents and its immediate threat stalks a dozen frontiers." Dr. Poling called upon his audience to "declare the faith that is in us" and to deny the threat of Fascism and Communism.

In the course of his address he called upon support for President Roosevelt's effort to secure passage of the Child Labor Amendment and for higher wages and shorter hours "wherever industry lags". He also lauded the Social Security Act and Old Age Pensions.

He stated that our American democracy is a government of faith and not of fear. It can be overthrown only by indifference, the indifference of its own citizens. "But whatever else our recent national election has shown us it has revealed more than forty million citizens who believe in America, in her plan of government, in her institutions, and who, unafraid and uncoerced, registered their convictions according to the American political system". He declares Fascism as repugnant to American democracy as Communism and sees no difference between the two except in their attitude toward religion. He reasserted his belief in American democracy and particularly his belief in the protection of the rights of minorities. He rejoices in free speech, free press, free schools, free worship and free elections. "In America we find these, though often abused and more often neglected, still vital realities and stronger now than before mighty armies went to Verdun".

Dr. Poling referred to "the modern Caesar who places youths of ten in black shirts and challenges a world to face an army of eight million if he is checked in carrying out his will beyond his own frontiers".

Dr. Poling sees a rising tide throughout the world of "the determination of free peoples to remain forever free".

February 21, 1936

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CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on Saturday, February 22, 1936, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release upon delivery, expected about 10:45 A. M., Eastern Standard Time, February 22, 1936.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

GOVERNOR EARL, PRESIDENT BEURY AND FRIENDS OF TEMPLE UNIVERSITY:

I have just had bestowed upon me a twofold honor. I am honored in having been made an Alumnus of Temple University; and I am honored in having had conferred upon me for the first time the Degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence.

It is a happy coincidence that we should meet together to pay our respects to the cause of education on the birthday of the Father of this Nation. In his wise and kindly way George Washington deeply appreciated the importance of education in a Republic and the responsibility of the Government to promote it. Let this simple statement stand by itself without the proof of quotation. I say this last, if I quoted excerpts from the somewhat voluminous writings and messages of the first President of the United States, some captious critic might search the Library of Congress to prove by other quotations that George Washington was in favor of just the opposite! Therefore, on this anniversary of his birth I propose to break a century old precedent. I shall not quote from George Washington on his birthday.

More than this, and breaking precedent once more, I do not intend to commence any sentence with these words - "If George Washington had been alive today" or "If Thomas Jefferson had been alive today" or "If Alexander Hamilton had been alive today" or "If Abraham Lincoln had been alive today -- beyond peradventure of a doubt he would have opposed -- or, perhaps, favored -- etc., etc., etc.,".

Suffice it, therefore, to say what President Washington pointed out on many occasions and in many practical ways that a broad and cosmopolitan education in every stratum of society is a necessary factor in any free nation governed through a democratic system. Strides toward this fundamental objective were great in the two or three earlier generations of the Republic but you and I well realize that the greatest development of general education has occurred in the past half century.

As literacy increases people become aware of the fact that government and society form essentially a cooperative relationship among citizens and the selected representatives of those citizens.

Regraded Unclassified

When we speak of modern progress it seems to me that we place altogether too much emphasis upon progress in material things -- in invention, in industrial development, in growth of national wealth.

But progress in the things of the mind has been even more striking in these past fifty years. In my childhood a high school education was an exceptional opportunity for an American boy or girl; a college education was possible only to an exceedingly small minority. Professional schools had hardly come into existence. Since 1900, while the nation's population has increased by about 70%, the enrolment in all branches of institutions of higher learning has increased about 400%.

At the beginning of this century the total enrolment in our colleges and universities was just one student short of 169,000.

I think it is too bad they did not get that other one student -- if only to round out the number and save the way for future statisticians.

Today well over a million students are seeking Degrees in our colleges and universities and more than 700,000 are enrolled in extension courses and summer schools. I think that we of Temple University -- I am exercising my right now to speak as an Alumnus -- can take special pride in the part that our institution here has taken in this growth. This institution has carried in practice the basic ideal of its great founder, the late Doctor Russell H. Conwell. He believed that every young person should be given a chance to obtain a good education and he founded Temple University to meet the needs of those who might not be able to afford a college education elsewhere. He believed that education should respond to community needs and fit itself into the narrow and complex life that modern conditions have imposed upon us.

I shall watch with the keenest interest the working out of the plan recently adopted by Temple for carrying even further into practical application this guiding ideal. I refer to the plan for forming an organization to be known as the "Associates of Temple University", and to be composed of representatives of the various commercial, industrial, financial and professional interests of the community outside the University's walls. (As I understand it, this organization will be far more than a mere advisory body, set up to meet on special and infrequent occasions and to draft recommendations of a general character. The "Associates of Temple University" will be an integral and organic part of the University's structure; the individual Associates will have clearly defined duties and responsibilities, which they will carry out according to a definite routine; and their purpose will be to serve as the "eyes and ears" of the University throughout the community, constantly alert to the changing social and economic needs, and continuously interpreting these needs to the University.

I am proud to be the head of a government that has sought to make a substantial contribution to the cause of education, even in a period of economic distress. Through the various agencies, the Government is helping educational institutions to add to their present equipment. Since 1928 the Government has made, through the various Governmental agencies of the Administration, allotments to local communities for schools, colleges and library buildings amounting to more than \$400,000,000. We are also providing through the Works Progress Administration educational courses for thousands of groups of adults wherever there are competent unemployed teachers; and through the National Youth Administration funds for part time employment to help deserving young people to earn their way through accredited colleges and universities in all parts of the United States. We have rightly taken the position that in spite of the fact that economic adversity through these years might impose upon the youth of the country distressing and unavoidable burdens, the Government owed it to the future of the nation to see that these burdens should not include the denial of educational opportunities for those who were willing and ready to use them to advantage.

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Educational progress in the past generation has given to this country a population more literate, more cultured, in the best sense of the word, and more aware of the complexities of modern civilized life than ever before in our history. And while the methods of spreading education are new, the lessons of education are eternal. The books may be new but the truth is old.

The qualities of a true education remain what they were when Washington insisted upon its importance.

First among these qualities is a sense of fair play among men.

An education grows men come to recognize their essential dependence one upon the other. There is revealed to them the true nature of society and of government which, in a large measure, culminates in the art of human cooperation.

The second great attribute of education is peculiarly appropriate to a great democracy. It is a sense of equality among men when they are dealing with the things of the mind. Inequality may linger in the world of material things but great music, great literature and the wonders of science are and should be open to all.

Finally, a true education depends upon freedom in the pursuit of truth. No group and no government can properly prescribe precisely what should constitute the body of knowledge with which true education is concerned. The truth is found when men are free to pursue it. Genuine education is present only when the springs from which knowledge comes are pure. It is this belief in the freedom of the mind, written into our fundamental law and observed in our every day dealings with the problems of life, that distinguishes us as a Nation.

In our ability to keep pure the sources of knowledge --- in our mind's freedom to winnow the chaff from the good grain --- in the even temper and in the calmness of our every day relationships --- in our willingness to face the details of fact and the needs of temporary emergencies --- in all of these lie our future and our children's future.

"On your own heads, in your own hands, the sin and the saving lies!"

LEWIS AND CLARK 6/16/38

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TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

~~SECRET~~

May 21, 1938.

Mr. J. St. George Joyce,
Director of Public Relations,
Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Joyce:

As requested in your letter of May 20th, I am enclosing a photograph of Secretary Morgenthau and two brief biographical memoranda.

In view of the current high quotations on United States Government bonds and other circumstances of the management of the Government's fiscal affairs in the last few years, I think for your purpose a statement somewhat in the form of the following would be justified:

"His management of the Nation's fiscal affairs has been characterized by complete integrity, rare prudence and great wisdom. He has safeguarded the Nation's credit and kept its financial house in good order."

I shall be glad to advise you of any arrangements that the radio chains may desire to make. It is quite likely that they will get in contact with you after I have talked with them.

Very truly yours,

Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

HEG/mah
Enclosures.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

May 20, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary of Treasury,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gaston:

At the suggestion of Dr. Ford, of our faculty, I would like to ask that you send me, at your earliest convenience, a recent photograph of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, as well as a brief sketch of his career.

This material is to be used for newspaper and university publication publicity in connection with the awarding of an honorary degree to Mr. Morgenthau on June 16.

Dr. Ford advises me that you are planning to have the Secretary's address broadcast on a nation-wide hook-up, and I would appreciate it very much if you would keep me posted on developments along this line.

Thanking you for your co-operation,

Very truly yours,

J. St. George Joyce

Director of Public Relations.

JSJ:H

~~SECRET~~

FROM: MR. GASTON'S OFFICE

TO: Mrs Small

Do you want this
in your files?

How

TEAK 6/16/38

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
(commencement)

54

May 20, 1938.

~~HEG~~

My dear Dr. Beury:

I have received your letter of May 18th, supplementing our previous conversation.

I shall be happy indeed to accept the honor which Temple University has offered through you to confer upon me. I shall also prepare myself to deliver the commencement address in Convention Hall at Philadelphia, at 10:00 A.M., on June 16th.

Since you were so kind as to indicate that I might have my choice between the two degrees, Doctor of Humane Letters and Doctor of Laws, may I suggest that the latter - the LL.D. degree - would seem to me the more appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

(Sgd.) W. M. Jr.

Secretary of the Treasury.

Dr. Charles E. Beury,
President, Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

HEG/mah

May 19, 1938.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Morgenthau
FROM: Mr. Gaston



Mr. Charles A. Ford, Assistant to President Beury, was enroute from Washington to Philadelphia when I first called this morning, but I succeeded in getting him on the phone at 12:55. I told him of your preference for the LL.D. degree, which was quite agreeable to them. He told me that their radio arrangements would only be for a local station but that he would be happy to have me make contact with the national chains, which I said I would do.

cc in H&E Folder - office file

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 18, 1938.

The Hon. Henry Morgenthau Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Morgenthau:

On behalf of Temple University, it is my privilege and pleasure to extend to you the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters, in recognition of your notable service to our government.

The convocation at which this degree will be conferred is to be held in the Convention Hall at Philadelphia, June 18, 1938, at 10:00 in the morning.

We will be honored indeed if you will consent to make the commencement address. There will be something in excess of one thousand earned degrees granted and an audience of approximately fifteen thousand.

May I ask that you give an early reply to this invitation that we might make suitable arrangements for your visit.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. E. Beury
Chas. E. Beury
President.

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"You Have a Rendezvous With Destiny" (?)

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President Beury, friends of Temple University, and fellow
Alumni:

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It is an honor to be the recipient of a degree from a University which for so many years has helped to uphold the tradition of liberal thought in America. In these days when all the values by which we have lived are being questioned, there is greater need than ever for stubborn adherence to our liberal traditions, for unyielding faith in democracy and in our system of free enterprise.

I am deeply concerned about the political trends in the world. I am keenly aware of the attacks on our own democratic institutions both from within and without. Never before have its enemies been so numerous, so ruthless, and so powerful. For us, in the face of these threats, there is but one question -- How can we best maintain democracy?

We in the United States feel that we can never surrender our form of government. Two centuries of our history have strengthened our deep conviction that democracy is the

Prepared by H. D. White and S. Adler

(Miss Chauncey does not have a copy of this)

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only form of government under which we care to live.

I welcome the opportunity to speak of these things freely and frankly to you, my fellow graduates, and through you to the youth of America.

I should like to begin by asking the question:

"Just what kind of a world are you graduating into?

What opportunities are before you? What challenges must you meet?"

It is your concern as much as mine. The world into which you are graduating is not of your making, but the manner in which you will either govern yourselves or be governed is yours to shape. Were you graduating ten or more years ago you would have been glibly assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and of the growth of amity among the nations. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with

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unequaled yet equal opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty. You would have been told that the world had glittering prizes to offer to those willing to work hard, that the destiny of each of you was in his own hands to do with what he would.

I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The bubble of self-deception has been pricked by the insuperable difficulties of the past ten years, and the price we are paying for the facile optimism of the past has been heavy beyond reckoning.

In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling that change will be even more rapid in the months and years to come.

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The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties. It is a world which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will attain a rich fulfillment.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud, ever darker and more terrifying. Never in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and the driving force of capitalism destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

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This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on your generation. It is only by chaining youth to the wheel that the crushing burdens of the totalitarian state can be borne along.

Every year fewer students are being graduated from universities. The range of subjects grows narrower, the duration of school life briefer. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war. In the fascist philosophy war is the noblest pursuit of man and death on the battlefield the highest achievement. To misquote Nietzsche: "Man is born for war and woman for the procreation of the warrior."

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is almost non-existent. Everything is dedicated to the service of war, and the individual has no significance save as a cog in the great war machine. Even the elementary

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right to move freely from occupation to occupation, from farm to factory or factory to farm, is being drastically curtailed while the opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you cannot belong to unions; you cannot bargain for higher wages; you cannot freely invest your funds, or expand your businesses; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your telephone is tapped; your mail is opened; your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or

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dying. Freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of worship, of teaching, of enterprise no longer exist in a totalitarian state.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the totalitarian states. It is being carried boldly and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes crucially dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have "a rendezvous with destiny".

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged; on the contrary, their scope has widened. Not only may you participate in the control of government, but you have every facility to exercise

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that right intelligently and independently. No books that may stimulate the mind are withheld from you, no government controlled propaganda paralyzes your thinking, no author is proscribed, no books are burned. You may belong to any political party you choose. Race, religion, political creed cannot legally disqualify you for any office in the land. You may export and import what you like, you are free to exercise your initiative in entering or developing the business you prefer, you may join a union and bargain collectively for better conditions. You may study where and what you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will.

These liberties are yours because your government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle of democracy that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. They will remain yours only so long as you recognize that change, adaptation and growth are also fundamental principles of democracy, that traffic rules

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designed for the horse and buggy age must be revised to meet the requirements of modern means of locomotion.

To be sure, change is not necessarily in the direction of progress. Changes occur whether we want them or not. They occur even when every needed innovation is resisted, even when there is a Pharisaical interpretation, whether by the judiciary or the executive, of the letter which denies the spirit. Then change is regress, not progress, retreat, not advance. We have need to remember that immortal phrase of Thomas Hobbes: "If it is age that you reverence, then the present is the oldest".

We have need to remember that the liberties we cherish will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic postulates of democracy, minorities as well as majorities, are protected and preserved. Failure to defend those liberties

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in one city, or county, or state strikes at the liberties of all of us.

When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by any individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

I will not point to any recent instances where those rights have been and are being brazenly denied. They are too well known, too fresh in all our minds. But I warn you -- you cannot expect your government to do all the fighting for you. No truly democratic government can move faster or farther than the people, even in the defense of democracy! But you may well ask, "What has this Administration done to foster the conditions under which our liberties may be more easily defended?"

What has this country done during the last six years to meet the changing needs of your generation and of my generation? Let us examine the record.

Your government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has arrested the tide of war by

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rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to recognize illegal acts of aggression. We are not among the war-mongers. "The American nation hates war." It has sought peace and pursued it. In its dealings with small nations it no longer permits the machinations of "dollar diplomacy". It pursues the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin American nations, with whom our prestige is higher than it has ever been before. It has taken the initiative in co-operative efforts to introduce some semblance of order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade. Lastly, it has built up a Navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion.

At home it arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. It instituted work relief to an extent unparalleled in the history of mankind. It inaugurated a vast system of public works which have permanently enriched

the wealth of our country. It has not tolerated and it will not tolerate either starvation or the breakdown of human dignity. No cost is too great to conserve the fundamental wealth of our nation -- its men, its women, and its children. This government has not and will not place the balancing of the budget above essential human needs.

It has introduced long needed reforms. Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of speculation. The banking system as a whole and small depositors in particular are protected against the vicissitudes of dizzy inflation and the vicious spiral of deflation. The small investor is no longer left at the mercy of piratical floaters of bogus companies. The stock exchange functions as a concern fraught with public interest and must bear the responsibilities associated with public interest. Our farm population, exhausted by adversity which long antedated 1929, has cooperated with the government to avoid what was once regarded as inherent and chronic anarchy.

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We have taken steps to combine the control of flood waters with the creation of abundant power resources. We have promoted more equitable and more orderly relations between capital and labor. We have taken the first and the most difficult steps towards a system of social security.

President Roosevelt, our most distinguished ~~alumnus~~, has wisely remarked that there are "two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people.

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic State itself. That, in its essence, is fascism ...

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living ..."

We have steadfastly kept these truths in mind.

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The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. (For the youth of America the depression years were especially trying. Young men and women were growing up who, through no fault of their own, had never known what it was to have a regular and steady job; who were faced with the prospects of permanent unemployment and of being members of a community which seemed to have no use for their rich talents.) We set up the C.C.C., which brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves. (This program at the same time contributed to the restoration, maintenance, and improvement of our natural resources.)

We created the National Youth Administration, which enabled thousands of students to continue their education under less precarious circumstances. There are doubtless a number among you who can attest to the utility of that program. Our public works and work relief programs provided jobs for young men and women who would otherwise have been unemployed. We

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initiated educational and other projects which created social outlets for the cultural activities of young America. Of all these we are proud. We do not believe that we have spoon-fed and mollycoddled young America. I think you will agree with me that the youth of America is not lacking in initiative, or grown dependent upon an excessively paternalistic administration.

Weighed in the balance of the greatest economic crisis in history, our democratic institutions were not found wanting. For this we may thank first our founding fathers and their successors who bequeathed to us a constitution and a political structure the like of which have not been surpassed. But great as this gift was, it is doubtful whether it would have proved sufficient had it not been for the resourcefulness of the American people under the courageous democratic leadership of President Roosevelt.

We have not faced the present with that narrow and carping spirit so inimical to all progress. The American people

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have not been content with merely accepting what the past has given. They have themselves made important contributions to their heritage -- contributions which have protected the flexibility and stability of our democratic institutions. If we had not made these contributions, if we had not taken heed of the changing nature of our economy and of world forces, if we had not learned well the lesson of adaptation of our rules of government to changing conditions, adaptation, the necessity for which was so profoundly realized, by the writers of our Constitution, it would have been impossible for us to have conserved the bequest made to us by preceding generations.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner." Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those oscillations of business activity which have characterized economic life for the last century. But the government is

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once again facing a new challenge with a cool head and a stout heart. It is rapidly marshalling all the weapons in its arsenal to make impossible a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. It will relentlessly continue the fight to end the blight of economic insecurity.

Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies, there will always be a threat to our liberties. So long as youth is haunted by the spectre of unemployment, it may fall easy prey to anti-democratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ruthlessly to exploit hardship and suffering for its own private advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability, the government has already incurred the enmity of those who would sacrifice the public weal to private advantage, who firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising

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from unbridled economic power, are only too willing to deprive others of liberties which only democracy gives. We are proud of having incurred this enmity.

But let no one underestimate the power of the foe. In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions for their own base purposes.

The fight for economic security and political stability cannot be won by the government alone. It requires your active cooperation. All that the government can do is to keep the issues clear and to provide a political framework within which balanced economic activity is attainable and in which excesses are discouraged. Given this framework, the retention of the decencies and amenities of civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. It is a struggle in which none can afford

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to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him, or that the ultimate issue of the struggle will not depend on his own unimportant efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

In these crucial times the liberal traditions of America need your active allegiance. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, of assembly, of research, of enterprise, these are not automatically self-perpetuating rights. They are rights which you must more emphatically than ever reassert for yourselves because never before have they been so endangered as they now are by the spread of Fascism and Communism. That you will give your allegiance to the struggle for the maintenance of our democratic institutions is promised by the mature interest you students are now taking in the economic and political problems that confront us. My contacts with the college students of the present generation have taught me a profound respect and admiration for their awareness of the

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part they must play in public affairs. I am confident that you will live up to your promise.

You are living in hard times. The old frontier has been closed, and it is for you to open up new frontiers -- not only frontiers for economic exploitation, but also frontiers of the mind. The post-war generation was known as the "lost generation". This generation which is now growing up, I hope, will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself; the generation which, no longer blinded by the dazzling hallucination of unlimited material success, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare, political and cultural, as well as economic, of the country as a whole and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

President Beury, friends of Temple University, and
fellow Alumni:

It is an honor to be the recipient of a degree from a university which for so many years has helped to uphold the tradition of liberal thought in America. In these days when all the values by which we have lived are being questioned, the maintenance of liberal traditions is of greater significance than it has ever been before. I am deeply concerned about the trend of liberal thought in the world and especially here in the United States, and I welcome this opportunity to speak about it freely and frankly to you, my fellow graduates, and through you to the youth of America.

In this month of June fifty thousand of you young men and women are being graduated from the universities of America. What kind of world are you graduating into? What opportunities are before you? What challenges must you meet?

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Were you graduating ten or more years ago, you probably would have been told that the world had glittering prizes to offer to those willing to work hard, that the destiny of each of you was in his own hands to do with what he would.

You would have been informed that you live in a land abounding with unequalled yet equal opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger and larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty. You would have been glibly reassured of the triumphant spread of democracy and of the growth of amity among the nations. Ten years ago most commencement speakers talked like that.

I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The bubble of self-deception has been pricked by the insuperable difficulties of the past ten years. The price we are paying for the facile optimism of the past has been heavy beyond reckoning.

The world which awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties, small resemblance to the loud cuckoo land of the jazz age. It is a world which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will reach a rich fulfillment.

In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more and more complex, more and more unstable. There are no signs that the rate of change will slacken.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud, ever darker and more terrifying. Never in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out; into a world

in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on your generation. It is only by chaining youth to the wheel that the crushing burdens of the totalitarian state can be borne along. Every year fewer and fewer students are being graduated from universities, ever narrower and narrower grows the range of subjects, and ever briefer the duration of school life. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war. In the fascist philosophy war is the noblest pursuit of man and death on the battlefield the highest achievement. ("Man is born for war and woman for the procreation of the warrior.")

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is almost non-existent. All activity is geared for war, everything is dedicated to its service, and the individual

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has no significance save as a cog in the great war machine. Even the elementary right to move freely from occupation to occupation, from farm to factory or factory to farm, is being drastically curtailed. The opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent upon conformity to the political creed of the group in power rather than upon merit.

In these countries you may read only from a prescribed list of books, you may engage only in those occupations and make only such marriages as the state permits. You cannot freely invest your funds, or expand your businesses. You cannot bargain for higher wages; you cannot belong to unions; you cannot strike for a better life; you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your telephone is tapped; your mail is opened; your thoughts are suspect; you must

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5/23/58

Regraded Unclassified

love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. All the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or dying. Freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of worship, of teaching, of enterprise no longer exist in a totalitarian state.

To you who are graduating in the United States life has a brighter aspect. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without. The foreign policy of this Administration, its manifest desire to live in peace with all its neighbors -- a desire which is attested by its energetic promotion of world trade and by its stabilization of monetary relationships -- and, in the last resort, its armed forces all insure us of at least a temporary respite.

For you the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged, on the contrary their scope has widened. Not only may you participate in the control of government, but you are offered every facility to exercise

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that right intelligently and independently. You may belong to any political party you choose. Race, religion, political creed cannot legally disqualify you for any office in the land. You may export and import what you like, you are free to exercise your initiative in entering or developing the business you prefer, you may join a union and bargain collectively for better conditions. You may study where and what you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will. No books that may stimulate the mind are withheld from you, no government controlled propaganda paralyzes your thinking, no author is proscribed, no books are burned.

These liberties are yours because your government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle of democracy that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. It has based its program upon the realization that the needs of the people are changing with changing times. The traffic rules designed for the horse and

HDW:SA:
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buggy age must be revised to meet the requirements of modern needs of locomotion.

Change, adaptation, growth are fundamental rules of life. Whether changes are accompanied by progress or not is dependent upon our attitude toward and recognition of the necessity of change. Changes occur whether we want them or not, but if every needed innovation is resisted, if there is a Pharisaical interpretation of the letter which denies the spirit, there will still be change, but it will be regress not progress, retreat not advance. We have needed to remember this in coping with the greatly increasing interdependence of all parts of our economy, with the rapid growth in technology with its terrific impact upon shifts and employment, the disappearance of the frontier, the development of large-scale business enterprise having far-flung national and international interest.

To resist adaptation of your structure of government, of the rules within which private enterprise and individual

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initiative operate, is to endanger your entire structure and the very springs of enterprise and initiative.

What has this country done during the last six years to meet the changing needs of your generation and of my generation? Let us examine the record.

Your government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has arrested the tide of war by rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to recognize illegal acts of aggression. We are not among the war-mongers. "The American nation hates war." It has sought peace and pursued it. In its dealings with small nations it no longer tolerates the machinations of "dollar diplomacy". It pursues the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin American nations, with whom our prestige is higher than

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it has ever been before. It has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade and -- most important -- it has taken the initiative in cooperative efforts to introduce some semblance of order in international monetary relationships.

At home it arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. It instituted work relief to an extent unparalleled in the history of mankind. It inaugurated a vast system of public works which have permanently enriched the wealth of our country. It has not tolerated and it will not tolerate either starvation or the breakdown of human dignity. No cost is too great to conserve the fundamental wealth of our nation -- its men, its women, and its children. This government has not and will not place the balancing of the budget above essential human needs.

It has introduced long needed reforms. Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of

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speculation. The banking system as a whole and small depositors in particular are protected against the vicissitudes of dizzy inflation and the vicious spiral of deflation. The small investor is no longer left at the mercy of piratical floaters of bogus companies. The stock exchange functions as a concern fraught with public interest and must bear the responsibilities associated with public interest. Our farm population, exhausted by adversity which long antedated 1929, has cooperated with the government to avoid what was once regarded as inherent and chronic anarchy.

We have taken steps to combine the control of flood waters with the creation of abundant power resources. We have promoted more equitable and more orderly relations between capital and labor. We have taken the first and the most difficult steps towards a system of social security.

President Roosevelt, our most distinguished alumnus, has wisely remarked that there are "two simple truths about the

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liberty of a democratic people.

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic State itself. That, in its essence, is fascism ...

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living ..."

We have kept these truths in mind.

The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. For the youth of America the depression years were especially trying. Young men and women were growing up who, through no fault of their own, had never known what it was to have a regular and steady job; who were faced with the prospects of permanent unemployment and of

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being members of a community which seemed to have not use for their rich talents. We set up the C.C.C., which brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves. This program at the same time contributed to the restoration, maintenance, and improvement of our natural resources.

We created the National Youth Administration, which enabled thousands of students to continue their education under less precarious circumstances. There are doubtless a number among you who can attest to the utility of government assistance. Our public works and work relief programs provided jobs for young men and women who would otherwise have been unemployed. We initiated educational and other projects which created social outlets for the cultural activities of young America. Of all these we are proud. We do not believe that we have sponsored and mollycoddled young America. I think you will agree with me that the youth of America is not lacking in initiative, or

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grown dependent upon an excessively paternalistic administration.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear. I wish I could truthfully say that prosperity is around the corner: Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those oscillations of business activity which have characterized the economic life for the last century. But the government is once again facing a new challenge with a cool head and a stout heart. It is rapidly marshalling all the weapons in its arsenal to make impossible a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. It will relentlessly continue the fight to end the blight of economic insecurity.

Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies, there will always be a threat to our liberties. So long as youth is haunted by the spectre

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of unemployment, it may fall easy prey to anti-democratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ruthlessly to exploit hardship and suffering for its own private advantage.

The fight for economic security and political stability cannot be won by the government alone. It requires your active cooperation. All that the government can do is to provide a political framework within which balanced economic activity is attainable and in which excesses are discouraged. Given this framework, the retention of the decencies and amenities of civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. It is a struggle in which none can afford to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him, or that the ultimate issue of the struggle will not depend on his own unimportant efforts if unconsciously helping the enemy.

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In these crucial times the liberal traditions of America need your active allegiance. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, of assembly, of research, of enterprise, these are not automatically self-perpetuating rights. They are rights which you must more emphatically than ever reassert for yourselves because never before have they been so endangered as they now are by the spread of Fascism and Communism. That you will give your allegiance to the struggle for the maintenance of our democratic institutions is promised by the mature interest you students are now taking in the economic and political problems that confront us. My contacts with the college students of the present generation have taught me a profound respect and admiration for their awareness of the part they must play in public affairs. I am confident that you will live up to your promise.

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You are living in hard times. The old frontier has been closed, and it is for you to open up new frontiers -- not only frontiers for economic exploitation, but also frontiers of the mind. The post-war generation was known as the "lost generation". This generation which is now growing up, I hope, will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself; the generation which, no longer blinded by the dazzling hallucination of unlimited material success, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare, political and cultural, as well as economic, of the country as a whole and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

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in one city, or county, or state quickly reflects itself in other parts of the country.

When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by any individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

I will not point to any recent instances where those rights have been and are being brazenly denied. The youth of today recognizes those infringements on our liberty when they arise. Youth must learn to participate in the fight to eradicate them! The fight to preserve liberty is the major task of today. But I warn you -- you cannot expect your government to do all the fighting for you. No truly democratic government can move faster or farther than the people, even in the defense of democracy! But you may well ask, "What has this Administration done to foster the conditions under which our liberties may

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be more easily defended.

What has this country done during the last six years to meet the changing needs of your generation and of my generation? Let us examine the record.

Your government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has arrested the tide of war by

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of the changing nature of our economy and of world forces, if we had not learned well the lesson of adaptation of our rules of government to changing conditions, adaptation so splendidly made possible by the writers of our Constitution, it would have been impossible for us to have conserved the bequest made to us by preceding generations.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner." Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those oscillations of business activity which have characterized economic life for the last century. But the government is once again facing a new challenge with a cool head and a stout heart. It is rapidly marshalling all the weapons in its arsenal to make impossible a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. It will relentlessly continue the fight to end the blight of economic insecurity.

Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 23, 1938.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In reply to your letter of May 20th, I am indeed happy that you are coming to Temple University on June 16th to deliver the Commencement Address and receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. The exercises will be held in Convention Hall, 34th and Spruce Streets, at 10:00 a.m.

Those receiving honorary degrees will assemble in the Northwest corner room on the Auditorium Floor at nine-thirty. There will be a placard marked "Trustees" in the corridor directing you to the location of this room.

If you do not have a cap and gown, we will be glad to furnish them, in which case please fill in the enclosed blank and return it to my office at your early convenience.

We should like to have your family attend these exercises - also, any of your friends whom you wish us to invite. If you will send us their names and addresses, we will send them invitations and reserved seat tickets.

Please advise us how you wish your name to appear on the diploma.

Looking forward with a great deal of pleasure to meeting you again, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. E. Beury
President.

Chas. E. Beury

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May 24, 1938.

Dear Dr. Henry:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 23rd. I am looking forward to my visit to Temple University, and shall keep the instructions as to the room in which we should meet.

As it happens, I do not have a cap and gown, and I am therefore sending back the slip which was enclosed with your letter. I shall appreciate your furnishing these.

At the present time I do not know which members of my family will attend the exercises with me. Just as soon as I have the proper information, I shall be glad to communicate it to your office.

You have my name correctly in the salutation of the letter. I may say that I am frequently given a middle initial but I am not entitled to one, and the name is simply "Henry Margenthan, Jr."

Sincerely,

Dr. Charles E. Henry,
President, Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

cc to HF

Enclosure.

CHW/dhs

RE TEMPLE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
SPEECH

May 24, 1938.
3:00 p.m.

Present: Mrs Klotz
Mr. Gaston
Mr. Haas
Mr. Seltzer
Mr. White

H.M.Jr: Now, who has something finished?

White: I guess we all have. I have.

H.M.Jr: What?

Seltzer: Mr. White

Haas: If you take off the word "finished" ...

H.M.Jr: Well, who's got something?

White: I've got something finished.

Haas: He's got something, I have something. Do you (Gaston) have anything?

Gaston: No, I don't. Nothing but a start.

(White hands Secretary his speech)

Haas: (Handing Secretary his speech) I don't know what this is. I haven't made up my mind whether it's a stuffed shirt speech I've written or just a bum speech.

H.M.Jr: You two fellows (Haas and Seltzer) collaborate, is that the way?

Seltzer: No.

H.M.Jr: You (Seltzer) got one too?

Seltzer: I've just got some thoughts. I'm not straight on this thing yet.

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H.M.Jr: What have you got (to Gaston)?

Gaston: I haven't anything. I've been talking about it with Harry this morning - or with Larry today on the thing. I'm trying to get straightened out on it. And I've written about a page of introduction that would be useful.

H.M.Jr: Well, to save my - this is yours? Whose is this?

Haas: That's Harry's, I think. And that's mine.

H.M.Jr: Which comes Well, you're (Seltzer) not in on this.

Seltzer: On this, no.

H.M.Jr: Well, read yours (Haas) out loud.

Haas: Harry, would you mind reading it?

White: Go ahead, George, you know what's there.

H.M.Jr: You know what's

Haas: Rather have somebody else read it so I could see how funny it sounded. Here, Larry, you read it.

(Seltzer and White, with minor interruptions, read speech prepared by Haas, copy of which is attached to the original of this transcript)

H.M.Jr: Well, it's the first shot.

Haas: Very first.

H.M.Jr: Now, how would you (White) like to have yours delivered, by yourself or somebody else?

White: I'd rather read it myself. After all, the men only have to listen to one speech.

H.M.Jr: After all, you fellows have spent hours. I'm more than pleased.

White: I tried to follow your outline, but I don't think I

was successful.

"You Have a Rendezvous With Destiny" - that's taken from one of the President's statements.

(White, with minor interruptions, reads speech prepared by him, copy of which is attached to original of this transcript)

It's a little long.

H.M.Jr: It's very good. That's very good. It's excellent.

Klotz: Excellent.

H.M.Jr: That's all right. I think it's - how many words you got, Harry?

White: Think it's over three thousand. Needs to be cut down. About 3200 or something.

Klotz: It's too long.

H.M.Jr: I mean I think the opening up and all that - I think to paint a dark picture is very good. I think the part on the Fascism and - that part, I think, is a little repetitious.

White: I think so.

H.M.Jr: I think that's where we cut.

My feeling on the thing is - and maybe there's no answer on that - I don't offer anything in the way of anything new in there.

White: That's true.

Klotz: You leave it to them to open up new fields.

White: That's true, the thing has been said in a dozen - hundreds of times.

H.M.Jr: You've said it very well. But I just don't feel that - I'm just wondering whether you couldn't This I've said before in my other speech, but we don't say it here. I mean as a possible suggestion

as to change in our economic structure, I wrote down "better distribution of wealth and opportunity for all," in the sense that - a better distribution of wealth and a better opportunity for all, I mean.

White: That could be easily developed.

H.M.Jr: I think we have to - in the end that we've got to do something, that the big corporations are getting bigger and the smaller ones are getting smaller, and that if a democracy is going to continue, we've got to do more for the middle class.

Haas: Avoid that extreme concentration.

H.M.Jr: Yes. I mean I - I'm thinking of something at the end, you see. I mean this question of

White: That could be easily developed.

H.M.Jr: What?

White: That could be easily developed.

H.M.Jr: I don't hear very well.

White: I say that could be easily developed into two paragraphs; not that we have it, but we have to move toward it.

H.M.Jr: In the end I'd say, "What are the things we should look forward to? What are the things we yet have to accomplish? What in this audience of mine - what are the things that I suggest that you might work towards?" You see? And that's that.

Now, the other thing - of course, I want to think this thing over. I think in the thing I get a little bit of the feeling we're talking down too much, Harry.

White: Do you?

H.M.Jr: What?

White: I say that's something you want to avoid.

H.M.Jr: I think if you look through there you say a dozen times - at least a half dozen times you talk about youth, youth. We can talk to the audience, but not call them "youth."

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- White: You want to avoid that impression of talking down.
- H.M.Jr: A little bit talking down. I mean it's "you and I."
- White: I see.
- Gaston: Yes.
- H.M.Jr: "You and I. What are the things?" I mean talk to them as an equal. "What are the things that we still have to accomplish?" You see?
- White: Oh, it's very desirable to avoid that impression that you're talking down.
- H.M.Jr: I think if I could say, "Well now, you and I have to do this and this" - and that makes it to the audience and myself.
- Klotz: To an extent, but after all they're just really beginning.
- H.M.Jr: True, but it makes them feel good.
- White: No, I think the Secretary is quite right on that. I think the students definitely object to being talked down to, as does anybody, I suppose. And if that impression was conveyed, it's there and it doesn't take much to fix it. It's a question of including yourself among - making them appear more equal. That won't be difficult.
- H.M.Jr: It isn't - it's just a question of making them feel that they are on the same - that they and I are on the same plane. If you can make them feel that, maybe they'll come up to it rather than I come down to them.
- But I just feel at the end, if you'll kind of look forward to this thing - I don't agree with you in what you're saying there. While there are no frontiers in the sense that the wildernesses have been conquered and the ground has been plowed, I still feel that through research and invention
- White: Oh yes, there are those frontiers, and those are the more important frontiers.
- H.M.Jr: Well, I mean I don't feel that we have - again, "If this democracy must succeed, then the economic

frontier has still not been reached - the limit."

White: That's quite true.

H.W.Jr: Well now, that

White: Geographical frontiers, but those are the unimportant ones.

H.W.Jr: Why not just say that? Why not just say that?

White: You mean give them greater hope and show that the greater task lies in the

H.W.Jr: I'd say the geographical frontier - "America has been explored geographically, but not from an economic - we haven't begun to reach" And then when we talk about that, I'd like to bring in a little bit of this philosophy on my question of plenty - little bit - that a big cotton crop can be, if we have the brains and the ingenuity to make use of it - that a bounteous crop does not necessarily spell disaster.

Goston: I think that ought to be pretty much the central theme of the thing: that that is the principal problem before us. We've got a situation where the abundance of our economy constitutes our chief problem, and it's just silly that we should be discouraged about solving it when immensely more difficult things apparently have been solved.

H.W.Jr: That's what I'm trying to do. I'd like to bring something to them fresh. I'd like to hand them something which would be new from me and new from this administration. Now, after talking with Babcock and Myers and Haas this hour this morning - I mean what developed out of that thing - that we have never in the five years that we've been here attempted to sit down and say, "Here we've got so many extra million bushels of wheat. Now, how can we process those from the time that they grow down to the person's stomach?" And in that way, in that processing of the extra crop, the extra employment that goes with it. Now, that gets down to engineering and all that.

Klotz: This has always been your field and your theory.

H.W.Jr: Now, for instance, they were talking about - the Red

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Cross had the idea - they gave the factories so many bales of cotton and got so many yards of cloth, and the yards of cloth went into the work room, and from the work room it went into dresses, and the dresses went on children's backs. But in that process of distribution - and I'd like to say, "And I think that one of the great things that have yet got to be done is to solve this process of distribution and consumption." If you'll make that

White: Of course, that's the central theory of your economic problem.

H.M. Jr: Pardon me?

White: That's the central theory of your economic problem.

H.M. Jr: Why not let's say it, and why not let's admit we haven't solved it? And to say to these boys, "Well, there's nothing that ..." - I mean to say, "There are no worlds yet to be conquered" There is this vast opportunity.

Now, I asked this morning - Miss Lonigan keeps talking, "Well, I've talked about this for five years." I said, "All right, Miss Lonigan, where is there an engineer" She kept talking about the walls of the city, once you get inside, get the white collar worker ... I said, "All right, where is there - whatever you want to call them, a social engineer or a marketing engineer - who is the expert that I can call in after this wheat is made into flour and reaches the city?" I said, "Where is he?"

"There is no such person," says Miss Lonigan. I don't know whether she's right, but her answer is that she doesn't know.

The point we can talk about - if that's the center and that's the kernel, I think that the boys sitting there have a right to expect from me - "What can I do when I go out? Has America reached its economic limits?" Well, I don't know. Mrs. Klotz and I have had lots of discussions about this. I don't believe it.

White: I don't either.

H.M.Jr: Well, what are the chances? A thousand boys are going to get a degree on that day, and if you say that's the center of the thing - marketing, distribution

White: Production.

H.M.Jr: ... production. They keep talking about "production for use," which I understand is an economic term, and a socialist one.

White: That's a dangerous thesis to take up, because ...

H.M.Jr: Well, I don't have to.

White: That problem is used in the terminology

H.M.Jr: Well, I wouldn't, because I understand that the Communists and the Socialists use that. Well, we don't have to use the term. Call it by any other name.

Gaston: I still think

H.M.Jr: Excuse me, I just want to get this thing over, that I think the one-third of the end I can point out to the boys and I say, "Yes, the geographical frontiers of America have been explored, but our economic frontiers haven't yet begun to be reached. And what can you fellows do, what are the challenges of life which are yet to be solved to make this - to take care of the one-third of the nation, give these people a better chance? What are the opportunities?"

White: If you want to phrase it in the way of a problem, you can make a very effective

H.M.Jr: Now wait, Harry, I don't want to give the answer, just the challenge - raise the challenge.

White: Want to put the question. It can well be done.

H.M.Jr: "Here are the things that somebody has to solve. Maybe you boys can't do it. It may not be done in your lifetime. But here are the things which have to be accomplished, and we have to keep moving forward all the time." And then raise the things which - end in

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raising those things, admit that this administration hasn't solved them.

Herbert's going to have blood pressure in a minute.

Gaston: No blood pressure, but I still think you're not going far enough.

H.M.Jr: Come on, you North Dakota Non-partisan Leaguer.

Gaston: I just want to quote a phrase: "Man does not live by bread alone." I think when you have solved the problem of economic security, there are things that want to go along with it that look toward a greater objective, and that objective is the general raising of the dignity and worth of the human individual, and that that is one point where your democracy is the superior technique, and it works out, because that relates to the whole problem of living and not simply to the question whether a man gets enough bread or not. I think that there should be some hint of that handled in a paragraph or two - something of that in your speech.

H.M.Jr: But I think that Harry has given us the framework on which we can build. I'm more than pleased to work on his framework.

Gaston: Yes, I think so.

H.M.Jr: But I think that - I think that somewhere between two thousand and 2500 words

Klotz: Maximum.

H.M.Jr: ... would be plenty. I'd rather have it nearer two thousand, so the boys don't shuffle in their seats. I think two thousand words is plenty. But if I say anything more, just have to be You (Klotz) want to say something?

Klotz: Uh-uh.

H.M.Jr: What do you think?

Klotz: I'm - well, that's not your idea at this moment; I mean you just didn't get the idea, you've always had that feeling.

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- H.M.Jr: Yes, but I mean - but you've heard me argue again and again.
- Klots: And that would fit in with this.
- H.M.Jr: But I think that the thing - I'd hate to think that we'd reached - that every single economic avenue had been explored and that we had the answer.
- White: Oh no, far from it. No, as a matter of fact, the statement I said is, "The old frontiers are gone; it's up to you to open new ones." But the thought must - can well be very well developed. If you want to put it in the form of "These are our problems and these are for you to solve," you can spin out a very nice few paragraphs.
- H.M.Jr: Just not say I think that this should be done, "I think this should be done," but "Here's the thing."
- White: "These are the problems. Our generation has been unable to solve them."
- H.M.Jr: "They remain for your generation."
- What do you think, Larry?
- Seltzer: Why, I was a little bothered in both talks because I didn't see a clean structure, just what was going to be said, where things fitted in. There are an awful lot of words in Harry's talk I thought that you'd just call words - "blah." They're nice words and they're perfectly well suited to it, the sentiments are all right, but there's just too much of it. I think that part ought to be cut.
- And I thought too that something ought to be gotten in about the New Deal legislation being of the character that raises the plane of competition in our economy, raises the plane upon which the competition is conducted, without squelching the competition or destroying private enterprise; it improves the conditions under which private enterprise operates. That's your justification
- H.M.Jr: Yes, but I - you can't sell me on it because I don't believe it. Now, we're talking in the room here - I don't believe we've done it. I think that's one of the

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big things that we've fallen down on - the inheritance of N.R.A.

Seltzer: That was the objective of N.R.A., and of course N.R.A. didn't succeed.

H.M.Jr: N.R.A. just did the opposite and it froze those things, and those people are hanging on to those things with tooth and nail, and I think that I just don't - I mean I just don't think that we did that, and I couldn't get up and tell those boys that we did. I think the small fellow has less opportunity today than he had ten years ago, and I think each day it's getting less.

Seltzer: That isn't what I had in mind. You can have a competitive system without having the competition take the form of risk of insolvency for banks, say. Banks can compete with one another, with one being just as safe as the other, but competing in the matter of service for depositors.

H.M.Jr: Well, you'll have to develop it further, because the way you said it I couldn't say it, because I don't believe it.

White: Why don't you try writing a few paragraphs on it? Maybe we can put it in.

Seltzer: Do what?

White: Write a few paragraphs and we'll try putting it in.

H.M.Jr: The way I see this thing, the way I see this talk, is this. We lay down sort of an inventory of the world the way it is, and we talk about the thing. "All right, this is the kind of world you fellows are graduating in. It's a pretty dark picture. And the people all over the world are living either in war" As the President said to me last night, "How's the war?" and I jokingly answered him, "What war?" - well, I wouldn't know what he means; after all, there are about four or five wars going on. And then you say those conditions are brought about, and explain why. Then we say to these fellows, "Now, you can't just take for granted you're always going to live in a country that guarantees you democracy." I mean this is the thing that I get out of it. "You just can't take that for granted. You've got to fight for it, and you've got to do your share to maintain these

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democratic principles, which, as they exist today, nobody can guarantee for you."

And then you finish up, "Now, what are some of the things which I, after five years in the Government, feel are still to be done? What are some of the things we have been unable to do? And what are the things that the next generation has - what are the opportunities and the fields which are wide open for you?" And then I give him some of these challenges.

Now, isn't that a pretty good speech? Huh?

Seltzer: Yes.

H.M.Jr: Huh?

Klotz: I think so.

H.M.Jr: Now, I think if you have that - but I don't think we want to get too many things.

Seltzer: No, that's dangerous.

H.M.Jr: But I think the thing you've got to do very carefully is to write down these challenges, and in those things we get into this whole question of, how you going to handle this question of glut and famine? Is the ever-normal granary and all - I mean it's a question of glut and famine - go back to Biblical times - and we're still trying to solve it.

Coaton: Well, it's more than that, too, because even in our periods of glut we don't share the abundance. We have farmers in destitution at the very time when they have the most abundant crops.

H.M.Jr: All right. Now listen, today is Tuesday; do you suppose you people could be ready with something for me Friday morning? That gives you - I won't be around much the next couple days - Wednesday and Thursday to take a crack at it again. Does that push you too hard?

White: No, I can.

H.M.Jr: What?

Well, 10 o'clock Friday, Mrs. Klotz.

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White:

I think it would probably be helpful if all those who have ideas - for example, Herbert has some good first pages on the central thesis - if he could write them out; then Larry's got some ideas - then if we could incorporate them.

H.M.Jr:

Well, anyway, why don't you people adjourn to Herbert Gaston's room for a few minutes, then talk it over how you'll work it out. Then I want to see you again 10 o'clock Friday.

Haas

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May 24, 1958

Today is an important day in the lives of each of you. It is commencement in a very real sense for you — the commencement of your careers. Today all over these United States and in many foreign lands, similar commencements are being held. In many instances these are grammar or high school commencements. The problem of the youth of America for whom these commencements mark the end of schooling and the beginning of work is not essentially different.

What are the problems with which the graduating youth of today are confronted? What kind of country and what kind of world is it in which you must take your place, in which you hope to secure work, to emancipate yourself economically and to replace long years of receiving with giving? Needless to say, it is a complex world. Living has become increasingly more complex as civilization has progressed. It is because of that increasing complexity that higher and higher standards of formal training are required to prepare the youth of the Nation to compete successfully in this civilization where specialization is the key note.

One of the things which is undoubtedly uppermost in your mind today as you face the prospect of securing work is the widespread talk of the current recession, with its concomitant unemployment. There is nothing singular in this situation. Nineteen hundred thirty eight marks the fifty-fourth anniversary of the founding of your University. Of those 54 years, 24, or almost half, have been years of subnormal business activity. So there is nothing unique in your particular case. The persistent and extraordinary secular expansion of our national product throughout the

years teaching to the fact that other classes graduating in years of depression have overcome this obstacle.

Has it ever occurred to you what a wonderful piece this world would be if each child born into the world could be naturally endowed with the skills and wisdom of all past generations? While in our sense each new born babe has to learn for itself each thing, such as walking and talking, etc., in another sense we have made it relatively easy for that child to acquire the benefits of the thinking of past ages. Compare, if you will, the difficulty of committing the complex and involved knowledge of particular subjects prior to the invention of the printing press with the almost universal availability of such knowledge today through books, newspapers, radios, etc. While most of you have spent all but five years of your life thus far in formal education, that education is a far better one than was available to large numbers of people relatively few generations ago. This is an age of specialization, and many of you will go on in your formal training to become even more highly specialized in the professions. It is not my thought to discuss today the relative merits of various types of work but rather to include the broad social and economic problems with which you are confronted.

Tom realizes without my saying so that you are among the more privileged of the youth of the Nation. Your preparation for considering the problems of the Nation and of the world is better because your formal training has been more extended than in the case with the vast majority of our citizens. Your responsibilities in connection with business and governmental affairs are correspondingly increased, and I cannot emphasize too strongly the

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seriousness of that responsibility in these critical times in which we live. It is 150 years since the Government of the United States was organized in its present form, and in those years the country has grown from thirteen straggling, pioneering States along the Atlantic seaboard to a strong and mighty Nation controlling a continent.

Throughout that period the democratic process has prevailed in government and in business, and the merit of profit incentive in private business as a form of economic organization is ~~undisputed~~ by the ever advancing economic prosperity and well-being during those 150 years. It is true that there have been temporary halts in the advancing prosperity of this country, as there have been in all other countries, but the long-range upward trend has persisted.

You have one very great advantage over past generations of commencement groups who were graduated in times of business depression. Your Government is aggressively and wholeheartedly striving to eradicate the business recession. The philosophy of your Government sees no merit in letting business depression and social injustice run their course than in letting a plague continue unchecked.

Don't think that these broad social problems are not concerns of each one of you. No matter what your field of specialization is after college, you will be able to specialize only because others do for you these things which make possible your enjoyment of the goods and services which your everyday needs demand.

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If the farmer cannot make a living the industrialist cannot make a fair margin of profit. If our relations with foreign nations are such as to interrupt the normal course of trade, or if other economic maladjustments are such that large numbers of our people are unable to find employment, that problem will affect you more directly than you may now imagine. I am not going to plead with you to interest yourself in national affairs, but I am going to say to you that for your own self-interest you should do just that. We must learn to deal intelligently with these various problems or we may find some of our most fundamental governmental institutions undermined because of our lack of understanding.

Take the unemployment situation for instance. Even today in this enlightened age many people would say do nothing about it, but I tell you that hungry mouths and lack of employment are breeding grounds of unrest. If people suffer woefully under the democratic form of government and nothing is done to alleviate this suffering, the agitator finds a willing audience. Your lack of interest in, or lack of understanding of, the ways and means of dealing with problems of this character may mean that some day your specialisation will not be worth much to you if you have to operate under a form of government which lacks the freedom for which your ancestors fought and which every American believes is his natural heritage.

What can we do about a problem such as unemployment? Well, there are several constructive lines of approach. The most obvious one is to find work for the people. In times like these, because of increased unemployment, the means of the people to buy goods and services of private industry have been decreased. Under such conditions private employers

not only do not feel able to employ more workers, but actually feel that they must reduce their forces. Obviously then, the Federal Government must play an important role during such periods.

Two agencies of Government have devoted their efforts toward assisting the youth of the country.. The Civilian Conservation Corps has assisted the youth of America in finding employment not otherwise available and the National Youth Administration has provided work and means of continuing education.

The Government has been able to provide two types of work for people in this emergency. There is a continual need for such types of work as rebuilding, river and harbor improvement, flood and soil erosion control, public buildings, and electric and power developments. These projects may be planned in advance of a depression and if carried out during the depression, take up much of the slack in unemployment due to the maladjustments in industry caused by the decreased purchasing power of industrial and agricultural workers.

In addition to this long-range planning many useful public projects may be undertaken which can employ relatively unskilled labor, and which serve a useful purpose without attaching the stigma of charity to the money which the Federal Government supplies for such purposes. Projects of this type can be planned quickly, and millions of people can be put to work in a short period of time. The rolls of the Works Progress Administration are expected to care for a peak load of 3,000,000 persons doing this type of work during the next several months.

These expenditures of billions of dollars for work of this type to alleviate human suffering has frequently been designated as pump priming and our objective of balancing the budget has necessarily been made secondary

to this great humanitarian work.

Other means of assisting the workers are found in the various proposals for restricting the hours of labor and designating a minimum wage. By limiting the maximum number of hours of work for each worker we may effectively reduce the rates of those unemployed, and by stipulating a minimum wage per hour, total purchasing power may be increased. The worker's position can also be materially strengthened if he has the right to bargain collectively without fear of intimidation by his employer. Many other approaches to this problem of assisting the unemployed and increasing the purchasing power of the workers will occur to you as you study and analyze this particular problem. None of these problems is simple, nor are the solutions easy.

In times of stress industrial corporations frequently find themselves in difficulties. By loans or advances to such distressed corporations by the Federal Government, the entire business may frequently be saved and large numbers of workers kept employed.

In such times individuals often find themselves unable to meet the mortgage on the homestead, or find themselves without funds with which to make necessary repairs to the home, and here too the Federal Government is able by insuring properly secured loans to enable many workers to be employed at useful and necessary work.

Two of the greatest problems which face the individual are the fear of unemployment and of indigence in old age. The Social Security legislation passed in 1935 deals specifically with these two problems, and also makes adequate provision for grants and aid to aged persons, blind persons, dependent and crippled children, for maternal and child

welfare, and public health. The unemployment insurance portion of the legislation provides for the payment of unemployment relief under certain conditions for workers who lose their jobs and thus gives them an interval in which they have an income while seeking new employment. The old age benefits portion of the legislation gives by right to the covered group of employees monthly payments after they shall have reached the age of 65. Such insurance against social hazards which directly affect so many, and indirectly affect all of us, will in itself contribute to the stabilization of our economic life.

You may visualize the farm problem as being materially different from the problem of industry, if, indeed, you realize that there is a farm problem at all. If, however, you will consider that the farmer represents one of the greatest markets for industrial products, you will realize why prosperity for the farmer is essential if we are to have industrial prosperity. The Federal Government must be constantly seeking ways and means not only of increasing the level of the national income but also of keeping the relative shares of the national income of each group of our economy in balance.

At the same time we must maintain proper international relationships by means of exchange stabilization and other techniques such as reciprocal trade agreements which will tend to redevelop a vigorous foreign trade which in turn will contribute toward the welfare of both agriculture and industry in this country.

The last word has not yet been spoken on the best solutions to the problems with which the Federal Government has been coping only a few of which I have outlined to you. They are your problems and they will be your children's problems in the years to come.

Partially as a result of the constructive moves already taken on the part of your Government to attack directly the social and economic problems for the amelioration of social and business conditions, the United States today is the most favored of any nation on earth and for this reason you are to be congratulated that your commitment is taking place in this country rather than in some other.

Now you don't have to take my word as to what a great place the United States is; that's the opinion of the other nations. In my every day work as Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, I have occasion to see direct manifestations of the world-wide judgment regarding this. For the past four years gold has been flowing in a steady stream to the United States. Since it has not been entirely in payment of goods which we have sold abroad, it represents the judgment on the part of other nations and their peoples as to the relative stability and safety of conditions in the United States as well as their desire for profitable investment of these funds.

In spite of huge expenditures by the Government to prevent human suffering, I want to emphasize to you today that the United States is borrowing the necessary money for such expenditures at the lowest rates of interest in the history of this or any other modern nation, and at a time when most countries are having difficulty in borrowing at all. This indicates great

confidence in the future of the United States and you who are graduating today will have a greater share in that future because you will be here longer than those of my generation. As a group you are being graduated and will go out to take your place in a nation which offers a comparative measure of security from conditions external to it. This leaves you relatively free to direct your energies toward increasing the already large degree of security you have within our own borders.

As I have said no one among you will be aloof from practical contact with these problems no matter how specialized your ultimate vocation or how successful you are in it. It seems inevitable that we shall have recurrences of periods of unemployment however much we may do to minimize the social effects of such phenomena. You must face this problem of unemployment as a practical matter. Unemployment breeds unrest. It makes individuals more susceptible to doctrines which are not in consonance with American ideals. You find in many of the nations of the world today, especially those not so well rounded from an economic point of view as the United States, a reversion to forms of government in which the individual is not permitted to think out the best answers to problems as under the democratic process but where the answers are furnished to him by a dictator. Throughout the history of the world such a method of government has never proven successful. You might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy as to have a specialized society remain under forms of government which have proven to be outmoded. We need men and women in this country who are sensitive to developing social forces and yet who have sufficient historical perspective to differentiate the ephemeral from the permanent and to appreciate the long-run merits of our American institutions.

You are being graduated today in a country where the merit system still prevails. Neither family nor religion nor race will keep you from entering any field of activity you desire. Only your own ability and your application of that ability will limit your success. You will not persecute other people for their beliefs and you in turn will not be persecuted for what you think and say.

Your education properly used will help you to understand the great problems of a great nation and perhaps to develop new and better ways of solving them. No where in the world today could you be graduating into a country where you can have freer expression of your beliefs and conclusions, nor a better chance of putting your ideas into operation than under the democratic process.

I leave one word with you. You have been taught to think — to think independently — continue to do so. That is the essence of democracy; that is what makes a great nation and a great people. The knowledge of the problems of good living constitutes the only real wealth of any nation; it is all that can be passed on to future generations.

White

PRELIMINARY DRAFT

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"You Have a Rendezvous With Destiny" (?)

President Seury, friends of Temple University, and fellow
Alumni:

It is an honor to be the recipient of a degree from a University which for so many years has helped to uphold the tradition of liberal thought in America. In these days when all the values by which we have lived are being questioned, there is greater need than ever for stubborn adherence to our liberal traditions, for unyielding faith in democracy and in our system of free enterprise.

I am deeply concerned about the political trends in the world. I am keenly aware of the attacks on our own democratic institutions both from within and without. Never before have ~~the~~ enemies been so numerous, so ruthless, and so powerful. For us, in the face of these threats, there is but one question: ~~we~~ How can we best maintain democracy?

We in the United States feel that we can never surrender our form of government. Two centuries of our history have strengthened our deep conviction that democracy is the

~~Prepared by H. D. White and S. Adler~~

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only form of government under which we care to live.

I welcome the opportunity to speak of these things freely and frankly to you, my fellow graduates, and through you to the youth of America.

I should like to begin by asking the question:

"Just what kind of a world are you graduating into? What opportunities are before you? What challenges must you meet?"

It is your concern as much as mine. The world into which you are graduating is not of your making, but the manner in which you will either govern yourselves or be governed is yours to shape. Were you graduating ten or more years ago you would have been glibly assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and of the growth of amity among the nations. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with

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unequaled yet equal opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty. You would have been told that the world had glittering prizes to offer to those willing to work hard, that the destiny of each of you was in his own hands to do with what he would.

I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The bubble of self-deception has been pricked by the insuperable difficulties of the past ten years, and the price we are paying for the facile optimism of the past has been heavy beyond reckoning.

In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling that change will be even more rapid in the months and years to come.

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The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties. It is a world which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will attain a rich fulfillment.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud, ever darker and more terrifying. Never in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and the driving force of capitalism destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

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This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on your generation. It is only by chaining youth to the wheel that the crushing burdens of the totalitarian state can be borne along.

Every year fewer students are being graduated from universities. The range of subjects grows narrower, the duration of school life briefer. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war. In the fascist philosophy war is the noblest pursuit of man and death on the battlefield the highest achievement. To misquote Nietzsche: "Man is born for war and woman for the procreation of the warrior."

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is almost non-existent. Everything is dedicated to the service of war, and the individual has no significance save as a cog in the great war machine. Even the elementary

right to move freely from occupation to occupation, from farm to factory or factory to farm, is being drastically curtailed while the opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you cannot belong to unions; you cannot bargain for higher wages; you cannot freely invest your funds, or expand your businesses; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your telephone is tapped; your mail is opened; your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or

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dying. Freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of worship, of teaching, of enterprise no longer exist in a totalitarian state.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the totalitarian states. It is being carried boldly and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes crucially dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have "a rendezvous with destiny".

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged; on the contrary, their scope has widened. Not only may you participate in the control of government, but you have every facility to exercise

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that right intelligently and independently. No books that may stimulate the mind are withheld from you, no government controlled propaganda paralyzes your thinking, no author is proscribed, no books are burned. You may belong to any political party you choose. Race, religion, political creed cannot legally disqualify you for any office in the land. You may export and import what you like, you are free to exercise your initiative in entering or developing the business you prefer, you may join a union and bargain collectively for better conditions. You may study where and what you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will.

These liberties are yours because your government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle of democracy that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. They will remain yours only so long as you recognize that change, adaptation and growth are also fundamental principles of democracy, that traffic rules

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designed for the horse and buggy age must be revised to meet the requirements of modern means of locomotion.

To be sure, change is not necessarily in the direction of progress. Changes occur whether we want them or not. They occur even when every needed innovation is resisted, even when there is a Pharisaical interpretation, whether by the judiciary or the executive, of the letter which denies the spirit. Then change is regress, not progress, retreat, not advance. We have need to remember that immortal phrase of Thomas Hobbes: "If it is age that you reverence, then the present is the oldest".

We have need to remember that the liberties we cherish will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic postulates of democracy, minorities as well as majorities, are protected and preserved. Failure to defend those liberties

in one city, or county, or state strikes at the liberties of all of us.

When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by any individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

I will not point to any recent instances where those rights have been and are being brazenly denied. They are too well known, too fresh in all our minds. But I warn you -- you cannot expect your government to do all the fighting for you. No truly democratic government can move faster or farther than the people, even in the defense of democracy! But you may well ask, "What has this Administration done to foster the conditions under which our liberties may be more easily defended?"

Let us see
What has this country ^{has} done during the last six years to meet the changing needs of your generation and of my generation? Let us examine the record.

Your government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has arrested the tide of war by

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rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to recognize illegal acts of aggression. We are not among the war-mongers. "The American nation hates war." It has sought peace and pursued it. In its dealings with small nations it no longer permits the machinations of "dollar diplomacy". It pursues the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin American nations, with whom our prestige is higher than it has ever been before. It has taken the initiative in cooperative efforts to introduce some semblance of order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade. Lastly, it has built up a Navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion.

At home it arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. It instituted work relief to an extent unparalleled in the history of mankind. It inaugurated a vast system of public works which have permanently enriched

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the wealth of our country. It has not tolerated and it will not tolerate either starvation or the breakdown of human dignity. No cost is too great to conserve the fundamental wealth of our nation -- its men, its women, and its children. This government has not and will not place the balancing of the budget above essential human needs.

It has introduced long needed reforms, Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of speculation. The banking system as a whole and small depositors in particular are protected against the vicissitudes of dizzy inflation and the vicious spiral of deflation. The small investor is no longer left at the mercy of piratical floaters of bogus companies. The stock exchange functions as a concern fraught with public interest and must bear the responsibilities associated with public interest. Our farm population, exhausted by adversity which long antedated 1929, has cooperated with the government to avoid what was once regarded as inherent and chronic anarchy.

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We have taken steps to combine the control of flood waters with the creation of abundant power resources. We have promoted more equitable and more orderly relations between capital and labor. We have taken the first and the most difficult steps towards a system of social security.

President Roosevelt, our most distinguished alumnus, has wisely remarked that there are "two simple truths about the liberty of a democratic people.

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic State itself. That, in its essence, is fascism ...

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of living ..."

We have steadfastly kept these truths in mind.

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The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. For the youth of America the depression years were especially trying. Young men and women were growing up who, through no fault of their own, had never known what it was to have a regular and steady job; who were faced with the prospects of permanent unemployment and of being members of a community which seemed to have no use for their rich talents. We set up the C.C.C., which brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves. This program at the same time contributed to the restoration, maintenance, and improvement of our natural resources.

We created the National Youth Administration, which enabled thousands of students to continue their education under less precarious circumstances. There are doubtless a number among you who can attest to the utility of that program. Our public works and work relief programs provided jobs for young men and women who would otherwise have been unemployed. We

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initiated educational and other projects which created social outlets for the cultural activities of young America. Of all these we are proud. We do not believe that we have spoon-fed and mollycoddled young America. I think you will agree with me that the youth of America is not lacking in initiative, or grown dependent upon an excessively paternalistic administration.

Weighed in the balance of the greatest economic crisis in history, our democratic institutions were not found wanting. For this we may thank first our founding fathers and their successors who bequeathed to us a constitution and a political structure the like of which have not been surpassed. But great as this gift was, it is doubtful whether it would have proved sufficient had it not been for the resourcefulness of the American people under the courageous democratic leadership of President Roosevelt.

We have not faced the present with that narrow and carping spirit so inimical to all progress. The American people

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have not been content with merely accepting what the past has given. They have themselves made important contributions to their heritage -- contributions which have protected the flexibility and stability of our democratic institutions. If we had not made these contributions, if we had not taken heed of the changing nature of our economy and of world forces, if we had not learned well the lesson of adaptation of our rules of government to changing conditions, adaptation, the necessity for which was so profoundly realized, by the writers of our Constitution, it would have been impossible for us to have conserved the bequest made to us by preceding generations.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner." Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those oscillations of business activity which have characterized economic life for the last century. But the government is

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once again facing a new challenge with a cool head and a stout heart. It is rapidly marshalling all the weapons in its arsenal to make impossible a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. It will relentlessly continue the fight to end the blight of economic insecurity.

Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies, there will always be a threat to our liberties. So long as youth is haunted by the spectre of unemployment, it may fall easy prey to anti-democratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ruthlessly to exploit hardship and suffering for its own private advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability, the government has already incurred the enmity of those who would sacrifice the public weal to private advantage, who firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising

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from unbridled economic power, are only too willing to deprive others of liberties which only democracy gives. We are proud of having incurred this enmity.

But let no one underestimate the power of the foe. In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions for their own base purposes.

The fight for economic security and political stability cannot be won by the government alone. It requires your active cooperation. All that the government can do is to keep the issues clear and to provide a political framework within which balanced economic activity is attainable and in which excesses are discouraged. Given this framework, the retention of the decencies and amenities of civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. It is a struggle in which none can afford

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to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him, or that the ultimate issue of the struggle will not depend on his own unimportant efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

In these crucial times the liberal traditions of America need your active allegiance. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of the press, of assembly, of research, of enterprise, these are not automatically self-perpetuating rights. They are rights which you must more emphatically than ever reassert for yourselves because never before have they been so endangered as they now are by the spread of Fascism and Communism. That you will give your allegiance to the struggle for the maintenance of our democratic institutions is promised by the mature interest you students are now taking in the economic and political problems that confront us. My contacts with the college students of the present generation have taught me a profound respect and admiration for their awareness of the

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part they must play in public affairs. I am confident that you will live up to your promise.

You are living in hard times. The old frontier has been closed, and it is for you to open up new frontiers -- not only frontiers for economic exploitation, but also frontiers of the mind. The post-war generation was known as the "lost generation". This generation which is now growing up, I hope will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself; the generation which, no longer blinded by the dazzling hallucination of unlimited material success, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare, political and cultural, as well as economic, of the country as a whole and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

RE TEMPLE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
ADDRESS

May 27, 1938.
10:15 a.m.

Present: Mr. Gaston
Mrs Klotz
Mr. Haas
Mr. White
Mr. Seltzer

H.M.Jr: All right, who's teacher? What you got, Harry?

White: Why, I think - I got Herbert's draft yesterday afternoon, and I've incorporated some of it and cut down mine. But probably Herbert - you'd want to hear Herbert's.

H.M.Jr: Well, who's got a complete one?

Gaston: well, I wrote one. It isn't exactly a rewrite of Harry's. I took the same general theme and started from scratch and wrote about the required number of words.

H.M.Jr: Well, have you (White) got yours?

White: Yes.

H.M.Jr: Well, do you (Gaston) want to read yours, or do you want somebody else to read it?

Gaston: It's immaterial to me. I'll read it.

"I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity (reads complete speech prepared by himself, copy attached)

H.M.Jr: Well, I think that will help.

Now, who else has got a contribution?

Seltzer: I have no complete speech, but, taking your suggestion that Harry's draft be used as a framework, I worked up something to use in there.

H.M.Jr: Have you got a copy, Herbert, of what you wrote?
Please. Thanks very much.

Seltzer: Do you want to listen to it?

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H.M.Jr: Please.

Seltzer: "In all the major countries of the world, national governments"

H.M.Jr: Is this a complete speech?

Seltzer: This is to be inserted in Harry's draft.

H.M.Jr: Fine.

Seltzer: "In all the major countries of the world, national governments have been forced to concern themselves increasingly (reads his suggested insert, copy attached) These problems should constitute a challenge to the men and women of your generation."

And there I thought that these problems would be discussed, and so forth.

H.M.Jr: Well now, you going to give that to me or you going to give it to Harry?

Seltzer: Either.

H.M.Jr: I'd give it to Harry. Will you give it to Harry. Have you got anything, George?

Haas: No, I just got some comments.

H.M.Jr: Have you (White) changed yours any?

White: I'll tell you what I've done. In the first place, with respect to what you asked about, Miss Diamond had her staff going through all his works and found nothing. And before I called him up I thought it would be better to see if we couldn't find it. So I'm having a couple of my men go through it all and see if we can find it; and if not, I'll get in touch with him and work it into the place that I've already set for it.

Then, I liked some passages in Herbert's speech very much, so I took out what I thought I could work in. But I haven't had time enough. There are some others

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that he has there that I think are preferable to what I have, that could be worked in with a little more time.

Then toward the latter part of the speech I included, expanded, or carried out what I thought your idea was of the challenge and the questions and so on. I think there's room for a little more expansion. It's only a couple of pages, and I think it could be expanded if we have a little more time, and try to weave that in. I cut out about a third, I think, of the original. There are doubtless some sentences and paragraphs in there that you might not - that you probably won't leave in, and it isn't quite as smooth as it could be if I had a little more time. But it's complete. I can read the parts that I added, if you like.

H.M.Jr: How long - yes, let's keep working until 11.

White: I liked Herbert's first part particularly: "I am grateful to Temple University ..." - though it's changed somewhat; that's why I'll read it - "I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938..... (reads section adapted from Gaston's speech, copy attached, marked White #1)

H.M.Jr: Excuse me just a minute. I'd use the "you and I" first and then subsequently "us," because they might think I'm saying - I'm referring to the editorial "we." Say "you and I" and then subsequently say "us."

White: Now I go into a very much abbreviated version of what I had, which I don't think is necessary to go over.

H.M.Jr: No.

White: And with some changes of one kind or another come to I haven't got this just.....

H.M.Jr: That's all right, take your time. You haven't got it all together, have you?

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White:

Here it is. This is the part that I thought is new, that I suggested to carry out the other, after a much abbreviated version of the other.

"I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear, that the immediate pressing problems were over. I wish I could truthfully say that prosperity is around the corner. Unfortunately, our tasks, your tasks, have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those oscillations of economic activity which have characterized economic life for the last century. The Government is facing this new challenge with a cool head and a stout heart. The reforms introduced in the past five years have fortunately prevented a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. We are spared those fears. But the immediate problem in the fight to end the blight of economic insecurity is to alleviate and end the present recession. Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel, so all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies, there will always be a threat to our liberal ideals. So long as youth is haunted by the spectre of unemployment, it may fall easy prey to such movements "

I began a little soon. Let me skip a few paragraphs.

"The fight to prevent the spread of poverty cannot be won by the Government alone."

H. A. Jr.:

Excuse me. (Has phone conversation)

White:

"The geographical frontiers are gone but there are new, ever expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them. America is a land of economic potentialities which we have scarcely begun to tap. A bounteous nature has endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a high standard of living for all Americans. We have far more capital than any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of large-scale production is advanced. We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative and inventiveness.

"We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living. The resolution of the crux of the economic

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problem is temptingly within our grasp. It is no longer a will-o-wisp. But it still escapes us. 'I clutch thee, yet I have thee not.' " Better leave that out.

"We find one-third of the richest nation in the world ill fed, ill housed, ill clad. Bumper crops of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton, -- yet poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital idle, yet millions of hands with no work to do. The best equipped factories in the world working quarter and half time, yet millions of families lacking goods these factories could make. Warehouses full, yet larders empty.

"Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method. There must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and yet retain private incentive. Other countries less fortunately situated than ours have tried to solve these problems without success. They have sacrificed liberty without attaining economic security. They have surrendered the things we hold most dear without improving their material welfare. It is for us to learn from their sad experience and to avoid the innumerable pitfalls that lie in our path. History does not raise problems which are insoluble or not ready for solution. In the words of a poet of your generation with whom I do not see eye to eye on all questions

'History to the defeated may say alas,
But cannot help nor pardon.'

"These frontiers you must explore, these worlds you must conquer. This is the challenge for your generation, a challenge which will demand all the courage and audacity you have. Your conquests, your discoveries, will yield riches infinitely greater than pioneering of geographical frontiers. It will be written in history that my generation has failed to solve the problem of balanced production. History will record that we failed to attain the equitable distribution of income without which balanced production is

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impossible. When history passes judgment on your generation, let the verdict be different. Let it pronounce that you resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

"The post-war generation was known as the lost generation. Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer seduced by the glittering prizes the lottery blindly awards to the few, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare, political and cultural as well as economic, of the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness and the world by its example."

Now, it's the previous paragraph that I think should be expanded into two or three.

H.M.Jr: Well, I think what you ought to do is - I think you could sit here at 11 and hear what Hopkins and Wallace have to say, so you can get that. I don't want to say - I want to express my philosophy, but I still don't want to go too ...

White: counter to theirs.

H.M.Jr: Well, I'll have to. But you better listen to that. And then I'll try to work out a time when I can do this thing.

White: What I'd like to do, if it suits you, is to smooth and expand this for the rest of the day, and then send a draft of this tonight, along with the others, so you can read it.

H.M.Jr: That's right. Well, thank you all.

GASTON

Mr. Gaston's draft. 5/26/38
Rec White

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I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938; although I ~~knowing~~ I approach it in much the same mood as each of you approaches the new phase of his life on which he is entering. The typical cartoon of the graduation period pictures the young college graduate as striding forth, diploma in hand, with supreme confidence that he will be able to settle quickly all the country's most pressing problems. I never have considered that a true picture. I doubt that the typical graduate has any greater confidence in his ability to remake the world than I have in my ability to give you a message that will be full of such wisdom that it will be a useful guide to you.

You and I both approach our individual tests, I think, with some trepidation and with a desire to do the best we can and to go as far as our energy, our ability and our courage will carry us.

If we are not overconfident of what we can do, we ought not to be under-confident. The world's work has to be done by men like us. We can not count on any supermen arising, nor can we expect that all the problems of the future will be solved by the decisions of the past. While the knowledge gained by men through all the ages is our greatest heritage and our greatest body of wealth, the use we shall make of it must be determined by the decisions that you and I and our fellow Americans make.

That this is so is one of the most hopeful facts of our situation. The men and women who will be leaders of the future will come up out of obscurity as our leaders have in the past. For in this country we have

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not consciously put shackles on ambition or sought to deny knowledge to anyone. We have instead striven to develop our human resources by broadening and enriching the life of the individual. That is more than a means to progress, It is the end which progress must serve. No common purpose of any group of men or any Nation of men is worthy if it does not keep that end in view.

The mood of today is not one of ~~confidence~~. We look about us and observe that we live in a troubled world, that wars are in progress and that other and greater wars threaten; that there is a most menacing conflict of ideas about government; that there is oppression and persecution on a scale that we would have thought impossible a few years ago; and, finally, that there is economic disorder which threatens the welfare of all peoples and for which no promising avenue of solution seems to have been found. We find much to dismay us, too, in our own situation. Business activity is again at a low ebb. The young graduate, looking for a useful place in the world, faces the fact that millions of his fellow-Americans are unemployed, that the public treasuries are being drained of funds to provide food and work for these for whom industry can find no place.

Just now we are confronted with the prospect that this year there will be unusually abundant food crops, and this gives rise, not to rejoicing, but to fear that prices will be so low as to be ruinous to farmers and thus have a depressing instead of a stimulating effect on trade and industry.

This illustrates the baffling anomaly which constitutes the greatest economic problem we have to face today. We live on the world's richest

continent and the one best suited of all to human habitation at this stage of the world. The progress of knowledge has very greatly increased the capacity for production here of the things men need and desire. We have the skill and equipment with which to produce abundantly for the needs of all. But we have not so organized our resources and our capacities that we can put men to work on the work that needs to be done and provide, as we should be able to provide, the abundance that is available to us.

Now it is apparent that there are two faces to a problem such as this. How we view it depends a great deal on individual temperament, on individual experience and the breadth of each one's vision. There is the dismal aspect that out of so much riches we have been able to realize so little.

There is the hopeful view that great riches exist to be realized when once we have mastered the problems of organization that stand in our way. One will be less likely to find hope and confidence in the mass whose visions ten years ago of wealth and ease and a continuously brightening future were harshly swept away; but to youth the prospect for great accomplishment may well be bright and attractive.

Over against the darker picture let us look at some of the reasons why youth and courage in America should find reasons for confidence in their position in the world today.

The people of America are at peace with the world. Your government has pursued a policy of cultivating good relations and peaceful trade with

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its neighbors on the American continent and of preserving good will in its relations with all other Nations. America is not menaced from any quarter of the world, nor is there any good reason to fear that it will be in the near future. We are far removed from all the centers of disturbance and we are well equipped and becoming increasingly better equipped to defend ourselves, as we must be in a world so torn with strife and the menace of strife.

With respect to all the needs of life we are more nearly self-contained within our own borders than any other great Nation. Our land is capable of supporting a much greater population. Our physical resources are ample for all our needs and in addition we have all the necessary knowledge, skills and equipment to realize the full values of our natural wealth.

Our human resources are also great. Our people, enriched by the blood of many lands, do not suffer by comparison with those of any other part of the world. Every generation has produced men and women who have made great contributions to the sum of the world's knowledge and accomplishment.

Our general standard of living has almost constantly advanced. We enjoy as common conveniences articles and services that would have been a wild dream of luxury only a generation ago and are still that to most of the world today.

But supreme above all these in real value to us is a form of government and a tradition of living that gives dignity to the individual and

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holds out for us the prospect that we may utilize the full value of our other advantages.

To all these might be added still another factor that may well serve to counteract the darkest fears. After all, the situation in which we find ourselves today is quite new. The conditions of work and living in America have changed swiftly. It is not long since our population was chiefly rural and there was still new land to be developed on our frontiers. The change to industrial life has been rapid. The inventions and discoveries that have so increased our productive capacity have crowded upon us in a few years. We have been preoccupied with mastering nature with new developments and new studies and new feats of physical science and we have assumed that adjustments of men to new fields of work, so long as general productivity was increasing, would largely take care of themselves. In fact, to a great extent they did. But lately we have found that there was something seriously wrong with our system, that great bodies of men were being thrown out of work by advances in methods of production, that purchasing power was lacking to make our productive machine move forward to full capacity.

We are just now beginning to realize the dimensions of that problem and to bring our intelligence to bear upon it. I see no reason why we should face it in a defeatist mood. There is every reason why America, at least, should face it with courage and with confidence.

We can produce enough for all. We can find useful work for all willing hands; we can find a market for the product of every man's hand

and brain, if we still have in America the courage and the intelligence and the goodwill which have brought us this far.

I don't think we shall adopt even temporarily any defeatist approaches to our problem that will lead us into blind alleys of delay. Our ~~minority~~ ^{majority} will tell us that we ought not to plan our future, that we ought to seek refuge in the good old practices and conditions of the past when we were doing pretty well. That is a perfectly understandable attitude. It is the dream thinking of beaten men, who seek the surroundings and the associations and the practices of a happier time in the hope thus to bid the past return. But the past will not return. We are in ^{the} different ~~conditions~~ and different times and we face problems that the past has never solved and can not solve for us.

There are others who tell us that government ought not to meddle with these great problems, that it ought to leave them to the business world. But government can not avoid meddling. It has always meddled with the conditions under which we live and work. That, in fact, is its function. It has always guarded our borders and regulated the stream of immigration. It has protected the people's heritage in their lands. It has protected industry by tariffs. It has established the rules under which business shall operate. It has granted subsidies to business. It has made resources available. It has protected the title to inventions. It has sought to safeguard the individual from fraud and from oppression and to safeguard his opportunities for useful work.

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Those are among the historic responsibilities of our government and of any government. They are the responsibilities of the people of our country whose only completely organized channel of action with which they can grapple with such problems directly is our government. If we can not rely upon our government to make some effort to deal with the supreme economic problem that we have before us today, then it is but a weak instrument and needs to be strengthened.

I do not think the people of America are in a mood to complain if their government addresses itself to remedying the underlying defects of our economic system. They would surely complain, and complain justly, if it did not do so. They may complain also that the remedies tried are not effective; but it would be too much to hope that an instant solution could be found for so complex a range of problems bound up into the one great problem of finding satisfactory and rewarding work and an abundant living for all. Your government has addressed itself to the problem. It is seeking the way.

In the meantime your government is finding emergency means to meet an emergency problem, that of finding honest work for as many as possible of those who are in distress and food and shelter for those who need it. Whatever argument there may be about methods, I don't think that course needs any defense before the American people. I should be unwilling to attempt to defend any other course. We have found means to pour out in great volume help for those who needed help. We have been able to do it. The credit of the Nation has not suffered. The means of the people have

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not been exhausted. I do not hesitate to say that the Nation is not worse off for what has been done, but far better off. We have bought real values for what has been paid out. It is not any part of traditional American doctrine that our people should go naked and shelterless and should starve in the midst of abundance.

But we all know that it is not enough. We seek a system under which relief on so great a scale will not be necessary, a system where there will always be a market for the product of every man's hand. To bring that system of organization into being is your task and mine; it is a part of the invitation which American extends to you today.

The invitation goes further even than that. We must seek work and bread and shelter for all, but in seeking them we must not lose a heritage even more precious. We must not make the historic mistake of those peoples of the present and the past who have sacrificed liberty in the search for some temporary security. The way to enhancing the dignity of the individual and advancing the quality of human life is not through accepting any tyranny, temporary or permanent. Probably no other Nation is less cursed with tyranny than we are. We ought to be certain that we shall at least preserve that condition.

We ourselves are not entirely free of tyranny. We have had and still have economic oppression. We are subject too, at times and in certain places, to the temporary tyranny of officers of government who are not in tune with the American tradition, and we are not free from the occasional tyranny of mob action or the tyranny of intolerance. The

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only sure antidote for those is a people educated in American ideals and alert to protect them.

It is not the easy solution of our economic difficulties that might come at the price of the loss of our liberty that we seek. Ours is the more difficult task of finding our way to a solution that will be permanent and in harmony with democratic processes; a solution that holds within it the promise of the greater goal we seek.

We seek a solution that will give free play to individuality, that will furnish rewards for enterprise, that will permit every man to be a man and not a puppet, that will not subordinate any man to the master-and-slave concept of the relation of the State to its citizens.

So I have come today not to hold out to you the promise of a life of ease or of sure rewards; but, believing that you are the heirs of the American tradition, I show you what I believe you would wish to be shown, the opportunity and the challenge to a life of brilliant service to humanity.

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Seltzer

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In all the major countries of the world, national governments have been forced to concern themselves increasingly in recent years with economic problems. The changes and dislocations accompanying the World War and the ensuing peace -- including the emergence of the Southern Hemisphere as a major source of farm products in international trade -- were not easily digested. In our own country, they are reflected even today in the problems of the American farmer.

In an attempt to replace their lost foreign markets, and thereby to reduce the numbers of their unemployed, some countries increased their tariff barriers against imported goods, and subsidized the internal production of goods previously imported. Other countries, intent upon achieving national self-sufficiency against the contingency of another war, did likewise. Ordinary tariff measures were soon supplemented by drastic quota restrictions upon imports, and by rigid control of foreign exchange. Such actions not only created grave problems of adjustment for the countries taking the initiative.

They also shrank the international markets for all other countries, thereby forcing difficult and costly readjustments upon them also.

Today, with war exalted in the totalitarian countries, and with feverish preparations for war in process throughout Europe, industry has in ^{some} many cases become merely an arm of the government; and the control of industry by government is becoming so intimate as to threaten the elimination of private enterprise/ altogether.

In this country, our national Government also has had to concern itself increasingly with economic problems. Like other countries, we were profoundly and adversely affected by the great new barriers erected against international trade and by the depreciation of many currencies in terms of the dollar. After we had suffered great damage by reason of a currency unadjusted to the practical needs of the situation, President Roosevelt, you will recall, met this situation boldly and effectively by reducing the gold content of the

dollar. We have since, as you all know, broken the threatened vicious circle of competitive currency devaluation by an exchange stabilization agreement with other leading countries.

Fundamentally, however, our Government's concern with economic problems in recent years has differed radically in objectives and methods from those of a number of other countries. We are building for peace rather than for war. The economic problems that we tackle are those of providing a good standard of living for 130 million people ^{who expect to live} living at peace amongst themselves and with all others. ~~We do not seek by propaganda and coercion to make each citizen a slave of the Government.~~ We seek no regimentation. We wish to build and preserve those things that make for the maximum individual liberty, the maximum freedom of enterprise, ^{the} and maximum equality of opportunity, and the maximum individual security against the economic hazards of life.

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The legislation affecting business that has been enacted since 1932 has been directed at these goals. We believe in the American tradition of private enterprise and private profit as the system of economic organization best suited to maintain individual freedom. But to insure the preservation of the American tradition of free enterprise, we must see that it works well. It will not survive if we allow abuses to ^{continue} develop that become intolerable to the mass of our citizens. *A* For this reason I believe in the Government stepping in from time to time to build up, or to repair, or to change parts of the framework in which private industry operates. When the Federal Government provided a system of deposit insurance for banks, it did not ^{destroy private enterprise in banking, nor did it} eliminate competition between banks. It merely said, in effect, particularly so far as small depositors are concerned: "Banks will continue to compete for your business. But one of the things

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they will not compete about, ~~so far as the first \$5,000 of~~
 year deposits is concerned, ^{The first \$1300 of} is the safety of your deposits.

One insured bank will be as safe as another, but in ^{all} other
 respects, one may not serve you as well as another."

Similarly with respect to the recent legislation pro-
 viding for the registration of securities issues with the
 Securities and Exchange Commission, and the regulation by
 the latter of trading on national securities exchanges. A
 system of private enterprise is enriched, when the government
 steps in to compel truth in the publicity of issuers of
 securities and to eliminate sharp practices in securities
 trading.

The same principle applies with respect to unemployment
 and old-age insurance, ^w wages and hours legislation, labor
 relations acts, and other measures designed to increase the
 stake of the common man in the system of private enterprise.

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The effect of these measures is not to impair the system of private enterprise but to make it function more equitably and thereby strengthen it.

I do not want to leave you with the impression that I consider this task finished. On the contrary, I believe that there are several problems of vital importance that are far short of solution. These problems should constitute a challenge to the men and women of your generation.

→ Discussion of cause

You graduates today are heirs to a great heritage.

Your generation will inherit the whole physical plant of this country, including its farms and factories, its power plants, its systems of transportation and communication, and so forth.

In addition to this physical heritage, you are the heirs to a great body of ^{technical + other} knowledge, to a body of great tradition, and to a way of life and thought that emphasizes the dignity of the individual.

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I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938. There is much that I would like to say, and yet I confess that I approach my opportunity in much the same mood as each of you approaches the new phase of life on which he is entering -- with trepidation. I am aware that the perennial commencement cartoon pictures the young college graduate, diploma in hand, striding forth in supreme confidence that he will be able to settle in short order all the country's most pressing problems. But I never have considered that a true picture. I doubt that the typical graduate has any greater confidence in his ability to make the world over than I have in my ability to say such things as will prove of useful guidance to you.

But in the tasks that are before us, in attacking the problems that your generation and my generation must try to solve together, we ought not to be underconfident. Underconfidence is as bad as overconfidence. The world's work has to

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be done by men like us. We do not believe in supermen, nor can we expect that all the problems of the future will be solved by the decisions of the past. While the knowledge gained by men through the ages is our greatest heritage and our greatest wealth, the use we shall make of it must, after all, be determined by the decisions of such as you and I.

Yet I will not underestimate the difficulties before you. No one who has had to grapple with the problems of the last decade can honestly do that.

Were you graduating ten or more years ago you would have been glibly assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and of the growth of amity among the nations. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with unequalled, yet equal, opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty.

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the struggle will not depend on his own unimportant efforts if unconsciously helping the enemy.

Preventing the spread of poverty is only the first of the tasks awaiting you. You are living in hard times. The geographical frontiers are gone but there are new, ever expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them. America is a land of economic potentialities which we have scarcely begun to tap (America is a land that is a veritable cornucopia from which plenty can flow). A bounteous nature has endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a high standard of living for all Americans. We have far more capital than any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of large-scale production is advanced. We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative and inventiveness.

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We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living. The resolution of the crux of the economic problem is temptingly within our grasp. It is no longer a will-o-wisp. But it still escapes us. "I clutch thee, yet I have thee not." We find one-third of the richest nation in the world ill fed, ill housed, ill clad. Bumper crops of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton, -- yet poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital idle, yet millions of hands with no work to do. The best equipped factories in the world working quarter and half time, yet millions of factories lacking goods these factories could make. Warehouses full, yet larders empty.

Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method. There must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and yet retain private

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incentive. Other countries less fortunately situated than ours have tried to solve these problems without success. They have sacrificed liberty without attaining economic security. They have surrendered the things we hold most dear without improving their material welfare. It is for us to learn from their sad experience and to avoid the innumerable pitfalls that lie in our path. History does not raise problems which are insoluble or not ready for solution. In the words of a poet of your generation with whom I do not see eye to eye on all questions

"History to the defeated may say alas,

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These frontiers you must explore, these worlds you must conquer. This is the challenge for your generation, a challenge which will demand all the courage and audacity you have. Your conquests, your discoveries, will yield riches infinitely greater than pioneering of geographical frontiers. It will be written in history that my generation has failed to solve the

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problem of balanced production. History will record that we failed to attain the equitable distribution of income without which balanced production is impossible. When history passes judgment on your generation, let the verdict be different. Let it pronounce that you resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

The post-war generation was known as the lost generation. Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as the generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer seduced by the glittering prizes the lottery blindly awards to the few (awarded to the few by life's lottery), turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare, political and cultural as well as economic, of the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness and the world by its example.

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I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938, and through them to the youth of America. There is much I should like to say, and yet I confess that I approach my opportunity with much the same trepidation as each of you approaches the new phase of life on which he is embarking. I am aware that the typical commencement cartoon pictures the young college graduate, diploma in hand, striding forth in supreme confidence that he will be able to settle in short order all his own and his country's most pressing problems. I never have considered that a fair picture. I doubt that the typical graduate has any greater confidence in his ability to re-shape the world than I have in my ability to say such things as will prove of useful guidance to you.

But in the tasks that are before us, in attacking the common problems of your generation and mine we must not be under-confident. Under-confidence is as bad as over-confidence. The world's work has to be done by men like us. We

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do not believe in supermen, nor can we expect that all the problems of the future will be solved by the decisions of the past. While the knowledge gained by men through the ages is our greatest heritage and our greatest wealth, the use we shall make of it must, ~~after all~~, be determined by the decisions of such men as ourselves.

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I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties. It is a world which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will attain a rich fulfillment.

In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling that change will be even more rapid in the months and years to come.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud, ever darker and more terrifying. Never in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

You are graduating into a world throughout large sections

of which the lights of democracy have gone out and the driving force of capitalism destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on your generation.

Every year fewer students are being graduated from universities. The range of subjects grows narrower, the duration of school life briefer. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war. In the fascist philosophy war is the noblest pursuit of man and death on the battlefield the highest achievement.

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is almost non-existent. Even the elementary right to move freely from occupation to occupation is being drastically

curtailed, while the opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon outward conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your telephone is tapped; your mail is opened; your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or dying.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the totalitarian states. It is being carried boldly and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished

by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes crucially dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have "a rendezvous with destiny".

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged. *You are not logs in a war machine* All the liberties denied in the totalitarian state are yours. They are yours because your government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. They will remain yours only so long

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as you recognize that change, adaptation, and growth are also fundamental principles of democracy, that traffic rules designed for the horse and buggy age must be revised to meet the requirements of modern means of locomotion.

To be sure, change is not necessarily in the direction of progress. Changes occur whether we want them or not. They occur even when every needed innovation is resisted, even when there is a Pharisaical interpretation of the letter which denies the spirit. But then change is regress, not progress, retreat, not advance. ~~We have need to remember this.~~

We have need to remember, ~~however~~ that the liberties we cherish will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic postulates of democracy, — minorities as well as majorities, — are protected and preserved. Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or state strikes at the liberties of all of us.

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Nor can we expect our government to do all the fighting for us. No truly democratic government can move faster or farther than the people, even in the defense of democracy! When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by any individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights. ~~But you may~~ ~~well ask:~~ P What is our government doing to defend democracy? It is doing everything possible to foster the conditions under which our democratic institutions will thrive.

Our government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has arrested the tide of war by rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to recognize illegal acts of aggression. We are not among the war-mongers. "The American nation hates war". It has sought peace and pursued it. It has taken the initiative

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in cooperative efforts to introduce some semblance of order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade. Lastly, it has built up a Navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion.

At home it arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. It has not tolerated and it will not tolerate either starvation or the breakdown of human dignity. No cost is too great to conserve the fundamental wealth of our nation -- its men, its women, and its children. This government has not placed and will not place the balancing of the budget above essential human needs.

We have not faced the present with that narrow and carping spirit so inimical to all progress. The American people have not been content with merely accepting what the past has given. They have themselves made important contributions to their

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heritage -- contributions which have protected the flexibility and stability of our democratic institutions.

Weighed in the balance of the greatest economic crisis in history, our democratic institutions were not found wanting. For this we may thank first our founding fathers and their successors who bequeathed to us a constitution and a political structure the like of which have not been surpassed. But great as this gift was, it is doubtful whether it would have proved sufficient had it not been for the resourcefulness of the American people under the courageous democratic leadership of President Roosevelt.

There remains much to be done. Unless we get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies, there will always be a threat to our liberties. So long as youth is haunted by the spectre of unemployment, it may fall easy prey to anti-democratic movements. Such movements thrive

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on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ready to exploit hardship and suffering for his own private advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability, the government has already incurred the enmity of those who would sacrifice the public weal to private advantage, who, firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising from unbridled economic power, are only too willing to deprive others of liberties which democracy gives. We are proud of having incurred this enmity.

But let no one underestimate the power of the foe. In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions for their own base purposes.

They have ready but unwitting allies in those people who still tell us we ought not to plan our future, that we ought to take refuge in the good old practices and precepts of the

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past when all seemed well. That is a perfectly comprehensible attitude. But it is the dream-thinking of beaten men who seek solace in the surroundings and the associations of a less troubled time in the hope of recapturing the past. But the past will not return. We cannot turn the clock back. We live in different times and history confronts us with new problems that the past had no need to solve and can not solve for us.

Our enemies have other allies who tell us that the government ought not to "meddle", that business can take care of itself. But the government cannot avoid meddling. It has always "meddled" with the conditions under which we live and work. That is its function. It has guarded our borders and regulated the stream of immigration; protected the people's heritage in their lands; encouraged industry with tariffs; established the framework of rules under which business operates; made resources available; protected the title to inventions; and sought to safeguard the individual from fraud and oppression. "Meddling" there must be. Without it our

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~~complex economic life would be chaos.~~

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear; that the immediate pressing problems were over. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner". Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. We are once again experiencing one of those downward swings in business activity which have been characteristic of economic life for the last century.

The long-run reforms introduced in the past five years will prevent a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm. But the fight to alleviate the present recession and to make further recessions impossible requires your active cooperation. The retention of the decencies and amenities of civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. None can afford to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him, or that the outcome will

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not depend on his own unimportant efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

Though ~~you~~ are living in hard times, ^{yet} they are adventurous times. The geographical frontiers are gone, but there are new, ever expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them. America is a land of economic potentialities which we have scarcely begun to tap. A bounteous nature has endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a high standard of living for all. We have far more capital than any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of large-scale production is advanced. We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative and inventiveness. We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living.

The solution of the economic problems of providing an abundant life for all is temptingly within our grasp. It is

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no longer a will-o-wisp. But it still escapes us. We find one-third of this, the richest nation in the world, ill fed, ill housed, ill clad. bumper crops of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton, -- yet poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital idle, millions of hands with no work to do. The best equipped factories in the world working quarter and half time, while millions of factories lack the goods these factories could make, Warehouses full, yet larders empty.

Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method, there must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and yet retain private incentive. ~~In the words of a poet of your generation~~

This is your challenge, these the frontiers you must explore, the worlds you must conquer. Your conquests, your discoveries, will yield riches infinitely greater than pioneering of geographical frontiers. They will demand all the courage and audacity you have.

It will be written in history that my generation failed to solve the problem of balanced production, that we failed to attain the equitable distribution of income without which balanced production is impossible. When history passes judgment on your generation, let the verdict be different. Let it pronounce that you succeeded where we have failed, that you resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

In the words of a poet of your generation

"And time is short and
History to the defeated may say alas,
But cannot help nor pardon."

The post-war generation was known as the lost generation. Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as the

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generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer seduced by the glittering prizes the lottery blindly awards to the few, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare of the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

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I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938, and through them to the youth of America. There is much I should like to say, and yet I confess that I approach my opportunity with much the same trepidation as each of you approaches the new phase of life on which he is embarking. Ten years ago I should have been more confident. But no one who has been close to the seat of government and has had to grapple with the complex problems of the last decade can speak glibly of the road that is before you.

Were you graduating ten or more years ago you probably would have been assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and of the growth of amity among the nations. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with unequalled, yet equal, opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population,

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of the near-disappearance of poverty.

I cannot carry such illustory glad tidings to you. The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the twenties. It is a world which you cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which you have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment will attain a rich fulfillment.

In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid rate. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling that change will be even more rapid in the months and years to come.

You are graduating into a world parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud, ~~ever darker and more terrifying.~~ Never in recorded history have tensions been so great. Never has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

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You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and the driving force of *individual initiative* ~~capitalism~~ destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on youth.

There every year fewer students are being graduated from universities. The range of subjects grows narrower, the duration of school life briefer. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation for war.

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is either non-existent or is being steadily whittled away. Even the elementary right to move freely from occupation to occupation is being drastically curtailed, while the opportunities

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for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon ~~entire~~ conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the state; you can have no voice in the government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; ~~your telephone is tapped; your mail is opened;~~ your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe at the state's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or dying.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the totalitarian states. It is being carried boldly and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished

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by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack ~~22~~ that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes increasingly dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have "a rendezvous with destiny."

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you, the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged. You may study what and where you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will. You are not cogs in a war machine. You don't have to devote fruitful years of your life to the science of killing. You are not forced to put behind you for one, two, or three years all thought of creative effort, of cultural ^{and} pursuits, a full life and peaceful

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endeavor toward which you have been looking and for which you have so earnestly prepared. You are not compelled to doff your cap and gown for a uniform and entrain for an army camp.

^{all}
~~All~~ the liberties denied in the totalitarian State are yours. They are yours because your Government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. In these disturbed times when freedom is being assailed ^{throughout the world} ~~in every land~~, those liberties will remain yours only so long as you give them your whole-hearted allegiance.

In my generation we ^{handed} ~~largely~~ took our liberties ^{largely} for granted. They were handed to us on a silver platter and we accepted them as a matter of course. Your generation cannot afford such complacency. The retention of the

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dependencies and amenities of civilized life involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. None can afford to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him or that the outcome will not depend on his own efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

We must jealously guard our liberties against infringement. We must never forget that they will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic postulates of democracy -- minorities as well as majorities -- are consistently protected and preserved. Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or State strikes at the liberties of all of us. When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by an individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

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We cannot expect our Government to do all the fighting for us. No truly democratic Government can move faster or farther than the people. But we do expect it to express the people's will for the defense of democracy; we do expect it to take the lead in anticipating the basic needs of the people.

How has our Government done that? How has it fostered the conditions under which our democratic institutions will thrive and the right to economic security become a meaningful reality?

Our Government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has helped to arrest the tide of war by rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to recognize illegal acts of aggression. In its dealings with small nations it no longer permits the machinations of "dollar diplomacy". It pursues the "good neighbor" policy with the Latin American nations. We are not among the warmongers. "The American nation hates war." It has sought peace and pursued it. It has taken the initiative in cooperative efforts to introduce some semblance of order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade.

Lastly, it has built up a Navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion.

At home it ^{our government} arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. It instituted work relief to an extent unparalleled in the history of mankind and inaugurated a vast system of public works which have permanently ^{increased} ~~enriched~~ the wealth of our country. It has introduced basic reforms long overdue. Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of speculation. Our banking system has been strengthened and made more flexible; the adoption of deposit insurance gives ~~absolute~~ protection to the small depositor. The stock exchange functions as a concern fraught with public interest and must ^{now} bear the responsibilities associated with public interest. More equitable and more orderly relations between capital and labor have been promoted, and we

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have taken the first and most difficult steps toward a system of social security.

The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. We set up the C.C.C. which *has* brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves. We created the National Youth Administration which *has* enabled thousands of students to continue their education under less precarious circumstances. Among you here today there are doubtless a number who can attest to the utility of that program.

True, this program has involved large expenditures. But we regard those expenditures as the best investment America can make. No cost is too great to maintain the physical and spiritual health of the people. As I stated in ^a~~my~~ ~~budget~~ speech ~~of~~ November of last year "... in no event will this Administration allow anyone to starve, nor will it abandon its broad purpose

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to protect the weak, to give human security, and to seek a wide distribution of our national income." (~~This Government has not and will not place the balancing of the budget above essential human needs.~~)

There remains much to be done; ^{but} millions of decent homes to be built; slums wiped out; transportation reorganized, ~~the~~ machinery of Government administration improved. (~~We have neglected the evils arising from the depletion of certain areas by population movements which depress other areas.~~) The excessive power of monopolies must be restricted. Our taxation system must be revised so as to eliminate cumbersome overlapping of Federal, State, and local taxes and attain equitable distribution of tax burdens. These are only some of the tasks.

The major task, ~~however~~, is to get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies. Until we succeed in that task, our liberties will not be safe. (So long as youth is haunted by the spectre of

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unemployment, it may fall easy prey to antidemocratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ready to exploit hardship and suffering for his own private advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability the Government has already incurred the enmity of those who would sacrifice the public weal to private advantage, who, firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising from ~~un-~~bridled economic power, are ~~only~~ willing to deprive others of the liberties which democracy gives. In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions for their own base purposes. We must not let the issue become confused. We must not be tricked into exchanging our liberties for an illusory mess of pottage. We must not forget that the

liberties we cherish for their own sake are the very weapons with which the fight for economic security must be won.

~~The enemy~~ have ready but unwitting allies in those people who still tell us we ought not to plan our future, that we ought to take refuge in the good old practices and precepts of the past when all seemed well. That is a perfectly comprehensible attitude. ~~But~~ it is the dream-thinking of beaten men who ~~seek solace~~ ^{would restore} in the surroundings and the associations of a less troubled time, ~~in the hope of recapturing the past.~~

~~But~~ ^{But} the past will not return. ~~We cannot turn the clock back.~~

We live in different times and ~~history confronts us with~~ ^{confronts us} new problems that the past had no need to solve and cannot solve for us.

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear; that the immediate pressing problems were over. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner." Unfortunately our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun.

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The basic reforms carried through under the courageous leadership of President Roosevelt are only a beginning. They will prevent a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm, but the fight to alleviate and end the present recession and to make further recessions impossible is still before us. It is a task that calls for effort and sacrifice, for wisdom and courage; patience and vision.

You are living in hard times, yet adventurous times. The geographical frontiers are gone, but there are new, ever-expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them. In the past we concentrated on the development of our natural resources. More recently, and somewhat tardily, we turned our attention to the conservation of those resources. The time has now come for us to devote a much larger share of our energies to an even vaster task -- the maintenance and development of our human resources. ~~A recent Government medical report reveals that much too large a percentage of the population~~

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~~of the United States do not get adequate medical and dental treat-~~
~~ment.~~ Educational opportunities, though greater than in any other
country in the world, fall far short of the needs of an advanced
democracy. The development of our human resources is not only the
function of government; it is the justification for government.

America is a land of economic potentiality which can provide
for the full development of our people. A bounteous nature was
endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a
high standard of living for all. We have far more capital than
any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge
to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as
efficient as our technique of large-scale production is advanced.
We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative
and inventiveness. We have all the ingredients essential to a
high standard of living.

The solution of the economic problems of providing an
abundant life for all is temptingly within our grasp. It is
no longer a will-o-wisp. But it still escapes us. We find
one-third of this, the richest nation in the world, ill-fed,

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ill-housed, ill-clad. Bumper crops of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton, -- yet poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital idle, millions of hands with no work to do. The best-equipped factories in the world working quarter- and half-time, while millions ~~of factories~~ lack the goods these factories could make. Warehouses full, yet larders empty. ^{ff} This year the prospect of unusually abundant crops confronts us. Instead of giving rise to rejoicing, this prospect arouses fear that the farmers will have a lower income. Technological progress is steadily occurring in most industrial fields. But this progress is often accompanied by displacement of labor, reduced employment, and the emergence of stranded areas. It is indeed a tragic commentary that abundance alarms us more than scarcity, that inventions which ultimately raise the standard of living take such heavy toll, that increased capacity to produce may actually reduce the national income.

Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been

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able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method, there must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution of income and yet retain private incentive. It must be possible, while retaining our democratic liberties, to win for the people of America the realization of the most fundamental right, the right to work, -- to work at tasks suited to their capacities and training, under conditions in keeping with human dignity, ~~for remuneration~~ ^{and} yielding a decent standard of living, ~~and without restrictions on genuine collective bargaining~~. It must be possible to so organize our economy as to insure economic security for all.

This is your challenge, these the frontiers you must explore, the worlds you must conquer. Your conquests, your discoveries, will yield riches infinitely greater than pioneering of geographical frontiers. They will demand all the courage and audacity you have.

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*we have**has not
begun*

~~It will be written in history that my generation did not yet~~

succeed in solving the problem of balanced production, ~~that~~ *we have*

~~did not attain~~ ^{*ed*} the equitable distribution of income without

which balanced production is impossible. We ~~took~~ ^{*have taken*} only the first

groping steps in the right direction. When history passes

judgment on your generation, let the verdict be more favorable.

Let it pronounce that you succeeded. Let it say that you *ended*

resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

The post-war generation ^{*has sometimes been called*} ~~was known as~~ the lost generation.

Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as the

generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer

seduced by the glittering prizes that ^{*chance*} ~~blind lottery~~ awards to

the few, turned itself to a concerted pursuit of the welfare of

the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage

and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

May 26, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gaston:

I believe that the fact that Secretary Morgenthau will receive an honorary degree from Temple University at its commencement exercises on June 16 should be released to the press through your office, rather than through mine.

The reasons for this are obvious. Of course, because of the prestige of your office the story will receive nation-wide publicity through the usual news distributing agencies.

If agreeable to you, therefore, I would suggest that you call in the representatives of the press and give them the dope.

The story might be released for this coming Sunday or Monday, but I will leave it up entirely to you, although the sooner the better.

I hope my suggestion meets with your approval, and that you will act accordingly. If not, I will appreciate it if you will so advise me.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

With best wishes,

Very truly yours,

J. St. George Joyce

Director of Public Relations.

JSJ:H

P.S.- The Degree is Doctor of Laws.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

May 24, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to Secretary of Treasury
Department of Treasury
Washington, D. C.

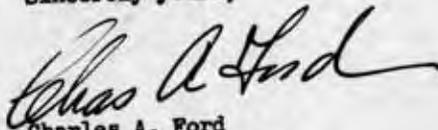
My dear Mr. Gaston:

It was very thoughtful of you to have called me last Thursday concerning Secretary Morgenthau's willingness to make the commencement address. We are looking forward to this with much pleasure.

I hope that you will be able to arrange a radio hook-up for him. We, of course, are doing nothing toward this, but stand in readiness to be of any assistance that we can.

As you know, the commencement program gets under way at 10 o'clock, but the commencement address will be some time later than that, probably 10:45. If it will facilitate matters, we will arrange it for an exact time, whenever you give us a request for such an arrangement.

Sincerely yours,



Charles A. Ford
Administrative Assistant
to the President

CAF:BW

May 27, 1939.

Mr. J. St. George Joyce,
Director of Public Relations,
Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Mr. Joyce:

I have received your letter of May 26th and have discussed it with Secretary Morgenthau. He would much prefer that you make the announcement that he is to receive the degree of Doctor of Laws and to make the commencement address on June 16th.

I note that Mr. Ford's recent letter to me gives the probable time when the Secretary will speak as 10:45 A.M., the exercises starting at 10:00. I assume that these times are Daylight Saving and will so inform the radio people, unless you advise me to the contrary.

Very truly yours,

Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

HEG/mah

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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

June 1, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to Secretary of the Treasury,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gaston:

In compliance with your suggestion, I have released the announcement that Secretary Morgenthau will receive an honorary degree from Temple University to the newspapers for next Sunday, June 5.

Dr. Ford is as accurate as he can be when he tells you that 10.45¹ a.m. will be the approximate time when Secretary Morgenthau will speak, which means, of course, daylight saving time.

I should like to have, fairly well in advance of commencement day, June 15, a complete copy of the address to be delivered by the Secretary. This is intended for newspaper publicity purposes for release after its delivery.

I would be glad to know, as soon as possible, what is to be the subject of Secretary Morgenthau's talk, so that I may use that in advance publicity.

Many thanks for having sent me Mr. Morgenthau's photograph, sketch of his life, and for the other courtesies you have extended me.

Very truly yours,

J. St. George Joyce

Director of Public Relations.

JSJ:H

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TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 4, 1928.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

Following the Commencement Exercises on June 16th, there will be a luncheon at the Penn Athletic Club for the recipients of honorary degrees and other special guests. It will probably not last more than an hour. We would be very happy indeed if you and Mrs. Morgenthau, and the other members of your party could plan to attend. Transportation to the Club from Convention Hall, where the exercises are to be held, will be arranged for you if you so desire.

If you are planning to come to Philadelphia the day before, will you please advise me, in order that we may complete arrangements for your accommodations at The Barclay Hotel, 18th Street and Rittenhouse Square.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. D. Brury
President.

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June 7, 1938.

Dear Dr. Beary:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 4th. It is most kind of you to plan for our comfort and convenience during our visit to Philadelphia.

I do not like to burden you about the arrangements for our hotel accommodations. However, if you are making such reservations for others, and will speak for us at the same time, I would be most appreciative. We would like to have a double room for Mrs. Morgenthau and myself, a single for my daughter, a single for my son, and another for my father. If you will ask the Hotel Barclay to reserve these for us, and to open the account for me, it will be most helpful.

I am sorry not to be able to give you definite word about the luncheon. We all have to be in New York for a family wedding later that afternoon, and it may very possibly be that we could not stop for the luncheon, much as we would all like to attend it. If you could give me an idea as to when the Commencement Exercises would be over, I could say whether we would have to go directly to New York, or whether we might join you at the Club.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

W.D.Jr.

Dr. Charles W. Beary,
President, Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

W.D./als

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June 7, 1938.

Dear Earle:

I am sending you herewith a confidential draft of my proposed speech at Temple University on June 16th.

I would greatly appreciate your reading it and giving me any suggestions or criticisms.

Yours sincerely,

(S) Henry

Mr. Earle Bailie,
120 East End Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Sent by Spec. Pol.

Taken to main P.O. @ 1:20

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June 7, 1938

Dear Eddie:

I am sending you herewith
a confidential draft of my pro-
posed speech at Temple University,
on June 16th.

I would greatly appreciate
your reading it and giving me any
suggestions or criticisms.

Yours sincerely,

A. Henry

Mr. Edward S. Greenbaum,
162 East 74th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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June 8, 1938

Dear Mr. Greenbaum:

Mr. Morgenthau has asked me to send you the inclosed copy of his speech which contains the most recent changes.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

W. Klotz

Mr. Edward S. Greenbaum,
Nemasha, Mass.

June 8, 1938

11:35 am

Present:

Mr. Gaston
Dr. White
Mrs. Klotz

HM, Jr: Well, I saw the President this morning and he was very much pleased. Contrary to Mr. Ernest Lindley he did not attempt to take the speech for himself. Lindley thought he would keep it. He thought it was too good.

The President made one very interesting comment when he got through; he said, Well, this might very well be an introduction to a book which would be written in the next five years.

He said, It's quite proper to say we don't know what the answer is and that's what you are doing.

Now, in this thing here, he hasn't done much, he did a few things and, as I say, I do want it up to date and to Mrs. Klotz by four o'clock -- not the thing necessarily that we were talking about, but the corrections that the President wants. Let me give you the ones the President suggested.

Are you keeping a succession of the copies like we did the last time?

Dr. White: You will notice each one of these has a different number on top. This is number 6.

HM, Jr: Now, on page 3. "This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries which have been engulfed by a totalitarian philosophy" the President does not like 'totalitarian' all the way through. Sounds too much like Mark Sullivan. For the word, here, "engulfed by an imposed philosophy". He took quite a lot of time to think about it. He does not like the word totalitarian.

Dr. White: One can't criticize the President.

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HM, Jr: Well, it was the only thing he raised on the whole thing and the only thing which seemed to irritate him. When the President takes 45 minutes to go over the speech and it brings up to his mind Mark Sullivan -- I think, I imagine, he himself has used it -- but anyway it irritates him. I was amazed he let the thing go. He has used the word 'imposed' philosophy.

Dr. White: If you use 'imposed philosophy' it needs some word to further describe it.

HM, Jr: The next thing -- here, where it says "There every year new restraints are being put on the pursuit of knowledge," he said, "There every year not college youth alone, but high school and grade school youth...." The point he wanted to get over, they start at 7 years to start drilling them.

Dr. White: You don't necessarily want the same words, but the same idea?

HM, Jr: It does not have to be exactly the same. The only thing he felt strongly on was totalitarian.

Page 4. "Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the totalitarian states." He added "which have abandoned democracy." "Stop at the confines of states which have abandoned democracy." Here it reads "totalitarian states".

Next thing. Top of page 6. "You are not compelled to doff your cap and gown for a uniform and entrain for an army camp." The President rather thinks it is good to have them entrained. He put it "You are not compelled in a bloc to doff your cap and gown for a uniform and entrain for an Army camp."

Dr. White: The emphasis should be on people. It might be very excellent thing to go to camp, but that's a choice the individual should have.

HM, Jr: But you are not compelled in a bloc.

Dr. White: Neither are you compelled as an individual.

HM, Jr: He was so extremely reasonable. And he has a good memory. This thing here, for him to take this the

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way it is, is quite -- to let his Secretary of the Treasury get up and say what I am saying in this is something!

"All the liberties denied in the totalitarian states are yours." He said, "All the liberties denied in the non-democratic states are yours."

Then he read on page 7 and he skipped this thing where -- he didn't say anything about it -- "Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or town, or State, strikes at the liberties of all of us", so I went back and said, "Mr. President, have you read that?" and he said, "Yes," and enthusiastically said, "Grand! Grand!" Because they are all going to say 'That's Hague'. I kept faith with Mellett and he thought inasmuch as the President has not said anything about Hague, why should I?

Dr. White: We have formulated a couple of sentences to follow that.

HM, Jr: I am not going to work much on it now. I have become quite saturated on this speech now.

That's all he did!

Dr. White: Would you like to see how we handled that last paragraph?

HM, Jr: Yes, I would.

Dr. White: Shall I read it the way we have written it? (reading draft)

HM, Jr: I am not up to having a battle of wits on that. I mean, I don't want to even pass comment on it. Are you together on that?

Mr. Gaston: No, I have not seen it.

HM, Jr: I don't think I will hit this again until tomorrow afternoon. I will say now, unless something comes up to the contrary, I will say three o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

But I was amazed at the enthusiasm of Ernest Lindley yesterday.

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Mr. Gaston: He told me when he was going home that this was far above the average of the President's speeches.

HM, Jr: He went that far?

Mr. Gaston: Uh, huh.

HM, Jr: Also, the other statement he made was that the President had never made a speech on civil liberties.

Mr. Gaston: This gets into a field that is so fundamental that the President has sort of shied away from it.

HM, Jr: The more you study that thing and the more you read that thing

Dr. White: It's got statements in every paragraph.

HM, Jr: It's amazing! And, oh, how I was praying that McIntyre wouldn't come in! And the President just got through with two minutes to spare and was expanding to me on his own philosophy, so I had complete quiet with only one telephone interruption, which is quite unusual, and he was in a good humor.

Mr. Gaston: I think it is a grand thing for his Administration.

HM, Jr: Well, as he said, this is an introduction to a book to be written in the next five years.

The other thing which Lindley said, he said, this not only will have Corcoran green-eyed with envy, but also, all the columnists around town with their tongues out.

Is he inclined to be so enthusiastic? I have never seen him like that before.

Mr. Gaston: No.

HM, Jr: Usually he's such a sour individual.

Mr. Gaston: Well his manner is that -- it's very unusual for him to show such enthusiasm.

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HM, Jr: All right, gentlemen. But let Mrs. Klotz have two sets, one for Mrs. Morgenthau and one for me.

oOo-oOo

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 9, 1938.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Reservations have been made for you and the members of your family at The Barclay Hotel, 18th Street and Rittenhouse Square.

I do hope that you and your family will be able to join us for luncheon. The Penn Athletic Club, where the luncheon will be held, is less than a half block from The Barclay, so there will be no loss of time at this point. The luncheon should be over by one-thirty.

Two cars will be at The Barclay at 9:15 A.M. to take you to Convention Hall. There will also be transportation provided for your return to the hotel.

Looking forward with much pleasure to having you with us, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. D. Feunoy
President.

6/10/38

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Gastor

This is a masterful
and moving document.

I limit myself to
detailed changes, stating
the reason in each case

It is too important not
to remove every rough spot

6/10/38

H.Q.

210 June 17, 1951

DB

I AM GRATEFUL TO TEMPLE UNIVERSITY FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO ITS GRADUATES OF 1936, AND THROUGH THEM TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA. MY PRESENCE HERE IS A PARTICULARLY HAPPY OCCASION FOR ME BECAUSE A FEW YEARS AGO THIS UNIVERSITY PAID A SIMILAR HONOR TO MY FATHER.

THERE IS MUCH I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY, AND YET I CONFESS THAT I APPROACH MY OPPORTUNITY WITH MUCH THE SAME TREPIDATION AS EACH OF YOU APPROACHES THE NEW PHASE OF LIFE ON WHICH HE IS EMBARKING. TEN YEARS AGO I SHOULD HAVE BEEN MORE CONFIDENT, BUT NO ONE WHO HAS BEEN CLOSE TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND HAS HAD TO GRAPPLE WITH THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF THE LAST DECADE CAN SPEAK GLIBLY OF THE ROAD THAT IS BEFORE YOU.

WERE YOU GRADUATING TEN OR MORE YEARS AGO YOU PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN ASSURED OF THE TRIUMPHANT SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY AND THE GROWTH OF AMITY AMONG THE NATIONS. YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT YOU LIVED IN A LAND ABOUNDING WITH UNEQUALLED, YET EQUAL, OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL. YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN TOLD OF THE RAPIDLY RISING STANDARD OF LIVING, OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE TO LARGER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION, OF THE NEAR-DISAPPEARANCE OF POVERTY.

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I CANNOT CARRY SUCH ILLUSORY GLAD TIDINGS TO YOU. THE WORLD WHICH NOW AWAITS YOU BEARS SMALL RESEMBLANCE TO THE WORLD OF THE TWENTIES. IN THE LAST DECADE HISTORY HAS MARCHED AT A TREMENDOUSLY RAPID RATE. THE PATTERN IT HAS EVOLVED BECOMES MORE COMPLEX, MORE UNSTABLE. I THINK YOU WILL SHARE WITH ME THE FEELING THAT CHANGE WILL BE EVEN MORE RAPID IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME. THE WORLD TODAY IS ONE WHICH YOU CANNOT ENTER WITH FULL ASSURANCE OF SECURITY, WITH CERTAINTY THAT THE CAPACITIES WHICH YOU HAVE DEVELOPED FOR WORK, FOR CREATIVENESS, FOR ENJOYMENT WILL ATTAIN A RICH FULFILLMENT.

YOU ARE GRADUATING INTO A WORLD PARTS OF WHICH ARE ALREADY AT WAR, WHILE OVER MOST OF THE REMAINDER THE EXPECTATION OF WAR HANGS LIKE A STORM CLOUD. SELDOM IN RECORDED HISTORY HAVE TENSIONS BEEN SO GREAT. NEVER HAS THE WORLD PREPARED SO MADLY AND SO RAPIDLY FOR A WAR WHICH ALL HOPE TO AVOID.

YOU ARE GRADUATING INTO A WORLD THROUGHOUT LARGE SECTIONS OF WHICH THE LIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY HAVE GONE OUT AND THE DRIVING FORCE OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE DESTROYED; INTO A WORLD IN WHICH THERE IS MORE AND MORE REGIMENTATION OF POLITICAL, OF

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ECONOMIC, AND OF CULTURAL LIFE, AND LESS AND LESS SECURITY FOR LIFE, FOR LIBERTY, AND FOR THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

THIS REGIMENTATION HAS ASSUMED ITS MOST ACUTE FORM IN THOSE COUNTRIES ENGULFED BY AN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY -- A PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS HAVING ITS GREATEST IMPACT ON YOUTH.

IN MOST OF THOSE COUNTRIES -- FROM KINDERGARTEN THROUGH UNIVERSITY -- MOUNTING RESTRICTIONS ARE BEING PLACED ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE. EVERY YEAR YOUTH DEVOTES MORE AND MORE OF ITS ENERGIES TO THE PREPARATION OF WAR.

IN THOSE COUNTRIES ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AS YOU AND I KNOW IT IS EITHER NON-EXISTENT OR IS BEING STEADILY WHITTLED AWAY. EVEN THE ELEMENTARY RIGHT TO MOVE FREELY FROM OCCUPATION TO OCCUPATION IS BEING DRASTICALLY CURTAILED, WHILE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT NOT UPON MERIT BUT UPON CONFORMITY TO THE POLITICAL CREED OF THE GROUP IN POWER.

IN THOSE COUNTRIES YOU CANNOT JOIN POLITICAL PARTIES SAVE THE ONE PRESCRIBED BY THE STATE; YOU CAN HAVE NO VOICE

IN THE GOVERNMENT; YOU CAN NEITHER ELECT NOR DEPOSE YOUR LEADERS; YOU CAN NEITHER MAKE NOR ALTER THE LAWS BY WHICH YOU ARE GOVERNED; YOU MAY READ ONLY FROM A PRESCRIBED LIST OF BOOKS; WHAT YOU WRITE IS STRICTLY CENSORED; WHAT YOU SAY IS CLOSELY WATCHED; YOUR THOUGHTS ARE SUSPECT; YOU MUST LOVE AND HATE, REJOICE, CHEER, SALUTE, BREATHE AT THE STATE'S BIDDING. IN THOSE COUNTRIES ALL THE ELEMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTE THE LIBERAL TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY AND ARE THE WARP AND WOOF OF OUR DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY ARE EITHER DEAD OR DYING.

NOR DOES THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRACY STOP AT THE CONFINES OF THE STATES WHICH HAVE ABANDONED DEMOCRACY. IT IS BEING CARRIED BOLDLY AND AGGRESSIVELY TO OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE DEMOCRACY IS CHERISHED BY THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE. SO EFFECTIVE HAS BEEN THE ATTACK THAT DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES ABROAD HAVE BEGUN TO LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR OWN POWERS OF RESISTANCE AND DEFENSE. FOR THIS REASON THE FATE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD BECOMES INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON WHAT HAPPENS IN THIS COUNTRY. THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HISTORY HAS PLACED UPON YOU -- THE YOUTH OF AMERICA -- IS EPIC IN ITS CONSEQUENCES. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN THIS VERY CITY, YOU HAVE "A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY".

YOU WHO ARE GRADUATING IN THE UNITED STATES ARE IN AN ESPECIALLY FAVORED POSITION TO UNDERTAKE THIS RESPONSIBILITY. FOR YOU THE MENACE OF WAR IS MORE REMOTE. THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM AN ENEMY WITHOUT.

FOR YOU, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF YOUR FATHERS ARE IN NO WISE ABRIDGED. YOU MAY STUDY WHAT AND WHERE YOU LIKE, ENGAGE IN ANY PROFESSION YOU ELECT, LIVE WHERE YOU WILL. YOU ARE NOT COGS IN A WAR MACHINE. YOU DON'T HAVE TO DEVOTE FRUITFUL YEARS OF YOUR LIFE TO THE SCIENCE OF KILLING. YOU ARE NOT FORCED TO PUT BEHIND YOU FOR ONE, TWO, OR THREE YEARS ALL THOUGHT OF CREATIVE EFFORT, OF CULTURAL PURSUITS, OF A FULL LIFE AND PEACEFUL ENDEAVOR TOWARD WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN LOOKING AND FOR WHICH YOU HAVE SO EARNESTLY PREPARED. YOU ARE NOT COMPELLED EN MASSE TO DOFF YOUR CAPS AND GOWNS FOR UNIFORMS AND ENTRAIN FOR AN ARMY CAMP.

ALL THE LIBERTIES DENIED IN THE NON-DEMOCRATIC STATES ARE YOURS. THEY ARE YOURS BECAUSE YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO DEVIATE FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE FREELY AND OPENLY EXPRESSED SHALL BE THE

LAW OF THE LAND. IN THESE DISTURBED TIMES WHEN FREEDOM IS
BEING ASSAILED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THOSE LIBERTIES WILL
REMAIN YOURS ONLY SO LONG AS YOU GIVE THEM YOUR WHOLE-HEARTED
ALLEGIANCE. 221

IN MY GENERATION WE TOOK OUR LIBERTIES LARGELY FOR GRANTED.
THEY WERE HANDED TO US ON A SILVER PLATTER AND WE ACCEPTED THEM
AS A MATTER OF COURSE. YOUR GENERATION CANNOT AFFORD SUCH
COMPLACENCY. THE RETENTION OF THE DECENCIES AND AMENITIES OF
CIVILIZED LIFE INVOLVES, MAY DEMANDS, A STRUGGLE IN WHICH WE
ALL, AND YOUTH ESPECIALLY, MUST PARTICIPATE. NONE CAN AFFORD
TO BE NEUTRAL. HE WHO ABSTAINS FROM THE STRUGGLE IN THE NAIVE
BELIEF THAT THESE MATTERS DO NOT CONCERN HIM OR THAT THE OUT-
COME WILL NOT DEPEND ON HIS OWN EFFORTS IS UNCONSCIOUSLY HELPING
THE ENEMY.

WE MUST JEALOUSLY GUARD OUR LIBERTIES AGAINST INFRINGEMENT.
WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT THEY WILL BE SWEEPED AWAY UNLESS THE
LIBERTIES OF ALL WHO ACCEPT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY
-- MINORITIES AS WELL AS MAJORITIES -- ARE CONSISTENTLY PROTECTED
AND PRESERVED. FAILURE TO DEFEND THOSE LIBERTIES IN ONE CITY,
OR COUNTY, OR STATE STRIKES AT THE LIBERTIES OF ALL OF US.

WHEN WE ARE INDIFFERENT TO REPRESSION, WHEN WE TOLERATE THE CURTAILMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN ANY PLACE OR BY AN INDIVIDUAL OR GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS, NO MATTER HOW POWERFUL, NO MATTER HOW CLOSE TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT, WE MAKE EASIER AN ATTACK UPON OUR OWN CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT THERE ARE PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES -- SOME OF THEM NOT VERY FAR FROM THIS CITY -- WHERE THOSE LIBERTIES ARE BEING BRAZENLY AND BRUTALLY DENIED, WHERE THE BILL OF RIGHTS IS BEING FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED TO PERPETUATE PERSONAL TYRANNY. DENIAL OF CIVIL LIBERTIES SEEMS TO ME ESPECIALLY DAMNABLE WHEN IT ACTS BEHIND A MASK OF PATRIOTISM AND UNDER THE SHELTER OF THE FLAG OF OUR COUNTRY WHICH WAS CREATED AND SANCTIFIED AS AN EMBLEM OF LIBERTY.

WE CANNOT EXPECT OUR GOVERNMENT TO DO ALL THE FIGHTING FOR US. NO TRULY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT CAN MOVE FASTER OR FARTHER THAN THE PEOPLE. BUT WE DO EXPECT IT TO EXPRESS THE PEOPLE'S WILL FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY; WE DO EXPECT IT TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ANTICIPATING THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

HOW HAS OUR GOVERNMENT DONE THAT? HOW HAS IT FOSTERED THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WILL THRIVE

AND THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC SECURITY BECOME A MEANINGFUL REALITY?

OUR GOVERNMENT HAS STEADILY WORKED TO DEVELOP PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IT HAS SOUGHT TO ARREST THE TIDE OF WAR BY RIGID ADHERENCE TO ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS AND BY ITS DETERMINED REFUSAL TO CONDONE ACTS OF AGGRESSION. IN ITS DEALING WITH SMALL NATIONS IT NO LONGER PERMITS THE INTRIGUES OF "DOLLAR DIPLOMACY". IT PURSUES THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY WITH THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. WE ARE NOT AMONG THE WARMONGERS. "THE AMERICAN NATION HATES WAR". IT HAS SOUGHT PEACE AND PURSUED IT. IT HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE ORDER IN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY RELATIONSHIPS AND IT HAS UNDERTAKEN AN ACTIVE PROGRAM TO LOWER THE BARRIERS TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE. LASTLY, IT IS BUILDING UP A NAVY ADEQUATE TO DEFEND OUR SHORES AGAINST ANY POTENTIAL THREAT OF INVASION.

AT HOME OUR GOVERNMENT ARRESTED THE CATASTROPHIC DECLINE WHICH DEVASTATED THE LIVES AND FORTUNES OF AMERICANS DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE DEPRESSION. TO AN EXTENT UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY IT PROVIDED USEFUL WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED BY A VAST SYSTEM OF PUBLIC WORKS WHICH HAVE PERMANENTLY INCREASED THE WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS INTRODUCED BASIC REFORMS LONG OVERDUE.

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OUR CURRENCY AND CREDIT ARE NO LONGER AT THE MERCY OF IRRATIONAL GUSTS OF SPECULATION. OUR BANKING SYSTEM HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND MADE MORE FLEXIBLE; THE ADOPTION OF DEPOSIT INSURANCE GIVES PROTECTION TO THE SMALL DEPOSITOR. THE SECURITIES MARKETS FUNCTION AS A CONCERN FRAUGHT WITH PUBLIC INTEREST AND MUST NOW BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH PUBLIC INTEREST DEMANDS. MORE EQUITABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR HAVE BEEN PROMOTED, AND WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST AND MOST DIFFICULT STEPS TOWARD A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS PARTICULARLY PROUD OF ITS RECORD OF AID TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA. WE SET UP THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS WHICH HAS BROUGHT HEALTH AND VIGOR TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN WHO WERE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THEMSELVES. WE CREATED THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAS ENABLED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO ATTEND HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OR TO OBTAIN VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCE THROUGH PART-TIME WORK. AMONG YOU HERE TODAY THERE ARE DOUBTLESS A NUMBER WHO CAN ATTEST TO THE UTILITY OF THAT PROGRAM.

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TRUE, THIS PROGRAM HAS INVOLVED LARGE EXPENDITURES. BUT I CONSIDER THOSE EXPENDITURES A NECESSARY INVESTMENT TO MAINTAIN THE PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE. AS I STATED IN MY ADDRESS OF NOVEMBER OF LAST YEAR ".... IN NO EVENT WILL THIS ADMINISTRATION ALLOW ANYONE TO STARVE, NOR WILL IT ABANDON ITS BROAD PURPOSE TO PROTECT THE WEAK, TO GIVE HUMAN SECURITY, AND TO SEEK A WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME."

THERE REMAINS MUCH TO BE DONE: MILLIONS OF DECENT HOMES TO BE BUILT; SLUMS WIPED OUT; TRANSPORTATION REORGANIZED; THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IMPROVED. THE EXCESSIVE POWER OF MONOPOLIES MUST BE RESTRICTED. OUR TAXATION SYSTEM MUST BE REVISED SO AS TO ELIMINATE CUMBERSOME OVERLAPPING OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL TAXES AND ATTAIN MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF TAX BURDENS. THESE ARE ONLY SOME OF THE TASKS.

THE MAJOR TASK, HOWEVER, IS TO GET OUR ECONOMY TO FUNCTION ON AN EVEN KEEL SO THAT ALL WHO ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK CAN FIND OUTLETS FOR THEIR CREATIVE ENERGIES. UNTIL WE SUCCEED IN THAT TASK, OUR LIBERTIES WILL NOT BE SAFE. WHEN MEN AND WOMEN ARE HAUNTED BY THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, THEY MAY FALL PREY TO ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS. SUCH MOVEMENTS THRIVE ON ECONOMIC INSECURITY. THE ENEMY IS EVER WITHIN THE GATES READY TO EXPLOIT HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING FOR HIS OWN PRIVATE ADVANTAGE.

IN THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY AND POLITICAL STABILITY THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY INCURRED THE ENMITY OF THOSE WHO, FIRM IN THE POSSESSION OF THE PREROGATIVES ARISING FROM UNBRIDLED ECONOMIC POWER, WOULD DENY TO OTHERS THE LIBERTIES WHICH IN A DEMOCRACY BELONGS TO EVERY MAN. IN TIMES OF STRESS THEIR GREATEST STRENGTH LIES IN THE CONFUSION OF ISSUES, IN THE DISTORTION OF FACT AND PRINCIPLE, IN THE EXPLOITATION AND SUBTLE MISINTERPRETATION OF THE NOBLEST AMERICAN TRADITIONS. WE MUST NOT LET THE ISSUES BECOME CONFUSED. WE MUST NOT BE TRICKED INTO EXCHANGING OUR LIBERTIES FOR AN ILLUSORY MESS OF Pottage. WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE LIBERTIES WE CHERISH FOR THEIR OWN SAKE ARE THE VERY WEAPONS WITH WHICH THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY MUST BE WON.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO STILL TELL US WE OUGHT NOT TO PLAN OUR FUTURE, THAT WE OUGHT TO TAKE REFUGE IN THE GOOD OLD PRACTICES AND PRECEPTS OF THE PAST WHEN ALL SEEMED WELL. THAT IS A PERFECTLY COMPREHENSIBLE ATTITUDE, BUT IT IS THE DREAM-THINKING OF BEATEN MEN WHO SEEK BOLACE IN THE SURROUNDINGS AND THE ASSOCIATIONS OF A LESS TROUBLED TIME IN THE HOPE OF RECAPTURING THE PAST. THE PAST WILL NOT RETURN. WE CANNOT TURN THE CLOCK BACK. WE LIVE IN DIFFERENT TIMES AND HISTORY CONFRONTS US WITH NEW PROBLEMS THAT THE PAST HAD NO NEED TO SOLVE AND CANNOT SOLVE FOR US.

LET US NOT REVERE THE PAST MERELY BECAUSE IT IS THE PAST. "IF WE WILL REVERENCE THE AGE THEN THE PRESENT IS THE OLDEST", SAID THE IMMORTAL THOMAS HOBBS.

CHANGE, ADAPTATION, GROWTH ARE FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF LIFE. CHANGES OCCUR WHETHER WE WANT THEM OR NOT, BUT IF EVERY NEEDED INNOVATION IS RESISTED, IF THERE IS A PHARISAICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER WHICH DENIES THE SPIRIT, CHANGE WILL BE REGRESS, NOT PROGRESS; RETREAT, NOT ADVANCE. ADVANCE IS NOT EASY. IT DEMANDS FLEXIBILITY IN RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND STUBBORNNESS IN ADHERING TO OUR BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

I WISH I COULD TELL YOU THAT WE WERE OUT IN THE CLEAR; THAT THE IMMEDIATE PRESSING PROBLEMS WERE OVER. I WISH I COULD TRUTHFULLY SAY THAT "PROSPERITY IS AROUND THE CORNER". BUT OUR TASKS -- YOUR TASKS -- HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN. THE BASIC REFORMS CARRIED THROUGH UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ARE ONLY A BEGINNING. THEY PREVENT A REPETITION OF THE 1932 CATASTROPHE, BUT THE FIGHT TO ALLEVIATE AND END THE PRESENT RECESSION, TO MAKE FURTHER RECESSIONS IMPOSSIBLE AND TO BRING ABOUT ORDER BETTER THAN WE HAVE YET SEEN IS STILL BEFORE US. IT IS A TASK THAT CALLS FOR EFFORT AND SACRIFICE, FOR WISDOM AND COURAGE, PATIENCE AND VISION.

YOU ARE LIVING IN HARD TIMES, YET ADVENTUROUS TIMES. THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS ARE GONE, BUT THERE ARE NEW, EVER-EXPANDING WORLDS, WHOSE LIMITS REcede AS WE APPROACH THEM. IN THE PAST WE CONCENTRATED ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES. MORE RECENTLY, AND SOMEWHAT TARDILY, WE TURNED OUR ATTENTION TO THE CONSERVATION OF THOSE RESOURCES. THE TIME HAS NOW COME FOR US TO DEVOTE A MUCH LARGER SHARE OF OUR ENERGIES TO AN EVEN VASTER TASK -- THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES.

AMERICA IS A LAND OF ECONOMIC POTENTIALITY WHICH CAN

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PROVIDE FOR THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLE. NATURE HAS
ENDOWED US WITH ALMOST ALL THE NATURAL RESOURCES ESSENTIAL
FOR A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL. WE HAVE FAR MORE
CAPITAL RESOURCES THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY. WE HAVE THE TECHNICAL
SKILL AND KNOWLEDGE TO UTILIZE THIS CAPITAL. OUR LABOR SUPPLY
IS AS VARIED AND AS EFFICIENT AS OUR TECHNIQUE OF PRODUCTION
IS ADVANCED. WE HAVE A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SET-UP WHICH
FOSTERS INITIATIVE AND INVENTIVENESS. WE HAVE ALL THE
INGREDIENTS ESSENTIAL TO A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.

THE SOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF PROVIDING AN
ABUNDANT LIFE FOR ALL IS TEMPTINGLY WITHIN OUR GRASP. IT IS
NO LONGER A ^{the} WILL-O-WISP. BUT IT STILL ESCAPES US. WE FIND
ONE-THIRD OF THIS, THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD, ILL-FED,
ILL-HOUSED, ILL-CLAD. BUMPER CROPS OF WHEAT, OF CORN, OF
RICE, OF COTTON, -- YET POVERTY STALKING THE LAND. BILLIONS
OF CAPITAL IDLE, MILLIONS OF HANDS WITH NO WORK TO DO. THE
BEST-EQUIPPED FACTORIES IN THE WORLD WORKING QUARTER- AND
HALF-TIME, WHILE MILLIONS LACK THE GOODS THESE FACTORIES COULD
MAKE. WAREHOUSES FULL, YET LARDERS EMPTY. THIS YEAR THE
PROSPECT OF UNUSUALLY ABUNDANT CROPS CONFRONTS US. INSTEAD

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OF GIVING RISE TO REJOICING, THIS PROSPECT AROUSES FEAR THAT THE FARMERS WILL HAVE A LOWER INCOME. TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IS STEADILY OCCURRING IN MOST INDUSTRIAL FIELDS. BUT THIS PROGRESS IS OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY DISPLACEMENT OF LABOR, REDUCED EMPLOYMENT, AND THE EMERGENCE OF STRANDED AREAS. IT IS INDEED A TRAGIC COMMENTARY THAT ABUNDANCE ALARMS US MORE THAN SCARCITY, THAT INVENTIONS WHICH ULTIMATELY RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING TAKE SUCH HEAVY TOLL, THAT INCREASED CAPACITY TO PRODUCE MAY ACTUALLY REDUCE THE NATIONAL INCOME.

SOMEWHERE IN THE PROCESS OF THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH THERE IS A SHORT-CIRCUIT WHICH NO ONE AS YET HAS BEEN ABLE TO ELIMINATE. THERE MUST BE A SATISFACTORY METHOD, THERE MUST BE A WAY OUT. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP OUR ECONOMIC RESOURCES MORE SUCCESSFULLY THAN WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE THE GLARING INEQUALITIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND YET RETAIN PRIVATE INCENTIVE. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE, WHILE RETAINING OUR DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, TO WIN FOR THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA THE REALIZATION OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT, THE RIGHT TO WORK, -- TO WORK AT TASKS

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SUITED TO THEIR CAPACITIES AND TRAINING, UNDER CONDITIONS IN
KEEPING WITH HUMAN DIGNITY, WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS ON GENUINE
COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, FOR WAGES YIELDING A DECENT STANDARD
OF LIVING. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO SO ORGANIZE OUR ECONOMY AS
TO INSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR ALL.

THIS IS YOUR CHALLENGE. THESE ARE THE FRONTIERS YOU MUST
EXPLORE, THE WORLDS YOU MUST CONQUER. YOUR DISCOVERIES, YOUR
CONQUESTS, WILL YIELD RICHES INFINITELY GREATER THAN PIONEERING
OF GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS. THEY WILL DEMAND ALL THE COURAGE
AND AUDACITY YOU HAVE.

IT WILL BE WRITTEN IN HISTORY THAT MY GENERATION, OPENLY
FACING THE TWIN EVILS OF UNDER-CONSUMPTION AND IDLE PRODUCTIVE
RESOURCES, ASSAILED FOR THE FIRST TIME THE BARRIERS STANDING
BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ECONOMIC SECURITY. WE HAVE
TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. WE NOW KNOW
THAT WITHOUT A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME A BALANCE
OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AT HIGH LEVELS IS IMPOSSIBLE.
IT IS FOR YOU TO ADVANCE OUR WORK AND TURN THE KNOWLEDGE WE
HAVE GAINED INTO A LASTING SECURITY FOR ALL. WHEN HISTORY
PASSES JUDGMENT ON YOUR GENERATION, LET THE VERDICT BE THAT

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YOU ATTAINED THE GOAL. LET IT PRONOUNCE THAT YOU RESOLVED
THE PARADOX OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY.

THE POST-WAR GENERATION HAS SOMETIMES BEEN CALLED THE
LOST GENERATION. YOUR GENERATION, I HOPE, WILL GO DOWN TO
POSTERITY AS THE GENERATION WHICH FOUND ITSELF, THE GENERATION
WHICH, NO LONGER SEDUCED BY THE GLITTERING PRIZES THAT BLIND
CHANCE AWARDS TO THE FEW, TURNED ITSELF TO A CONCERTED PURSUIT
OF THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, AND THEREBY SAVED
AMERICA BY ITS COURAGE AND RESOURCEFULNESS, AND THE WORLD BY
ITS EXAMPLE.

SUITED TO THEIR CAPACITIES AND TRAINING, UNDER CONDITIONS IN KEEPING WITH HUMAN DIGNITY, WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS ON GENUINE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, FOR WAGES YIELDING A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO SO ORGANIZE OUR ECONOMY AS TO INSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR ALL.

THIS IS YOUR CHALLENGE. THESE ARE THE FRONTIERS YOU MUST EXPLORE, THE WORLDS YOU MUST CONQUER. YOUR DISCOVERIES, YOUR CONQUESTS, WILL YIELD RICHES INFINITELY GREATER THAN PIONEERING OF GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS. THEY WILL DEMAND ALL THE COURAGE AND AUDACITY YOU HAVE.

IT WILL BE WRITTEN IN HISTORY THAT MY GENERATION OPENLY FACED THE PROBLEM OF UNDER-CONSUMPTION ON THE ONE HAND AND THE WASTE OF UNUSED PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES ON THE OTHER; THAT MY GENERATION BEGAN TO CUT A WAY THROUGH THE PUZZLING MAZE THAT SEPARATES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE ENJOYMENT OF ECONOMIC SECURITY. WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. WE NOW KNOW THAT WITHOUT A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME A BALANCE OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AT HIGH LEVELS IS IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS FOR YOU TO ADVANCE OUR

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WORK AND TURN THE KNOWLEDGE WE HAVE GAINED INTO A LASTING SECURITY FOR ALL. WHEN HISTORY PASSES JUDGMENT ON YOUR GENERATION, LET THE VERDICT BE THAT YOU ATTAINED THE GOAL. LET IT PRONOUNCE THAT YOU RESOLVED THE PARADOX OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY.

THE POST-WAR GENERATION HAS SOMETIMES BEEN CALLED THE LOST GENERATION. YOUR GENERATION, I HOPE, WILL GO DOWN TO POSTERITY AS THE GENERATION WHICH FOUND ITSELF, THE GENERATION WHICH, NO LONGER SEDUCED BY THE GLITTERING PRIZES THAT BLIND CHANCE AWARDS TO THE FEW, TURNED ITSELF TO A CONCERTED PURSUIT OF THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, AND THEREBY SAVED AMERICA BY ITS COURAGE AND RESOURCEFULNESS, AND THE WORLD BY ITS EXAMPLE.

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RE TEMPLE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
ADDRESS

June 13, 1938.
10:45 a.m.

Present: Mrs Klotz
Mr. Gaston
Mr. Oliphant
Mr. White

H.M.Jr: Have you (Oliphant) got some suggestions? In the first place, did you like it?

Oliphant: I think it's a grand speech.

H.M.Jr: And - I mean, before you get down to words, did you like it?

Oliphant: I think it's a grand speech, it's a moving speech. I had probably ten suggestions of three sorts: in aid of accuracy, two or three overstatements in it; and - well, they were polishers - couple of mixed figures of speech.

H.M.Jr: Well, golly, I'm surprised at that at this time. Have you got them?

Gaston: Harry has them.

Oliphant: I gave my copy back to them.

Gaston: I sent them in to Harry.

H.M.Jr: Where is it, Harry?

White: In my office.

H.M.Jr: How long will it take you to get it?

White: About three minutes.

H.M.Jr: Make it two and a half.

(White leaves)

Oliphant: You could go ahead and deliver it without making any change at all, it's all right. But I said to Gaston, "It's so good, I'd like to see it perfect."

- H.M.Jr: Well, I got time right now. But as I say, this is - and I've made a few changes. What do you say, amēnities or amēnities?
- Gaston: Amēnities.
- H.M.Jr: And, Herbert, who usually does the typing for my reading copy?
- Gaston: Mrs. Herbert has usually done it.
- Klotz: We have a large-type
- Gaston: We have a typewriter in there
- Klotz: I think they do. .
- H.M.Jr: Well, when this is finished, I want it at the house tonight, my reading copy.
- Klotz: That very large type, you know, that special kind of
- Gaston: Yes, the reading type, yes.
- H.M.Jr: Well, you have one that's even larger than ours.
- (Reporter goes out to get samples of
type and returns)
(White has returned)
- H.M.Jr: Go ahead.
- Oliphant: In the same line, I'd omit "and through them to the youth of America." My thought is that that's bad taste, it's immodest.
- H.M.Jr: I see.
- Oliphant: Puts you in a position as if the whole world were listening to you.
- H.M.Jr: I think you're right. - In fact, it's bothered me right along.
- White: It bothered you the first time you heard it.

H.M.Jr: You're perfectly right. I think you're right. It bothered me.

Oliphant: Yes.

H.M.Jr: I think you're right.

Oliphant: Now, in the third line of the second paragraph, it's an exaggeration to say that each of those graduates is facing life with uncertainty. A lot of them are well-heeled and not. So I'd say "as many of you approach." That's in the third line.

H.M.Jr: Where is this?

Oliphant: In the third line of the second paragraph.

H.M.Jr: "As each of you ..."

Oliphant: "As many of you approach the new phase of life"

Klotz: That's better.

H.M.Jr: What do you (White) think?

White: Preferable.

Gaston: I think it's a matter of indifference. I don't believe that any graduate approaches life with the certainty that the world is his oyster. But I wouldn't object to the change. It's understatement.

H.M.Jr: "... with much the same trepidation...."

Gaston: "Each" to "many" and change "approaches" to "approach."

H.M.Jr: All right.

Oliphant: Second page, fourth line - minor point - I'd change "rate" to "pace."

White: Yes.

H.M.Jr: "... tremendously rapid pace..."

White: Yes, he's right.

- Oliphant: Otherwise, it's a mixed figure of speech.
- H.M.Jr: Yes. Going wonderfully.
- Oliphant: "The world today is one which you cannot enter with full assurance of security" - "... which increasing numbers cannot enter with full assurance of security."
"The world today is one which increasing numbers cannot enter with full assurance"
- H.M.Jr: Why?
- Oliphant: It's again - it's really that same point.
- H.M.Jr: I get you. Instead of just - it isn't
- Oliphant: ... everybody. It's increasing numbers, and I think that's even stronger - "... which increasing numbers cannot...."
- White: I'm afraid I differ there.
- H.M.Jr: Go ahead - listen, Harry, for God's sake talk up, because the speech goes to bed when you're through here.
- White: You're making an understatement - Herman is. I think that's one place where the other statement is true. None of them have security in this world; a great many of them had in the past, but
- H.M.Jr: Of course, you say
- Gaston: I think in both cases it gains a little strength by the understatement, Harry.
- White: O.K.
- H.M.Jr: Which way would you (Gaston) say it?
- Gaston: The way Herman says.
- H.M.Jr: "The world today is one which"
- Oliphant: Strike out "you" and insert in the place of it "increasing numbers."
- H.M.Jr: All right.

- Oliphant: Second paragraph, the last sentence is: "Never has the world prepared so madly or so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid." That's an overstatement. During the Napoleonic period and other periods
- White: That I would definitely
- H.M.Jr: Somebody else put/^{it}in exactly the same words.
- Gaston: I did, and I still agree with Herman.
- H.M.Jr: Put it in exactly the same words.
- Oliphant: When Alexander was loose in the world, it was true. I don't want to argue it - and when Hannibal was loose in the world.
- White: Sure, but look, the world as was then known was a very narrow area. China wasn't reckoned with, the whole Far East wasn't involved at all.
- Oliphant: All right, I'll compromise. Say, "Seldom if ever has the world" Now we're all happy.
- Gaston: Well, "hardly ever."
- H.M.Jr: No, I don't want to muddle it. We went all through this once before, but that doesn't mean we're right now.
- Gaston: I still say again that I think "seldom" is better, is following that rule of cautious statement.
- White: I don't think it would matter much if you feel you want to make the understatement, but I think as a matter of fact that "never" is correct.
- H.M.Jr: I think Oliphant's right.
- Klotz: I think so. I like ...
- H.M.Jr: I think so.
- Klotz: You accomplish the same thing.
- White: That's true.

- H.M.Jr: "When you say "never," you're immediately on the defensive, and it's so all-inclusive to wipe out Napoleon and everybody else.
- All right, Herman. "Not a hundred percent so far.
- Oliphant: Now, second line in the next paragraph. "You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and" - insert: "much of" - "the driving force of individual initiative has been destroyed."
- Gaston: Instead of "the driving force," "much of the driving force."
- Oliphant: Yes.
- H.M.Jr: All right.
- Oliphant: "Nothing on page three.
- Klotz: "This has never happened before, to have everybody agree, go so smoothly.
- Oliphant: Nothing on page three.
- H.M.Jr: Well, I'm in such a good humor.
- Klotz: Maybe that's true. .
- White: Got a good case.
- H.M.Jr: "...much of the driving force...."
- Oliphant: Nothing on page three, nothing on page four, nothing on page five.
- H.M.Jr: They don't know what I have
- Oliphant: Now, on page six - what do you (White) say about it?
- White: I didn't get to page six. Sorry.
- Oliphant: You say "In my generation we took our liberties largely for granted." Well, my point is, this is still your generation. "In my youth we took our

liberties largely for granted."

- H.M.Jr: No, no, Herman, I've been all through this generation stuff. We've had to fight I don't see how else you could do it. I mean I'm satisfied that I can talk of "my generation."
- White: I think technically you're right, Herman, but I think that under the circumstances when he's speaking of "my generation" and "your generation," he's speaking in terms of graduating classes.
- H.M.Jr: It's all the way through.
- Oliphant: Nothing on page seven.
- H.M.Jr: Now wait a minute. On page seven
- Gaston: I changed it all the way through, too, and I still don't like it.
- H.M.Jr: What?
- Gaston: That "my generation" thing.
- H.M.Jr: Well, the first criticism was that they thought - well, I'm just washing myself out, I'm through.
- Oliphant: Well, that's - I would - if your father said that, it would have struck me, but for you to say it - I don't think "my generation" sits right. You're not talking about your generation. When was it - let's just look at it and analyze it - now, when was it that you took your liberties largely for granted? When you were graduating; that's the thought which you want to express. So it's really
- H.M.Jr: "In my youth" - that I don't like, because all the way through here I think we've eliminated everything where I'm talking down to the graduates.
- White: Gives the thought of "But I didn't know any better."
- H.M.Jr: I don't think you'll find anywhere in here - what we've very carefully done - I'm talking with - want to talk to these boys on the same plane, not talk down to them.

- White: Herman, don't you think his generation is a different one than that of the graduates? It doesn't mean that it's over at all.
- H.M.Jr: If you don't mind, I'm coming back to it again, because you'll - you'd have to do the whole thing all the way through.
- Oliphant: I'm satisfied.
- H.M.Jr: And we've been over this and that particular thing was very carefully considered, and I think it's been qualified, so I'm satisfied.
- Oliphant: Nothing on page seven.
- H.M.Jr: Well, on that page - "At this very moment there are places in the United States -- some of them not very far from this city -- " - your thing. Well, Mrs. Morgenthau feels very strongly that that should come out.
- Oliphant: That's the whole speech.
- H.M.Jr: And the reason for it is this. She says, why should I step in where the President and nobody else has had nerve to. She says the previous sentence is the same, and furthermore she thinks that it just attacks this whole school of thought of Hague and the rest, and they attack me and everything else. "hy do it? It just - what's the word - distorts the whole speech, it distorts the whole thing.
- Klotz: Well, for this particular thing, I wouldn't
- H.M.Jr: She thinks it's just - get Hague and that whole crowd started opening up. And the sentence before there - "When we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place or by an individual or groups of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of government..." - no, the previous thing, what it said here - "Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or state strikes at the liberties of all of us."
- White: Well, I had the feeling that if you're in doubt about it, leave it out.

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H.M.Jr: I'm in grave doubt.

Oliphant: How much you thinking about leaving out?

H.M.Jr: This whole paragraph. This here I'm not leaving out - the "one city, or county..."

Oliphant: Have you thought of this possibility? Just leave out "some of them not very far from this city."

H.M.Jr: That's just the point. She doesn't want to label it any more than it is. It's a passing reference. And I tell you one of the reasons why I think she's right. I read this editorial in the Daily News about Corcoran, in which it says - one reader complained too hard on Tommy Corcoran - says, "We're sorry that Tommy Corcoran fell on his face in Iowa, but after all we agree - we're sure he only went there because the President ordered him to go there. But after all, if Tommy Corcoran is such a fool where the President fears to tread, that's his lookout." Then the last thing - "Then, after all, Tommy Corcoran loves to kneel to other people, and ought to be able to take it."

Now, there's nobody in the Administration has gone out to tilt against this fellow. Why should I do it?

Klotz: Depends on how strongly you feel.

Oliphant: She said the whole thing. That's the whole thing.

H.M.Jr: Well, there are a lot of things I feel strongly about which I don't say.

White: That particular paragraph is so much a question of personal

H.M.Jr: Well, I

White: Personal feeling, personal policy.

H.M.Jr: Well, I don't usually - the way I feel is this, that for the first time in five years I'm stepping out of my role and I'm putting my toe in the water, and I'm not quite ready, frankly, to take the cold plunge, and - I mean I've done this thing before I was Secretary of

the Treasury. I mean I've done this - I mean much less important. But I just don't feel that I want to take the battle of Hague and Communism and C.I.O. on, and all that business. I just don't - let's see what the Attorney General is going to do, what Mr. Roosevelt is going to do about it.

Of course, you like that. What?

Oliphant: Yes. I think it's a situation which - question of personal courage.

H.M.Jr: Well, I agree with you.

Oliphant: It doesn't matter who the person is, and the person who takes on that fight will also take on all the allegiance of supporters.

Gaston: You could make it less direct.

H.M.Jr: No.

Gaston: You could say, "I'm not talking about - it's not an imaginary situation that I'm talking about. Even in the United States liberties have been restricted at times and at places in the past and in the present."

White: No, I think the issue is clear; either make it pointed

Oliphant: I'd either do it or wouldn't.

H.M.Jr: No, I'm perfectly satisfied to say, "Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or state strikes at the liberties of all of us." I'm delighted to say that and let it ride.

Oliphant: Now, you have also considered, have you not, omitting the second sentence in this paragraph. Just omit the first sentence. "Denial of civil liberties seems to me especially damnable when it acts behind a mask of patriotism and under the shelter of the flag of our country which was created and sanctified as an emblem of liberty."

H.M.Jr: No, I tell you

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- Oliphant: I mean is that a part of the whole idea? I want to be sure you're not omitting more than you want to.
- H.M.Jr: I mean this thing here - in the first place, Herbert Gaston didn't want me to say this. He got excited, didn't want me to say anything. Then he got excited ...
- Gaston: No, that was Lowell Mellett that didn't want you to say anything. No, I was also in favor of the other statement.
- H.M.Jr: He didn't want me to say any of it. And as I say, this completely turns the whole thing around and makes it a whole speech against Hague, and frankly, I don't want to take on Hague at this time and what he stands for.
- White: Well, you're certainly taking him on, we all feel very definitely.
- Gaston: I don't feel in that last sentence you're definitely taking Hague on, because that's the regular method of people going to ...
- White: I think you certainly are.
- H.M.Jr: I don't want to do that just ... We can leave in the "one city, one county or state." And all through the speech we have tried not to be specific. I think we'll leave it out.
- Oliphant: Well, on page eight, in the middle of the page. "It has sought peace and pursued it."
- H.M.Jr: Don't like the Bible?
- Oliphant: No, that's all right. Now, in aid of better transition, I'd put in the word "thus" in the next sentence. "Thus, it has taken the initiative..." Because you don't attempt to completely catalog
- H.M.Jr: What?
- White: If he feels that way.
- Gaston: I think that's all right. It's the power of example that we relied on mostly.

Klotz: "Thus."

Oliphant: Now, Gaston, tell me why it was when I read that paragraph I was brought up sharply with that last sentence. "Lastly, it is building up a navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion." I wonder why that sentence didn't - I mean it just hit me like that when I read it. The thing was flowing smoothly, and then - why that?

Gaston: I had a little feeling about that that I never mentioned heretofore. We were talking about the totalitarian countries training youth en masse for war in our indictment against them, and then we wind up with the defense of our own specific policy by saying we're building a big navy.

Oliphant: I think that comes out.

H.M.Jr: "It has sought peace and pursued it," and "it is building up a navy."

Oliphant: I'd leave it out.

H.M.Jr: Don't - we build up a navy, a defensive thing.

Oliphant: That's what they all say; that's what they all say. At another time and another place, you could say, "Well, we haven't gone any farther than necessary in a troubled world," and make a good case

White: Five years ago, I would have agreed with both gentlemen and with great enthusiasm. I don't feel that way now.

H.M.Jr: You mean your generation - you feel it's another generation.

White: I think so. You're dealing with different attitudes, a different world. You're dealing with nations in which law plays no role, and you have to recognize the realities of the situation and have to recognize the fact that the absence of force is now an incentive to increase force on the part of the lawless members of the international community.

- Gaston: Suppose we concede that, Harry. Still isn't it a fact that you introduce something that needs a lot of explanation which you are not able to give?
- Oliphant: This will be read in South America.
- H.M.Jr: Well, they're tickled to death to read that.
- White: They don't fear our navy.
- Oliphant: They're not going to say that's one of our peace steps. It just - it's foreign to the speech.
- White: It's a fundamental difference in
- Oliphant: I'd just leave it out.
- H.M.Jr: How about putting it in a separate paragraph?
- Oliphant: That would make it - highlight it even more. I'd just leave it out. End on the right note - "lower the barriers to international trade."
- Klotz: There's a lot to what Mr. Oliphant is saying. There's a great deal to it.
- White: It isn't the building up of a navy or of a strong force that runs counter to a peace policy; it's what you do with it, it's how you act, it's how you abide by agreements, it's whether you attempt to pursue a policy of imperialism or expansion, or otherwise. It's the same way when a strong man who boxes teaches a youngster to box; in no sense do you make him a bully.
- H.M.Jr: But of course, the interesting thing is that everything in there is Mr. Hull's policy, including the building up of the navy, because nobody who sits in Cabinet has talked more about increasing the navy than Mr. Hull has. Also increasing the size of the guns. He's more responsible for us going to 16-inch guns and 45,000 tons displacement than anybody else there.
- White: There is another reason - I don't know at how much you'd evaluate it - that you might favor its inclusion, and that is there might be a temptation on the part of

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youth and others to read throughout that speech a degree of what used to go by the name of pacifism, which has become synonymous with unrealistic

- Oliphant: Well, let me finish. "Lastly, it is building up a navy adequate to defend our shores against any potential threat of invasion. It has strengthened the Army. It is enlarging the Reserve Officers Training Corps and is introducing military training in the colleges and universities." Now, that's the whole story, and that isn't what you want to say at all; you don't want to open up that question.
- White: Is it being introduced?
- Oliphant: Oh sure, spreading very rapidly, you know, and being introduced into high schools.
- Gaston: We have had military training in the colleges and universities for at least thirty years.
- Oliphant: But it's expanding now, being introduced into high schools very rapidly all over the country.
- H.M.Jr: I think you're right, but on the other hand, again for me, I'm tickled to death we're building up this navy.
- Oliphant: Personally, I am. But that isn't what you want to go into in this speech.
- White: Why leave it for the other fellow to say?
- Oliphant: If you want to say ...
- White: I mean if you feel it.
- H.M.Jr: This thing I like.
- Oliphant: Well, on page nine - I'm just making suggestions.
- H.M.Jr: No, that's all right. I like this.
- Oliphant: Well, I say, when I read that I was just brought up with a shock.
- H.M.Jr: You think it's a sour note.

Oliphant: It's a sour note.

Klotz: Well, it raises ...

H.M.Jr: Well, I'm tickled to death, because here's the thing; I think this naval policy and all the rest of it is just eye-wash. I think the only thing worth a damn is the navy.

Oliphant: Well, then your speech isn't candid.

H.M.Jr: Well....

Oliphant: I mean that whole paragraph ought to be reworded.

White: Isn't it rather, Mr. Secretary, that you feel the strong navy makes it possible to implement the other portions of your peaceful policy?

H.M.Jr: Well, I see what Herman Oliphant means, but - and I think he's right, but I'd still like to say it.

Oliphant: Let's say it.

H.M.Jr: How's that?

Oliphant: You ought to have some fun. You're going to make the speech. Page nine, fourth line. "The securities markets function as a concern fraught with public interest." "The securities markets are beginning to function as a concern"

H.M.Jr: Just beginning.

Oliphant: "... are beginning to function...."

Gaston: Yes, I think that's an improvement.

H.M.Jr: Harry?

White: Well, they've always functioned that way.

Oliphant: But in the effects

White: They haven't acted as though they were fraught ...

Oliphant: "... are beginning to function...."

And in the next line strike out "now" and put in "henceforth."

H.M.Jr: Wait a minute, you're going too fast. "...beginning to function..." What's the next thing?

Oliphant: "... are beginning to function as a concern fraught with public interest and must henceforth bear the responsibility which public interest demands."

Klotz: "... and must henceforth" instead of "now."

H.M.Jr: "... and must henceforth..."

Oliphant: Nothing on page ten.

H.M.Jr: Now wait a minute. Harry, here's another thing. I think this is a very good point that Mrs. Morgenthau made. "As I stated..." - we're not taking out "I consider those expenditures a necessary investment," but I am thinking of leaving out the talk of last November where I say "in no event will this administration allow anyone to starve, nor will it abandon its broad purpose," and so forth. And the reason is this, because later on I say one-third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and so forth, and so I'm saying - I mean that's the point that I'm making. They are now. And here I'm saying that we won't let anybody starve. So she says, "Why bring it in? Leave it out."

She said here I am bringing this thing in which anybody

White: I hadn't thought of that at all.

H.M.Jr: Here I'm saying this administration - President Roosevelt wrote every word of that himself - will allow nobody to starve, so forth. Later in the speech I say one-third of the nation is starving. And the speech is stronger, much stronger ...

Klotz: Leave out the quotation.

H.M.Jr: Just the quotation. Just the quotation. As it is it is a much stronger speech.

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- Gaston: There's been a lot of derision of that statement: not letting anybody starve.
- H.M.Jr: Well, it's a farce.
- Gaston: The Workers Alliance people say, "Nuts, the people are starving."
- H.M.Jr: I'm leaving the other thing. But that's the point. See, Harry?
- White: I see.
- H.M.Jr: What? It's contradictory. Everybody is in agreement on that. Aren't you, Harry?
- White: Yes. I didn't feel the position was contradictory, but I can see it.
- H.M.Jr: I mean the thing that amazes everybody is that the resident would let me say this. Eddie Greenbaum had a copy and he said, it's the frankest thing he ever saw - "Don't tell me the boss let it go."
- Where are you, Herman?
- Oliphant: Page 11.
- H.M.Jr: This is very helpful, Herman.
- Oliphant: The last sentence in that first paragraph.
- H.M.Jr: The "enemy"? Got a new word for "enemy"?
- Oliphant: I want to change "his" to "its" and strike out the word "private." That is, the reference should be to tendencies and forces and not to persons. Want to keep away in this address from any suggestion of an attack on persons. "The enemy is ever within the gates ready to exploit hardship and suffering for its own advantage."
- Gaston: I agree to that.
- Klotz: Harry is
- White: No, it's quite right.

- Oliphant: That's a good omission on page twelve. I agree with that perfectly. Too abstract.
- H.M.Jr: This thing.
- Oliphant: Yes, that's a good omission.
- H.M.Jr: What else?
- Oliphant: On page thirteen - you see about where I'm pointing?
- H.M.Jr: Yes.
- Oliphant: That line is - I can't get the meaning. "They prevent a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm, but the fight to alleviate and end the present recession, to make further recessions impossible and to bring about order better than we have yet seen is still before us."
- Gaston: It was originally "to bring about a better order than we have yet seen."
- Oliphant: Well, is it bring about an order of things or state of affairs? I mean I just don't know what it means. "To bring about order better than we have yet seen" doesn't mean anything. I'd understand if it read "and to bring about an order of things better than we have yet seen."
- H.M.Jr: Let's do it right now.
- Oliphant: Why not "an order of things"? Put in the word "an" before "order."
- H.M.Jr: "An order of things."
- Oliphant: After "order" put in "of things." Check?
- H.M.Jr: Well, I just - "better than we have yet seen is still before us."
- Oliphant: That's right.
- H.M.Jr: Do you still have to put that in?
- Gaston: The task is still before us.
- H.M.Jr: I see. All right.

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Oliphant: Now, the first line in the next paragraph. "You are living in hard times." That sounds like Cleveland '32. Let's say "You are living in difficult times."

H.M.Jr: "Difficult times." O.K.?

White: Yes, that's better.

H.M.Jr: What else?

Oliphant: On page 14. "Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of production is advanced. We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative and inventiveness. We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living."

My trouble is with the sentence "We have a political and social set-up which fosters initiative and inventiveness." That suggests that our government set-up, our social control, is all right, and my observation there is that that sentence is only partly true, and much of our difficulties, much of our troubles, are in the political and social set-up.

Gaston: What change do you suggest?

Oliphant: I'd like to leave that sentence out. That's what we're all down in town here for, working on improving that. Still, you cite that as one of the things that are perfect.

White: The thought there is contrasting a system of free enterprise and free competition with the system that prevails in Russia and Germany and Italy, and which in the main prospers. Of course it isn't ideal, but it is a system which does foster initiative and inventiveness. If there is anything to be said for an economic system, those are the claims that are usually advanced for it. I don't know to what extent you agree it's perfect, but certainly the chief justification of a system of competition and free enterprise is that. If it hasn't got that

Oliphant: Well, do we have a system of competition and enterprise?

- White: I don't know.
- Oliphant: It's 40 percent false; you know it is.
- White: So let him leave it out. Open him to criticism.
- H.M.Jr: All right with me. What?
- White: It's all right with me.
- H.M.Jr: Herbert?
- Gaston: That's all right, yes. I think it would be difficult to explain.
- Oliphant: Page 15. Gaston, I want to ask you this. "Technological progress is steadily occurring in most industrial fields." Does progress occur, or what is the right word there? Or does progress advance?
- Gaston: "Progress is being made."
- H.M.Jr: What's your suggestion, Herman?
- Oliphant: Well, I would say "advances" instead of "occurring."
- Gaston: You don't say "progress advances." "Advancing" is "progress;" it's chronological.
- Oliphant: I guess it's all right.
- Gaston: "Progress" occurs. Yes, that's all right. Or "is made."
- Oliphant: Six lines from the top. "It is indeed a tragic commentary that abundance alarms us more than scarcity." Leave out "more than scarcity" because it is an overstatement to say that abundance alarms us more than scarcity. "It is indeed a tragic commentary that abundance alarms us, that inventions which ultimately raise the standard of living take such heavy toll, ..."
- White: I think that's all right.
- H.M.Jr: Well, of course - now wait a minute. That's the whole

theme, the fact that abundance alarms us more than scarcity.

White: It depends on the period.

Gaston: At times and places - different crops - abundance isn't more terrible than scarcity.

H.M.Jr: I mean we're talking about the whole thing - all the way through here of the question of abundance and scarcity.

White: I think it's a slight overstatement. There are some times when abundance does not alarm us, some times we have been very glad of a very large corn crop.

H.M.Jr: You think it's overstatement, Herman.

Gaston: The fact that an abundance alarms us is sufficient. That tells the story.

H.M.Jr: O.K. by me.

Oliphant: Nothing on page 16. On page 17, the second sentence in the last paragraph. "Your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity ..." Now, generations don't go down to posterity. It's "the record of your generation, I hope, will go down to posterity as that of a generation...."

White: Well, you're quite correct; if you don't think ... There is a certain liberty taken. If you don't think it's justified "Your generation will go down" - I think the record is definitely implied.

Klotz: Yes, I think so.

White: I think it's a little pedantic to say...

Oliphant: A generation may go down in history, but it doesn't go down to posterity. The record goes down to posterity, but the generation goes down in history.

H.M.Jr: How would you say it?

Oliphant: Read it this way. "The record of your generation..." or say that "your generation, I hope, will go down"

in history as the generation which ..."

White: I prefer the second.

Gaston: Yes - "go down in history."

H.M.Jr: "... will go down in history..." What? "...in history as ..."

Oliphant: All through.

H.M.Jr: Well, I think they're excellent. Now ...

White: I'm just troubled about that page 12.

Oliphant: Page 10.

H.M.Jr: Which?

White: Omitting that quotation is a big step.

Oliphant: He wants them - to make them re-read your November speech.

H.M.Jr: Well, I ...

Klotz: I think it should come out.

H.M.Jr: I think it definitely - I mean it's the most inconsistent thing about it. Here I'm standing up and saying, with the President's full knowledge and approval, that one-third of the nation is ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed, and we haven't - there's something short-circuited, and we don't know what's the matter.

Gaston: Again, it's the same thing, too, as about "our courageous leader cheers." It's reading from Science and Health and key to the Scriptures to support your argument.

H.M.Jr: I just - well, it's the way - when we talk about this, you don't have to refrain from anything. The President put in the words "you don't have to entrain en masse to do this." He inserted the word "en bloc" - I mean "en masse."

White: There are just a couple of very minor grammatical changes to be made through this. I'll get it later.

- H.M.Jr: No.
- White: There must be. I mean there are errors. "Will-o'-wisp" should be "will-o'-the-wisp."
- H.M.Jr: No, I want to know everything now. I want everything now. Sure, I want to read it will-o'-the-wisp.
- Gaston: Will-o - apostrophe - the-wisp.
- H.M.Jr: Will-o - apostrophe - the-wisp.
- White: The "the" is left out.
- H.M.Jr: Come on now.
- Oliphant: May I say one more thing about the navy?
- H.M.Jr: Yes.
- Oliphant: Well, for instance, that paragraph is devoted to our pursuit of peace, and in the Gallup poll I think it showed, oh, 30, 40 percent of the population opposed to a big navy program. That statement in there will strike that portion of the population as incongruous, which is a very large section of the population.
- Gaston: Well, that's just an argument for agreeing with everybody.
- Oliphant: No, no, now wait a minute. No, this is an argument for consistency. The theme of the general paragraph - the general theme is our pursuit of peace, see?
- H.M.Jr: No, no, that isn't the theme. That isn't the theme, Herman.
- Oliphant: Isn't it?
- H.M.Jr: No, the theme, as I said - laid it down, is, we're trying to show these boys the difference between what's facing them here and what would be facing them abroad.
- Oliphant: I mean in that paragraph, the theme in that paragraph.

- H.M.Jr: But that isn't the policy - everything in there is the policy of the Administration, plus a big navy. Now, maybe it isn't right that that is, but that is the Administration policy, and the big navy thing is right in there with the good neighbor policy and everything else.
- Oliphant: If you will put a word in front of that sentence, I will agree to leave it in - "but."
- White: That would be the surest way of getting it out.
- Oliphant: And that brings out what I mean, really.
- H.M.Jr: But it's right there. I mean I've been amazed to hear Cordell Hull fight for a big navy.
- Oliphant: I know.
- H.M.Jr: But now, if you're arguing with me that that is not a good thing, a part of the platform of that Administration, that is something else. But I'm listing important parts of our policy and part of the thing we have done is a big navy.
- Gaston: Your thesis is
- H.M.Jr: It's part of it.
- Oliphant: But at that part of the speech, you say, "Look how we've pursued the policy of peace." See? Then you go on and say this, this, this, and this, and then you say, "And we have built a big navy."
- H.M.Jr: Well, I happen to believe that the only way we can insure a policy of peace is to have a big navy.
- Oliphant: All right.
- H.M.Jr: But, you see, I agree - I mean I wouldn't do what some other people in the Administration have, go holy on this thing and constantly keep down just how big our navy is and how much bigger it's going to be. But I'm tickled to death that we're going to have a big navy, and I firmly believe the only way that we can keep America out of the world war is by having a big navy, Herman. I agree with you it

sticks out like a sore thumb. But I also agree that it isn't in tune with a lot of the speeches that are made from the White House and from the State Department. But still it's there. Huh?

White: I think you're giving his position a little too much credit and strength. Would you advocate - in order to be consistent I think you would have to take the position that you feel a step toward peace would be a complete elimination of our navy.

Oliphant: No, no, no, White. You were reading, you weren't listening to me talk. You were reading, White.

White: No, once you admit having a navy, you have to admit you have to have an adequate navy for certain purposes, and this cannot be determined independent of the times and the general aspect of events.

H.M.Jr: No, I - if we're going to - I mean I'm not at all sure. Some people rather think it's going to make a great hit. When people think so, I'm always very questionable whether anybody is going to print it, see? But after all, the thing which I'm coming out and criticizing this Administration for is the fact that we still are letting people starve, we're still not feeding them, we're still not housing them, and that this policy of curtailment, I think, is at fault, and that's the big criticism that I'm making.

Now, I think it's enough for one speech, Herman - if this big navy thing was something that I was advocating and the Administration hadn't done anything, then I'd drop it out; but it's part of the program, woof and warp.

Oliphant: Notice, you don't in this speech state all the things the Administration is doing, see? Now, one of the things that you state that the Administration is doing is to pursue a policy of peace. Now, I don't think that really the building a big navy is in pursuit of a policy of peace. It's in pursuit of a policy of war in event of war.

White: Well, there are two different views, irreconcilable.

H.M.Jr: Well, that part - I must say I realize that your

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argument is an excellent one, but I still like to say it, see?

- White: It went in because you made the statement. I confess that when I first heard it I didn't like it. But I think that the logic of events and the strength of the position as far as
- H.M.Jr: I kind of like it.
- Klotz: When you first read it, it does hit you. That's the first thing you think about. "Well, now what?" Then you have to stop and analyze it.
- White: Probably a partial answer would be, supposing you left it out, would it weaken your position at all?
- Oliphant: You must bear this in mind, that the building of a big navy is in pursuit of a policy of war in case war develops.
- H.M.Jr: What do you think, Herbert? It doesn't make or break the speech, leaving it out. The speech - it was my suggestion originally. I mean leaving it out doesn't - I mean it isn't like that quotation from the November speech.
- Gaston: Well, I feel the same way as I did initially about it. It does strike you when you come to it. There is just a slight feeling of inconsistency with what you said about the German youth being trained for war, and I think that it requires more explanation than you are able to give it. It is perfectly logical. It can be explained. We are not meddling with other nations, but we are keeping ourselves strong to avoid trouble and to guarantee our opportunities for the development of economic security and the democratic way of life. That can all be said, but ...
- Oliphant: Can't go into it.
- Gaston: He hasn't got the space to develop it.
- White: Let me after this - let me try my hand at another clause.
- H.M.Jr: Unless she's finished right this second, no. I mean

I can't - I mean I cannot have any more suggestions after this meeting. She's finished, because I'm going to begin to learn it tonight. I haven't allowed myself enough time to learn it. Harry, I don't want another word of change after this meeting, but I'm not saying that I won't take that out.

- Gaston: You're speaking there about your attitude toward other nations of the world, the peaceful attitude. Now, the size of our navy or our army has nothing to do
- Oliphant: ... with our peaceful attitude. That's the point.
- Gaston: It has something to do with another question entirely.
- White: It isn't an attitude. "... has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations.." - and there is a philosophy, there is a position, that the way to develop peaceful international relations, to use the trite phrase, is to "walk softly but have a big stick." That's a definite policy, but you may not subscribe to it.
- Oliphant: Consistent with an armed peace, if that's the sort of peace you're going to talk about, which isn't the sort of thing - you're talking about a real peace.
- White: Same way in which a community establishes peace and order by having an adequate police force. That's the position. But I don't think it matters greatly to the speech if it were left out.
- Did any of the other men who went over it earlier catch
- Gaston: No, I don't think so.
- H.M.Jr: Of course, the thing that Herman likes - "We are not amongst the warmongers."
- White: His strongest case lies in the fact that it is in that paragraph and that it may appear to some folks as being an attempt to add something on in order to show that we're playing a "both sides against the middle" philosophy.
- H.M.Jr: Well, I'm - O.K., I'm willing to leave it out. I'm willing to leave it out.

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White: Well, that leaves the ...

H.M.Jr: Now, again, Mr. White, she's finished now, unless there is something

White: Well, I changed the will-o'-the-wisp there. You did change it, you say?

H.M.Jr: No, I did in reading it. I knew it was wrong. What?

White: Page 14 - there's the "the" missing on page 14, the eighth line from the bottom, tenth line from the bottom.

H.M.Jr: Will-o'-the-wisp.

White: The "o" is all right, or you can say "of."

Oliphant: "Will-of-the-wisp.

H.M.Jr: I pronounce it "will-of-the-wisp."

All through now, everybody? Going - going - sold!

Oliphant: The speech is finished.

H.M.Jr: I think it's all right. As I say, I'm not as hopeful as possibly some of the others. I talked it over with Mrs. Klotz. What we'll do - let Miss Chauncey type it. So if Gaston will supervise it with Miss Chauncey - will you please?

June 14, 1938.

Dear Madam:

In connection with the forthcoming visit of the Secretary and his family to Philadelphia, Dr. Bowry volunteered to make hotel reservations. Mr. Mergenthau wrote him in reply, listing the reservations that were desired, and among them was a single room for his daughter, Miss Jean Mergenthau.

It now appears that Miss Mergenthau will not be able to be in Philadelphia that day, and I am writing to ask that you be so good as to have her reservation canceled. That will be one single room less than those itemized in the Secretary's recent letter.

With thanks for your courtesy in this matter,

Sincerely yours,

H. S. Klotz,
Private Secretary.

Secretary to Dr. Charles E. Bowry,
Office of the President,
Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

sent special delivery - to main
P. O. - 12:40 p.m. 6/14/38 - mas

GEH/dbs

ca 6/14/38

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June 14, 1938

This is the final draft of the Secretary's speech
which was used to type his reading copy.

THE ROAD AHEAD

I AM GRATEFUL TO TEMPLE UNIVERSITY FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO ITS GRADUATES OF 1938, ~~AND THROUGH THEM TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA.~~ MY PRESENCE HERE IS A PARTICULARLY HAPPY OCCASION FOR ME BECAUSE A FEW YEARS AGO THIS UNIVERSITY PAID A SIMILAR HONOR TO MY FATHER.

THERE IS MUCH I SHOULD LIKE TO SAY, AND YET I CONFESS THAT I APPROACH MY OPPORTUNITY WITH MUCH THE SAME TREPIDATION AS ^{many} EACH OF YOU APPROACH ~~THE~~ THE NEW PHASE OF LIFE ON WHICH ~~are~~ ^{you} EMBARKING. TEN YEARS AGO I SHOULD HAVE BEEN MORE CONFIDENT. BUT NO ONE WHO HAS BEEN CLOSE TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AND HAS HAD TO GRAPPLE WITH THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF THE LAST DECADE CAN SPEAK GLIBLY OF THE ROAD THAT IS BEFORE YOU.

WERE YOU GRADUATING TEN OR MORE YEARS AGO YOU PROBABLY WOULD HAVE BEEN ASSURED OF THE TRIUMPHANT SPREAD OF DEMOCRACY AND THE GROWTH OF AMITY AMONG THE NATIONS. YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT YOU LIVED IN A LAND ABOUNDING WITH UNEQUALLED, YET EQUAL, OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL. YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN TOLD OF THE RAPIDLY RISING STANDARD OF LIVING, OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE TO LARGER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION, OF THE NEAR-DISAPPEARANCE OF POVERTY.

I CANNOT CARRY SUCH ILLUSORY GLAD TIDINGS TO YOU. THE WORLD WHICH NOW AWAITS YOU BEARS SMALL RESEMBLANCE TO THE WORLD OF THE TWENTIES. IN THE LAST DECADE HISTORY HAS MARCHED AT A TREMENDOUSLY RAPID ^{pace} RATE. THE PATTERN IT HAS EVOLVED BECOMES MORE COMPLEX, MORE UNSTABLE. I THINK YOU WILL SHARE WITH ME THE FEELING THAT CHANGE WILL BE EVEN MORE RAPID IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS TO COME. THE WORLD TODAY IS ONE WHICH ^{increasing numbers} YOU CANNOT ENTER WITH FULL ASSURANCE OF SECURITY, WITH CERTAINTY THAT THE CAPACITIES WHICH ^{they} YOU HAVE DEVELOPED FOR WORK, FOR CREATIVENESS, FOR ENJOYMENT WILL ATTAIN A RICH FULFILLMENT.

YOU ARE GRADUATING INTO A WORLD PARTS OF WHICH ARE ALREADY AT WAR, WHILE OVER MOST OF THE REMAINDER THE EXPECTATION OF WAR HANGS LIKE A STORM CLOUD. SELDOM IN RECORDED HISTORY HAVE TENSIONS BEEN SO GREAT. ^{Seldom} NEVER [^] HAS THE WORLD PREPARED SO MADLY AND SO RAPIDLY FOR A WAR WHICH ALL HOPE TO AVOID.

YOU ARE GRADUATING INTO A WORLD THROUGHOUT LARGE SECTIONS OF WHICH THE LIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY HAVE GONE OUT AND ^{much of} THE DRIVING [^] FORCE OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE DESTROYED; INTO A WORLD IN WHICH THERE IS MORE AND MORE REGIMENTATION OF POLITICAL, OF

ECONOMIC, AND OF CULTURAL LIFE, AND LESS AND LESS SECURITY FOR LIFE, FOR LIBERTY, AND FOR THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

THIS REGIMENTATION HAS ASSUMED ITS MOST ACUTE FORM IN THOSE COUNTRIES ENGULFED BY AN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY -- A PHILOSOPHY WHICH IS HAVING ITS GREATEST IMPACT ON YOUTH.

IN MOST OF THOSE COUNTRIES -- FROM KINDERGARTEN THROUGH UNIVERSITY -- MOUNTING RESTRICTIONS ARE BEING PLACED ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THE PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE. EVERY YEAR YOUTH DEVOTES MORE AND MORE OF ITS ENERGIES TO THE PREPARATION OF WAR.

IN THOSE COUNTRIES ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AS YOU AND I KNOW IT IS EITHER NON-EXISTENT OR IS BEING STEADILY WHITTLED AWAY. EVEN THE ELEMENTARY RIGHT TO MOVE FREELY FROM OCCUPATION TO OCCUPATION IS BEING DRASTICALLY CURTAILED, WHILE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT NOT UPON MERIT BUT UPON CONFORMITY TO THE POLITICAL CREED OF THE GROUP IN POWER.

IN THOSE COUNTRIES YOU CANNOT JOIN POLITICAL PARTIES SAVE THE ONE PRESCRIBED BY THE STATE; YOU CAN HAVE NO VOICE

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IN THE GOVERNMENT; YOU CAN NEITHER ELECT NOR DEPOSE YOUR LEADERS; YOU CAN NEITHER MAKE NOR ALTER THE LAWS BY WHICH YOU ARE GOVERNED; YOU MAY READ ONLY FROM A PRESCRIBED LIST OF BOOKS; WHAT YOU WRITE IS STRICTLY CENSORED; WHAT YOU SAY IS CLOSELY WATCHED; YOUR THOUGHTS ARE SUSPECT; YOU MUST LOVE AND HATE, REJOICE, CHEER, SALUTE, BREATHE AT THE STATE'S BIDDING. IN THOSE COUNTRIES ALL THE ELEMENTS WHICH CONSTITUTE THE LIBERAL TRADITIONS OF OUR COUNTRY AND ARE THE WARP AND WOOF OF OUR DEMOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY ARE EITHER DEAD OR DYING.

NOR DOES THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRACY STOP AT THE CONFINES OF THE STATES WHICH HAVE ABANDONED DEMOCRACY. IT IS BEING CARRIED BOLDLY AND AGGRESSIVELY TO OTHER COUNTRIES WHERE DEMOCRACY IS CHERISHED BY THE BULK OF THE PEOPLE. SO EFFECTIVE HAS BEEN THE ATTACK THAT DEMOCRATIC PEOPLES ABROAD HAVE BEGUN TO LOSE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR OWN POWERS OF RESISTANCE AND DEFENSE. FOR THIS REASON THE FATE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD BECOMES INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON WHAT HAPPENS IN THIS COUNTRY. THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HISTORY HAS PLACED UPON YOU -- THE YOUTH OF AMERICA -- IS EPIC IN ITS CONSEQUENCES. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN THIS VERY CITY, YOU HAVE "A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY".

YOU WHO ARE GRADUATING IN THE UNITED STATES ARE IN AN ESPECIALLY FAVORED POSITION TO UNDERTAKE THIS RESPONSIBILITY. FOR YOU THE MENACE OF WAR IS MORE REMOTE. THERE IS NO IMMEDIATE THREAT FROM AN ENEMY WITHOUT.

FOR YOU, THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF YOUR FATHERS ARE IN NO WISE ABRIDGED. YOU MAY STUDY WHAT AND WHERE YOU LIKE, ENGAGE IN ANY PROFESSION YOU ELECT, LIVE WHERE YOU WILL. YOU ARE NOT COGS IN A WAR MACHINE. YOU DON'T HAVE TO DEVOTE FRUITFUL YEARS OF YOUR LIFE TO THE SCIENCE OF KILLING. YOU ARE NOT FORCED TO PUT BEHIND YOU FOR ONE, TWO, OR THREE YEARS ALL THOUGHT OF CREATIVE EFFORT, OF CULTURAL PURSUITS, OF A FULL LIFE AND PEACEFUL ENDEAVOR TOWARD WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN LOOKING AND FOR WHICH YOU HAVE SO EARNESTLY PREPARED. YOU ARE NOT COMPELLED EN MASSE TO DOFF YOUR CAPS AND GOWNS FOR UNIFORMS AND ENTRAIN FOR AN ARMY CAMP.

ALL THE LIBERTIES DENIED IN THE NON-DEMOCRATIC STATES ARE YOURS. THEY ARE YOURS BECAUSE YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS REFUSED TO DEVIATE FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE FREELY AND OPENLY EXPRESSED SHALL BE THE

LAW OF THE LAND. IN THESE DISTURBED TIMES, WHEN FREEDOM IS
BEING ASSAILED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THOSE LIBERTIES WILL
REMAIN YOURS ONLY SO LONG AS YOU GIVE THEM YOUR WHOLE-HEARTED
ALLEGIANCE.

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IN MY GENERATION WE TOOK OUR LIBERTIES LARGELY FOR GRANTED.
THEY WERE HANDED TO US ON A SILVER PLATTER AND WE ACCEPTED THEM
AS A MATTER OF COURSE. YOUR GENERATION CANNOT AFFORD SUCH
COMPLACENCY. THE RETENTION OF THE DECENCIES AND AMENITIES OF
CIVILIZED LIFE INVOLVES, NAY DEMANDS, A STRUGGLE IN WHICH WE
ALL, AND YOUTH ESPECIALLY, MUST PARTICIPATE. NONE CAN AFFORD
TO BE NEUTRAL. HE WHO ABSTAINS FROM THE STRUGGLE IN THE NAIVE
BELIEF THAT THESE MATTERS DO NOT CONCERN HIM OR THAT THE OUT-
COME WILL NOT DEPEND ON HIS OWN EFFORTS IS UNCONSCIOUSLY HELPING
THE ENEMY.

WE MUST JEALOUSLY GUARD OUR LIBERTIES AGAINST INFRINGEMENT.
WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT THEY WILL BE SWEEPED AWAY UNLESS THE
LIBERTIES OF ALL WHO ACCEPT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY
-- MINORITIES AS WELL AS MAJORITIES -- ARE CONSISTENTLY PROTECTED
AND PRESERVED. FAILURE TO DEFEND THOSE LIBERTIES IN ONE CITY,
OR COUNTY, OR STATE STRIKES AT THE LIBERTIES OF ALL OF US.

WHEN WE ARE INDIFFERENT TO REPRESSION, WHEN WE TOLERATE THE
CURTAILMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN ANY PLACE OR BY AN
INDIVIDUAL OR GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS, NO MATTER HOW POWERFUL,
NO MATTER HOW CLOSE TO THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT, WE MAKE EASIER
AN ATTACK UPON OUR OWN CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT THERE ARE PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES --
SOME OF THEM NOT VERY FAR FROM THIS CITY -- WHERE THOSE LIBER-
TIES ARE BEING BRAZENLY AND BRUTALLY DENIED, WHERE THE BILL
OF RIGHTS IS BEING FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED TO PERPETUATE PERSONAL
TYRANNY. DENIAL OF CIVIL LIBERTIES SEEMS TO ME ESPECIALLY
DAMNABLE WHEN IT ACTS BEHIND A MASK OF PATRIOTISM AND UNDER
THE SHELTER OF THE FLAG OF OUR COUNTRY WHICH WAS CREATED AND
SANCTIFIED AS AN EMBLEM OF LIBERTY.]

WE CANNOT EXPECT OUR GOVERNMENT TO DO ALL THE FIGHTING
FOR US. NO TRULY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT CAN MOVE FASTER OR
FARTHER THAN THE PEOPLE. BUT WE DO EXPECT IT TO EXPRESS THE
PEOPLE'S WILL FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY; WE DO EXPECT IT
TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ANTICIPATING THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE.

HOW HAS OUR GOVERNMENT DONE THAT? HOW HAS IT FOSTERED THE
CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WILL THRIVE

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AND THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC SECURITY BECOME A MEANINGFUL REALITY?

OUR GOVERNMENT HAS STEADILY WORKED TO DEVELOP PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IT HAS SOUGHT TO ARREST THE TIDE OF WAR BY RIGID ADHERENCE TO ITS TREATY OBLIGATIONS AND BY ITS DETERMINED REFUSAL TO CONDONE ACTS OF AGGRESSION. IN ITS DEALING WITH SMALL NATIONS IT NO LONGER PERMITS THE INTRIGUES OF "DOLLAR DIPLOMACY". IT PURSUES THE "GOOD NEIGHBOR" POLICY WITH THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS. WE ARE NOT AMONG THE WARMONGERS. "THE AMERICAN NATION HATES WAR". IT HAS SOUGHT PEACE AND PURSUED IT. ^{thus} IT HAS TAKEN THE INITIATIVE IN COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO INTRODUCE ORDER IN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY RELATIONSHIPS AND IT HAS UNDERTAKEN AN ACTIVE PROGRAM TO LOWER THE BARRIERS TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE. (~~LASTLY, IT IS BUILDING UP A NAVY ADEQUATE TO DEFEND OUR SHORES AGAINST ANY POTENTIAL THREAT OF INVASION.~~)

AT HOME OUR GOVERNMENT ARRESTED THE CATASTROPHIC DECLINE WHICH DEVASTATED THE LIVES AND FORTUNES OF AMERICANS DURING THE FIRST YEARS OF THE DEPRESSION. TO AN EXTENT UNPARALLELED IN HISTORY IT PROVIDED USEFUL WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED BY A VAST SYSTEM OF PUBLIC WORKS WHICH HAVE PERMANENTLY INCREASED THE WEALTH OF OUR COUNTRY. IT HAS INTRODUCED BASIC REFORMS LONG OVERDUE.

OUR CURRENCY AND CREDIT ARE NO LONGER AT THE MERCY OF IRRATIONAL GUSTS OF SPECULATION. OUR BANKING SYSTEM HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED AND MADE MORE FLEXIBLE; THE ADOPTION OF DEPOSIT INSURANCE GIVES PROTECTION TO THE SMALL DEPOSITOR. THE SECURITIES MARKETS ^{are beginning to function} AS A CONCERN FRAUGHT WITH PUBLIC INTEREST AND MUST ^{henceforth} NOW BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH PUBLIC INTEREST DEMANDS. MORE EQUITABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR HAVE BEEN PROMOTED, AND WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST AND MOST DIFFICULT STEPS TOWARD A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS PARTICULARLY PROUD OF ITS RECORD OF AID TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA. WE SET UP THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, WHICH HAS BROUGHT HEALTH AND VIGOR TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN WHO WERE LOSING CONFIDENCE IN THEMSELVES. WE CREATED THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, WHICH HAS ENABLED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TO ATTEND HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OR TO OBTAIN VOCATIONAL EXPERIENCE THROUGH PART-TIME WORK. AMONG YOU HERE TODAY THERE ARE DOUBTLESS A NUMBER WHO CAN ATTEST TO THE UTILITY OF THAT PROGRAM.

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TRUE, THIS PROGRAM HAS INVOLVED LARGE EXPENDITURES. BUT I CONSIDER THOSE EXPENDITURES A NECESSARY INVESTMENT TO MAINTAIN THE PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE. (AS I STATED IN MY ADDRESS OF NOVEMBER OF LAST YEAR "... IN NO EVENT WILL THIS ADMINISTRATION ALLOW ANYONE TO STARVE, NOR WILL IT ABANDON ITS BROAD PURPOSE TO PROTECT THE WEAK, TO GIVE HUMAN SECURITY, AND TO SEEK A WIDER DISTRIBUTION OF OUR NATIONAL INCOME.")

THERE REMAINS MUCH TO BE DONE: MILLIONS OF DECENT HOMES TO BE BUILT; SLUMS WIPED OUT; TRANSPORTATION REORGANIZED; THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION IMPROVED. THE EXCESSIVE POWER OF MONOPOLIES MUST BE RESTRICTED. OUR TAXATION SYSTEM MUST BE REVISED SO AS TO ELIMINATE CUMBERSOME OVERLAPPING OF FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL TAXES AND ATTAIN MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF TAX BURDENS. THESE ARE ONLY SOME OF THE TASKS.

THE MAJOR TASK, HOWEVER, IS TO GET OUR ECONOMY TO FUNCTION ON AN EVEN KEEL SO THAT ALL WHO ARE ABLE AND WILLING TO WORK CAN FIND OUTLETS FOR THEIR CREATIVE ENERGIES. UNTIL WE SUCCEED IN THAT TASK, OUR LIBERTIES WILL NOT BE SAFE. WHEN MEN AND WOMEN ARE HAUNTED BY THE SPECTRE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, THEY MAY FALL PREY TO ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENTS. SUCH MOVEMENTS THRIVE ON ECONOMIC INSECURITY. THE ENEMY IS EVER WITHIN THE GATES READY TO EXPLOIT HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING FOR HIS ^{its} OWN ~~PRIVATE~~ ADVANTAGE.

IN THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY AND POLITICAL STABILITY THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY INCURRED THE ENMITY OF THOSE WHO, FIRM IN THE POSSESSION OF THE PREROGATIVES ARISING FROM UNBRIDLED ECONOMIC POWER, WOULD DENY TO OTHERS THE LIBERTIES WHICH IN A DEMOCRACY BELONG TO EVERY MAN. IN TIMES OF STRESS THEIR GREATEST STRENGTH LIES IN THE CONFUSION OF ISSUES, IN THE DISTORTION OF FACT AND PRINCIPLE, IN THE EXPLOITATION AND SUBTLE MISINTERPRETATION OF THE NOBLEST AMERICAN TRADITIONS. WE MUST NOT LET THE ISSUES BECOME CONFUSED. WE MUST NOT BE TRICKED INTO EXCHANGING OUR LIBERTIES FOR AN ILLUSORY MESS OF POTTAGE. WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE LIBERTIES WE CHERISH FOR THEIR OWN SAKE ARE THE VERY WEAPONS WITH WHICH THE FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY MUST BE WON.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO STILL TELL US WE OUGHT NOT TO PLAN OUR FUTURE, THAT WE OUGHT TO TAKE REFUGE IN THE GOOD OLD PRACTICES AND PRECEPTS OF THE PAST WHEN ALL SEEMED WELL. THAT IS A PERFECTLY COMPREHENSIBLE ATTITUDE. BUT IT IS THE DREAM-THINKING OF BEATEN MEN WHO SEEK SOLACE IN THE SURROUNDINGS AND THE ASSOCIATIONS OF A LESS TROUBLED TIME IN THE HOPE OF RECAPTURING THE PAST. THE PAST WILL NOT RETURN. WE CANNOT TURN THE CLOCK BACK. WE LIVE IN DIFFERENT TIMES AND HISTORY CONFRONTS US WITH NEW PROBLEMS THAT THE PAST HAD NO NEED TO SOLVE AND CANNOT SOLVE FOR US.

~~LET US NOT REVERE THE PAST MERELY BECAUSE IT IS THE PAST. "IF WE WILL REVERENCE THE AGE THEN THE PRESENT IS THE OLDEST", SAID THE IMMORTAL THOMAS HOBBS.~~

~~CHANGE, ADAPTATION, GROWTH ARE FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF LIFE. CHANGES OCCUR WHETHER WE WANT THEM OR NOT, BUT IF EVERY NEEDED INNOVATION IS RESISTED, IF THERE IS A PHARISAICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER WHICH DENIES THE SPIRIT, CHANGE WILL BE REGRESS, NOT PROGRESS: RETREAT, NOT ADVANCE. ADVANCE IS NOT EASY. IT DEMANDS FLEXIBILITY IN RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR CHANGE AND STUBBORNNESS IN ADHERING TO OUR BASIC DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.~~

I WISH I COULD TELL YOU THAT WE WERE OUT IN THE CLEAR:
THAT THE IMMEDIATE PRESSING PROBLEMS WERE OVER. I WISH I
COULD TRUTHFULLY SAY THAT "PROSPERITY IS AROUND THE CORNER".
BUT OUR TASKS -- YOUR TASKS -- HAVE ONLY JUST BEGUN. THE
BASIC REFORMS CARRIED THROUGH UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ARE ONLY A BEGINNING. THEY PREVENT A
REPETITION OF THE 1932 CATAclysm, BUT THE FIGHT TO ALLEVIATE
AND END THE PRESENT RECESSION, TO MAKE FURTHER RECESSIONS
IMPOSSIBLE AND TO BRING ABOUT ^{an} ORDER ^{of things} BETTER THAN WE HAVE YET
SEEN IS STILL BEFORE US. IT IS A TASK THAT CALLS FOR EFFORT
AND SACRIFICE, FOR WISDOM AND COURAGE, PATIENCE AND VISION.

YOU ARE LIVING IN ^{difficult} HARD TIMES, YET ADVENTUROUS TIMES.
THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS ARE GONE, BUT THERE ARE NEW, EVER-
EXPANDING WORLDS, WHOSE LIMITS RECEDE AS WE APPROACH THEM.
IN THE PAST WE CONCENTRATED ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATURAL
RESOURCES. MORE RECENTLY, AND SOMEWHAT TARDILY, WE TURNED
OUR ATTENTION TO THE CONSERVATION OF THOSE RESOURCES. THE
TIME HAS NOW COME FOR US TO DEVOTE A MUCH LARGER SHARE OF OUR
ENERGIES TO AN EVEN VASTER TASK -- THE MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOP-
MENT OF OUR HUMAN RESOURCES.

AMERICA IS A LAND OF ECONOMIC POTENTIALITY WHICH CAN

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PROVIDE FOR THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PEOPLE. NATURE HAS
ENDOWED US WITH ALMOST ALL THE NATURAL RESOURCES ESSENTIAL
FOR A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL. WE HAVE FAR MORE
CAPITAL RESOURCES THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY. WE HAVE THE TECHNICAL
SKILL AND KNOWLEDGE TO UTILIZE THIS CAPITAL. OUR LABOR SUPPLY
IS AS VARIED AND AS EFFICIENT AS OUR TECHNIQUE OF PRODUCTION
IS ADVANCED. (~~WE HAVE A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SET-UP WHICH
FOSTERS INITIATIVE AND INVENTIVENESS.~~) WE HAVE ALL THE
INGREDIENTS ESSENTIAL TO A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING.

THE SOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF PROVIDING AN
ABUNDANT LIFE FOR ALL IS TEMPTINGLY WITHIN OUR GRASP. IT IS
NO LONGER A WILL-^{the-}O'-WISP. BUT IT STILL ESCAPES US. WE FIND
ONE-THIRD OF THIS, THE RICHEST NATION IN THE WORLD, ILL-FED,
ILL-HOUSED, ILL-CLAD. BUMPER CROPS OF WHEAT, OF CORN, OF
RICE, OF COTTON, -- YET POVERTY STALKING THE LAND. BILLIONS
OF CAPITAL IDLE, MILLIONS OF HANDS WITH NO WORK TO DO. THE
BEST-EQUIPPED FACTORIES IN THE WORLD WORKING QUARTER- AND
HALF-TIME, WHILE MILLIONS LACK THE GOODS THESE FACTORIES COULD
MAKE. WAREHOUSES FULL, YET LARDERS EMPTY. THIS YEAR THE
PROSPECT OF UNUSUALLY ABUNDANT CROPS CONFRONTS US. INSTEAD

OF GIVING RISE TO REJOICING, THIS PROSPECT AROUSES FEAR THAT THE FARMERS WILL HAVE A LOWER INCOME. TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IS STEADILY OCCURRING IN MOST INDUSTRIAL FIELDS. BUT THIS PROGRESS IS OFTEN ACCOMPANIED BY DISPLACEMENT OF LABOR, REDUCED EMPLOYMENT, AND THE EMERGENCE OF STRANDED AREAS. IT IS INDEED A TRAGIC COMMENTARY THAT ABUNDANCE ALARMS US ~~MORE THAN SCARCITY~~, THAT INVENTIONS WHICH ULTIMATELY RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING TAKE SUCH HEAVY TOLL, THAT INCREASED CAPACITY TO PRODUCE MAY ACTUALLY REDUCE THE NATIONAL INCOME.

SOMEWHERE IN THE PROCESS OF THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH THERE IS A SHORT-CIRCUIT WHICH NO ONE AS YET HAS BEEN ABLE TO ELIMINATE. THERE MUST BE A SATISFACTORY METHOD; THERE MUST BE A WAY OUT. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP OUR ECONOMIC RESOURCES MORE SUCCESSFULLY THAN WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE THE GLARING INEQUALITIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND YET RETAIN PRIVATE INCENTIVE. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE, WHILE RETAINING OUR DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES, TO WIN FOR THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA THE REALIZATION OF THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT, THE RIGHT TO WORK, -- TO WORK AT TASKS

SUITED TO THEIR CAPACITIES AND TRAINING, UNDER CONDITIONS IN KEEPING WITH HUMAN DIGNITY, WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS ON GENUINE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, FOR WAGES YIELDING A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING. IT MUST BE POSSIBLE TO SO ORGANIZE OUR ECONOMY AS TO INSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR ALL.

THIS IS YOUR CHALLENGE. THESE ARE THE FRONTIERS YOU MUST EXPLORE, THE WORLDS YOU MUST CONQUER. YOUR DISCOVERIES, YOUR CONQUESTS, WILL YIELD RICHES INFINITELY GREATER THAN PIONEERING OF GEOGRAPHICAL FRONTIERS. THEY WILL DEMAND ALL THE COURAGE AND AUDACITY YOU HAVE.

IT WILL BE WRITTEN IN HISTORY THAT MY GENERATION OPENLY FACED THE PROBLEM OF UNDER-CONSUMPTION ON THE ONE HAND AND THE WASTE OF UNUSED PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES ON THE OTHER; THAT MY GENERATION BEGAN TO CUT A WAY THROUGH THE PUZZLING MAZE THAT SEPARATES THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE ENJOYMENT OF ECONOMIC SECURITY. WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. WE NOW KNOW THAT WITHOUT A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME A BALANCE OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AT HIGH LEVELS IS IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS FOR YOU TO ADVANCE OUR

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WORK AND TURN THE KNOWLEDGE WE HAVE GAINED INTO A LASTING SECURITY FOR ALL. WHEN HISTORY PASSES JUDGMENT ON YOUR GENERATION, LET THE VERDICT BE THAT YOU ATTAINED THE GOAL. LET IT PRONOUNCE THAT YOU RESOLVED THE PARADOX OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY.

THE POST-WAR GENERATION HAS SOMETIMES BEEN CALLED THE LOST GENERATION. YOUR GENERATION, I HOPE, WILL GO DOWN ^{in history} ~~to~~ ~~SCSTERITY~~ AS THE GENERATION WHICH FOUND ITSELF, THE GENERATION WHICH, NO LONGER SEDUCED BY THE GLITTERING PRIZES THAT BLIND CHANCE AWARDS TO THE FEW, TURNED ITSELF TO A CONCERTED PURSUIT OF THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, AND THEREBY SAVED AMERICA BY ITS COURAGE AND RESOURCEFULNESS, AND THE WORLD BY ITS EXAMPLE.

File
~~100~~

June 15, 1938.

Honorable H. Merle Cochran,
First Secretary,
American Embassy,
Paris, France.

Dear Mr. Cochran:

Secretary Morgenthau is delivering the Commencement address tomorrow at Temple University where he is to receive an honorary degree. At his suggestion, I am sending you a half dozen copies of his speech.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Herbert E. Gaston

Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary.

HEG:tw

Paris, June 30, 1938.

speech

Dear Mr. Gaston:

Please accept my sincere thanks for sending with your letter of June 15 six copies of the address on "The Road Ahead," delivered by Secretary Morgenthau at Temple University on June 16. I am quite happy to have the full text of this speech and am using the copies where I think they will do the most good.

With very kindest personal regards,
I am

Faithfully yours,

B. M. Wilson

The Honorable
Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

HWA

Paris

ob *2000*
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The Honorable Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

June 15, 1956.

Honorable William W. Butterworth, Jr.,
Second Secretary,
American Embassy,
London, England.

Dear Mr. Butterworth:

Secretary Morgenthau is delivering the Commencement address tomorrow at Temple University where he is to receive an honorary degree. At his suggestion, I am sending you a half dozen copies of his speech.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Herbert E. Gaston

Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary.

HEG:tew

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~~FILE~~

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF
SECRET SERVICE DIVISION

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 15, 1938

Memorandum for the Secretary,
From Chief Wilson.

I have advised Mr. Landvoigt, Supervising Agent at Philadelphia, that you are flying to Philadelphia Navy Yard this afternoon and that I will later advise him the approximate hour of your departure so he can meet you at the Navy Yard.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL

COMMENCEMENT



MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

34TH STREET BELOW SPRUCE STREET

JUNE THE SIXTEENTH

1938

PROGRAM

ORGAN RECITAL

Gilbert Miller, Organist

Grave *J. S. Bach*
Prelude and Fugue in B flat..... *J. S. Bach*
Orientale *Cui*
Pilgrims' Chorus from Tannhauser..... *Wagner*
Festival March from Queen of Sheba..... *Gounod*

PROCESSIONAL

Grand March from "Aida"..... *Verdi*

INVOCATION..... THE REVEREND CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD

HYMN—"America"

My country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrims' pride;
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring!

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free—
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Our fathers' God I to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King!

INTRODUCTION

PRESIDENT CHARLES E. BEURY

ADDRESS—"The Road Ahead"

THE HONORABLE HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

VOCAL SOLO

Caro Mio Ben..... *Giuseppe Giordani*
The Oratorio of St. Paul..... *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*
MACKAY SWAN, *Baritone*

CONFERRING OF HONORARY DEGREES

PRESIDENT CHARLES E. BEURY

Doctor of Divinity

CHARLES DANIEL BRODHEAD

Minister of the First Methodist Church of Media

Doctor of Pedagogy

WILLIAM HENRY WELSH

Director of School Extension for the School District of Philadelphia

Doctor of Humane Letters

CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER

Actress and Author

Doctor of Laws

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

Secretary of the Treasury

PRESENTATION OF THE ALUMNI AWARD

For Conspicuous Service to ~~the~~ Community

By LEON A. HALPERN, D.D.S.

President, General Alumni Association

CONFERRING OF DEGREES IN COURSE

AWARDING OF CERTIFICATES

ALMA MATER

Onward with Temple,
Banners all unfurled;
Wide flung our standards,
To the winds they're hurled.
Following our Founder
To immortal fame;
Making true his vision,
Of a deathless name.

Hail! Alma Mater,
Honor, praise to Thee;
We pledge our lives,
Our hearts in loyalty.
Wisdom, Truth and Virtue
Built our Temple great;
Perseverance conquers;
Higher to create.

BENEDICTION..... THE REVEREND THOMAS S. BROCK, S.T.D.

RECESSIONAL—March Célèbre..... *Fr. Lachner*

DEGREES IN COURSE

TEACHERS COLLEGE

DEAN GEORGE E. WALK

Doctor of Education

- J. Frank Dame, B.S. in Education, New York University, 1930; Ed.M., Temple University, 1934. Education.
Oliver C. Kuntzman, B.S. in Education, Lebanon Valley College, 1925; M.A., Columbia University, 1932. History.
Mark G. Messinger, A.B., Ursinus College, 1917; A.M., University of Pennsylvania, 1930. Education.
Ross Linn Neagley, B.S. in Education, Shippensburg State Teachers College, 1929; M.A., Columbia University, 1933. Education.
Raymond Pizer, A.B., University of Pennsylvania, 1923; M.A., University of Pennsylvania, 1932. Education.
Earl Bruce Thomas, A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1923; M.A., Franklin and Marshall College, 1928. History.

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES

DEAN JAMES H. DUNHAM

Master of Arts

- Joseph Francis Flubacher, A.B., LaSalle College, 1935. Economics.
Paul H. Kratz, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Mathematics.
Frederic Richter, A.B., Temple University, 1936. Chemistry.
Matthews Calvert Till, A.B., Lincoln University, 1935. Political Science.
Morton Warshafsky, A.B., Temple University, 1935. Chemistry.

TEACHERS COLLEGE

DEAN GEORGE E. WALK

Master of Education

- A. Groff Alderfer, B.S., Lafayette College, 1925. Education.
Gerson Backhaut, A.B., University of Pennsylvania, 1931. Education.
Elizabeth C. Bacon, B.S., Columbia University, 1933. Psychology.
Benjamin Hanks, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. Education.
Aloysius M. Baran, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Physical Education.
Eugene A. Barrett, B.A., Holy Cross College, 1930. History.
Jesse Harold Begel, B.S., Muhlenberg College, 1930. Education.
Thomas J. Bell, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.
William Raymond Benner, B.S. in Education, West Chester State Teachers College, 1929. Education.
Ruth E. Bennett, B.A., University of Delaware, 1921. Psychology.
Walter Adelbert Benson, B.S. in Industrial Arts Education, Syracuse University, 1936. Education.
Kathryne Bieri, A.B., Taylor University, 1925. Education.

- Kermit John Blank, B.S. in Education, Kutztown State Teachers College, 1930. Education.
Irvin Blender, B.S.C., Temple University, 1931. Education.
Joseph N. Brancato, Jr., B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Physical Education.
William Braverman, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Psychology.
Irving Brody, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937. Sociology.
Mildred Ross Cavanaugh, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.
Robert W. Chubb, A.B., University of Pennsylvania, 1932. Education.
Gordon Howard Craig, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Physical Education.
John Milton Davidson, A.B., Dickinson College, 1933. History.
Sol Deglin, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Education.
Ethel Hargreaves Derby, B.S. in Education, University of Pennsylvania, 1930. Education.
Michael F. Derrick, B.S. in Education, West Chester State Teachers College, 1932. History.
Lillian Dichter, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Psychology.
Ruth Diemer, B.A., Brenau College, 1929. Physical Education.
Rhea Evelyn Drexel, B.S. in Music, New York University, 1929. Music Education.
Esther M. Durburow, A.B., Gettysburg College, 1925. Education.
John Pritchard Eden, Jr., B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937. Education.
Rebecca Verona Elsey, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Physical Education.
Grace R. Emmons, B.S. in Education, Boston University, 1931. History.
Henry L. Engel, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.
Roy S. Forney, A.B. in Education, Elizabethtown College, 1931. Education.
Meribah S. Gardiner, B.S. in Education, Bucknell University, 1931. Education.
Paul H. Glass, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1934. Psychology.
William A. Gottfried, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.
Lester A. Grammes, B.S. in Education, Kutztown State Teachers College, 1930. Education.
Hattie M. Grant, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. History.
Wilton D. Greenway, B.A., Tusculum College, 1920. Education.
Norman A. Groves, B.S., University of Delaware, 1914. Education.
Frank C. Haenle, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Education.
Frank S. Halpin, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.
Siddons Harper, Jr., A.B. Haverford College, 1926. Education.

Harold W. Hendricks, B.S. in Education, Kutztown State Teachers College, 1932. Education.

Mabel R. Heppard, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1932. Religious Education.

Catherine C. Higgins, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1932. English.

Kathryn Mae Hottel, B.S. in Home Economics, Drexel Institute, 1930. Home Economics Education.

Emily H. Hughes, B.S. in Education, New York University, 1933. Psychology.

Adelaide M. Hulnick, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Early Childhood Education.

Lionel Henry Jackson, B.S. in Education, West Chester State Teachers College, 1934. Education.

Preston Clarence Johnson, B.S., University of Pennsylvania, 1917. Education.

Dolph Judd, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1931. Education.

Joseph B. Kadel, B.S. in Health Education, East Stroudsburg State Teachers College, 1934. Physical Education.

John Joseph Kalwaic, B.S. in Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1929. Education.

Frederick Kane, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1924. Education.

John Friedel Kelso, A.B., Dickinson College, 1930. Education.

Nesta Dorothy Maxine Kline, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. History.

Ludwina Kopanitsak, B.S. in Education, University of Pennsylvania, 1930. Education.

Haig Kupjian, B.A., George Washington University, 1924. Education.

Harry Leabman, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937. Education.

Ellis Lecrone, A.B., Susquehanna University, 1921. Education.

Rose Lee, A.B., Meredith College, 1937. Education.

S. Samuel Levick, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1930. Education.

J. Earl Mast, B.S. in Education, Millersville State Teachers College, 1931. Education.

Margaret Honoré McGowan, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. History.

Beatrice Ann McMahon, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. Education.

Anna May Monroe, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1932. Education.

William Henry Morrow, A.B., College of William and Mary, 1927. Education.

Stephanie Moskaluk, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. English.

Lucile C. Murphy, B.S., University of Oregon, 1932. Physical Education.

Thelma Murr, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. Education.

Howard M. Naze, B.A., Goshen College, 1932. Education.

Morton J. Oppenheimer, A.B., Ursinus College, 1927; M.D., Temple University, 1932. Psychology and Education.

Robert R. Paradiso, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1934. Physical Education.

Charles R. Parness, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938. Sociology.

David A. Patchell, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1934. Physical Education.

A. Norman Ranck, A.B., Franklin and Marshall College, 1927. Education.

Rita Mary Reich, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935. English.

Virginia M. Seegers, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1925. Psychology.

Deborah Shaner, B.A., University of Wisconsin, 1923. Education.

Anna Catharine Sheesley, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1931. Music Education.

James Daniel Shoffstall, B.S. in Education, Millersville State Teachers College, 1930. Psychology.

Russell S. Shutt, B.S. in Vocational Education, University of Pittsburgh, 1931. Education.

Sarah Simkin, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1932. English.

Elizabeth Schlice Smith, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. Education.

H. Edmond Smith, B.S. in Education, Bloomsburg State Teachers College, 1932. Education.

Jay F. Smith, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1933. Physical Education.

Ralph Fisher Smith, B.S. in Education, New York University, 1930. Psychology and Education.

Victoria F. Smith, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Education.

Frederick E. Speight, Jr., B.S.C., Temple University, 1937. History.

Anne Stewart, A.B., Grove City College, 1918. Education.

William James Edward Stewart, B.S. in Economics, University of Pennsylvania, 1926. Education.

Charlotte M. Cleaver Thomas, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Education.

John Francis Trainor, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1934. Physical Education.

George Gates Trichon, A.B., University of Alabama, 1937. Psychology.

Willis Arthur Vincent, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938. History.

Henry J. Warman, B.S. in Education, Bloomsburg State Teachers College, 1932. Education.

David D. Weintraub, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1936. Physical Education.

Kathryn Wolovitz, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1932. Education.

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEAN JAMES H. DUNHAM

Bachelor of Arts

Louis Anthony Aleli	Harry Bennett Kime (<i>Distinction in Chemistry</i>)
Mary Louise Allen	David Samuel Marshall
Evelyn Alice Armitt	Franklin Carl Massey
Arnold Belenky	Mervin Aaron Mathias
Daniel B. Bond	Dorothy Mae Matis
Charles A. Cabot	Geraldine Mild
Irwin Harvey Carlitz (<i>Distinction in Chemistry</i>)	Herbert R. Moskow
Aileen Virginia Corbin	John Folwell McIlvain (<i>Distinction in Political Science</i>)
Jack Deitch	Irving Nagelberg
Chester A. Dombrowski	Loretta Teresa O'Reilly
William A. Drummond, Jr.	Peter Clement Posatko
Mildred Elizabeth Eckhardt (<i>Distinction in Psychology</i>)	Lillian Rachlin
William Thomas Ellis	Elizabeth Grace Raysor
Joseph Epstein	Florence Jane Raysor
David R. Faringer	Emily Robbins
Helen Inez Flake	Samuel Rosenbaum
Thomas Joseph Freaney, Jr.	Lester Michael Saidman
Margaret Jane Gerlach	Sara H. Sittkin
James H. Glackin (<i>Distinction in Psychology</i>)	Harry Sobel
Bernard Goluboff	Shoshannah Staller
Thomas M. Hawkins	Anna May Swain
Morton S. Herskowitz	John William Tomlinson
William Lane Hewes, III	Alfred Trosow
Eldon G. Hoachlander	Fred S. Vogenitz
Albert Hoffman	Richard Vernon Worthington
	Everett Yaros

Bachelor of Science (pre-medical)

Jacob Martin Benson	G. Norris Ketcham
William Aaron Brodsky	Morton Medvene Kligerman
George Charles Budens	Leon Kotloff
Milton M. Cahn	Clarence Daron Leiphart
John Taylor Ealy	Meyer Perchonock

TEACHERS COLLEGE
DEAN GEORGE E. WALK

Bachelor of Science in Education

Elsie M. Acker	Nathan Passwell Dordick
Ella Katherine Alexander	Doris A. Drake (<i>X-Group</i>)
Rowena Louise Alexander	Joseph V. Drulis
Anthony Alfred Alfano	Donald Arthur Dungan
Mary J. Allen	Bruce Claxton Duvall
Gerald L. Amonitti	David A. Earley
Mary Ellen Amthor	Ruth Lena Evert
Margaret Kathryn Arbogast	Marion Grace Fargo
Marie Leidy Atkinson	Walter Brice Fell
Eleanor Bailey	Norman Fliegelman
George S. Baker	Kathleen Mary Florentine (<i>X-Group</i>)
Marie Patricia Baldwin	Sylvia Fogel
Beatrice R. Ballen	Clara Forman
*Carolyn Rose Balsbaugh	Emma Mary Fossett
Blanche Anna Bechtel	Alvyn M. Freed
Fay Becker	*Vivian Gadol
Philip Becker	Charles Joseph Gallagher (<i>X-Group—Honors in Science</i>)
Mary White Bell	Clarence Winfred Gehris
Olga Marie Bellino	Olive Geil
Catherine Marie Bender	Ella Margaret Gensemer
Frances Elizabeth Benner (<i>X-Group</i>)	Sylvia C. Glasner (<i>X-Group</i>)
Agnes Marie Bernabei	Harriet Springer Godfrey
Ruth Biskin	Martin Goldman
Bernice Black	Beatrice Shelley Good
Carlton W. Bodine	Jeanette P. Goodling
Leon Brandolph	Solomon Gorewitz
Kathleen Clara Buchanan	Herbert Gottlieb
Frances Irene Campbell	Edna F. Gottreich
Alice Marion Carl	Marion B. Graham
*Marjorie Lillian Cherksey	Carl P. Gray
Margaret Clark	Robert George Gray
Samuel Maxwell Coder	Katie Murphy Greene
Herman I. Cohen (<i>X-Group</i>)	Mary Carolyn Greider
Price MacMillan Collins	†Mary E. Greiner
Helen Crane	Paulina H. Hansen (<i>X-Group</i>)
Mary Elizabeth Crowgey	Alma Harilee
Lucy Louise Cudemo	Harley Shuman Hastings
Waldemar Dabrowski (<i>X-Group—Honors in Music</i>)	Albert H. Hauber, Jr.
Howard G. Davis	*Grace Elizabeth Heap
Dionira Dorothy DePretore	Erik Hemmingsen (<i>X-Group—Honors in Science</i>)
Elizabeth Letha Dildine	
Dorothy Mary May Dill	
Elsie A. Dittman	
*With honors.	
†Deceased.	

Jamie Lee Henry
 Joseph Mitchell Hewlett
 Sophia Hildebrand
 Dorothy Hilgert
 Frank F. Horen
 Phyllis Barbara Hornyak
 Mabel Lucile Everhart Hulton
 Doris Tyler Irvin
 Bertram Isard
 Violet Ischler
 Alma Grace Jackson
 J. Howard Jackson
 Mary Theresa Jasper
 Ethel Clay Elizabeth Johnson
 *Hilda Kahn
 Benjamin Kaplan
 Esther Blanche Kaslin
 Charles M. Kaufman
 Mary L. Keely
 (X-Group)
 Cecelia K. Kenny
 Margaret Day Kerr
 Alexander Boyd Killough
 *Frankie Kimmelman
 Dorothy Claire Kines
 Ragnar Kjeldahl
 Dena Kokonos
 David Harry Kotin
 *Louis Kornberg
 Milton Kravitz
 *Gertrude V. Cecelia Kuehefuhs
 John Stator Laws
 Nahoma R. Lax
 Albert Stephen Layton
 Warren S. Layton
 Ruth Marie Lentz
 Ruth Frances Lerner
 Ruby Cornelia Lewis
 George Edgar Lindsay, Jr.
 Nancy B. Linthicum
 Edith I. Lipkin
 *Edward I. Lipschuta
 Joseph LoBue
 (X-Group—Honors in French)
 Dorothy Jean Long
 Ruth Julia Luckins
 Harriet E. Luddy
 Helen Lillian Margolis
 *Madeleine Hoag Marsden
 Margaret Jane Marshall
 Max Maslovitz
 *With honors.

Mary Rita McFadden
 Melva Elsie McIntire
 Dorothy Louise McLaury
 Hazel A. Menkin
 Pauline B. Meyer
 (X-Group—Honors in English)
 Leone Katherine Miner
 Lillian Morris
 Paul L. Munion
 Geraldine Nayfield
 Francis Alois Neibert
 Raymond Wilson Nicholson
 Margaret Elizabeth Pass
 Elaine Helen Peters
 (X-Group)
 Mary Elizabeth Peterson
 Rebecca Anne Philson
 Kathryne Pickering
 Clara May Pierce
 *Katharine D. Poisel
 Edna Poltarack
 Lafayette S. Powell
 Dorothy Pratt
 (X-Group)
 Anna Rachel Price
 Hilda Elma Price
 *Abraham Rabinowitz
 Nora Gertrude Rabinowitz
 Vincent Edward Reilly
 Marguerite Edna Rickards
 *John T. Ritsko
 Mary S. Rittenhouse
 Margaret Mae Roberts
 (X-Group)
 Edna G. Roder
 Sadie Swenson Roeser
 Sylvia P. Roseman
 (X-Group)
 Rose Celia Rosen
 Sol Rosner
 (X-Group—Honors in English)
 Florence H. Rothman
 *Eva Rovinsky
 *Esther Newsome Rowe
 Willson McClyment Rowe
 Daniel Rubin
 Katharine Runyon
 Frederick Nahan Sass
 (X-Group)
 Molly Savage
 (X-Group)

Ida E. Schultz
 (X-Group)
 Herman Ramsaran Soesaran
 *Alice H. Sharpless
 *Jane Slobodzin
 Rita Louise Smith
 Mary Jane Smulling
 Ethel Solitsitsky
 Charles Harvey Squires
 Virginia Elizabeth Stauffer
 Marion Steinbach
 Florence H. Steinberg
 (X-Group—Honors in Social Studies)
 Jack Steinberg
 Vivian Mae Stephenson
 Irvin Sternberg
 John J. Stevens
 Helen Brooke Stiles
 John Ewing Stively, Jr.
 (X-Group)
 Fred Ernest Stoeffler
 Minnie L. Stoughton
 Dorothy Elizabeth Sudlow
 Francis X. Sutton
 (X-Group—Honors in Mathematics)
 Charles F. Swier
 (X-Group—Honors in Music)
 Nancy Jane Taylor
 Harry Teblum
 Barbara E. Thompson

Cecil G. Thompson
 Christine Sarah Thompson
 George Howard Thornber
 Frances Jane Thornburg
 Herbert William Tobaben
 Abe Toller
 (X-Group)
 Samuel Milton Tolz
 Allen Trasoff
 Maxwell Truskin
 Craig J. Turnbull
 Annabel Turner
 Eugene Udell
 (X-Group)
 Val Udell
 (X-Group)
 Gerald Charles Vandetti
 Anthony Joseph Volpe, Jr.
 Vivian Myrtle Wadsworth
 (X-Group)
 Marguerite Walter
 Gloria C. Warca
 Edith Waxman
 Harold Perry Wayman
 *Ethel I. Weimar
 *Harriet Lucretia Williams
 Sara Lane Loomis Wise
 Ruth Arlene Wittman
 *Charles William Woehr
 Margaret C. Young
 Charles Yrigoyen

SCHOOL OF COMMERCE

DEAN HARRY A. COCHRAN

Bachelor of Science in Commerce

Samuel Adelman
 *Lois Mae Anderson
 John Carlton Andes
 Edward J. Baime
 Earle B. Baker
 Andrew John Barker
 *John Lincoln Barr
 Richard P. Barr
 Lester Benfman
 Albert E. Berg
 Harry Hunter Boardman
 Alan Louis Bobrow
 Gilbert Bonnett
 Thomas Bates Bradshaw
 Robert Bruce Brandeberry
 Reaford Lewis Brown
 *With honors

*Jack Bertrum Burns
 James Bushra
 Thomas Carson
 Paul M. Cialfo
 Lawrence J. Cohen
 *Marvin Comisky
 Frank Davis Cox, 2nd
 Herman S. Davis
 James Carlton Davis
 Roland DeMott
 Gordon H. Dickinson
 *Catherine Dumavant
 Clayton Newbold Eastlack, Jr.
 Isaac S. Elfman
 Emanuel D. Eskin
 Sidney H. Feldman

Fred I. Fleshman
 *Martin A. Forman
 Florence Wintz Forsyth
 David M. Franklin
 *Joseph Bass Gallob
 John R. Gerard
 Jesawalda Gearra
 Wanda H. Godycki
 Martin Goldenring
 David Loeb Goodis
 A. Willard Gorby, Jr.
 Stanley Gurzynski
 Walter Proctor Hall Harris
 Ralph E. Hartenstine
 Marie Hexamer Heyl
 Joseph Hochbaum
 Leopold Hochberger
 William Hunter
 Harry Jaffe
 *Joseph H. Jaffe
 Herbert Joseph Johnson, Jr.
 Herman Edmund Katz
 George E. Kent
 Thomas Edward Kerr, Jr.
 Raymond Kifty
 Stephen George Kovaly
 Lester H. Krawitz
 *Harold James Kruger
 Robert W. Lear
 *Benjamin B. Levin
 Donald Arthur Lewis
 Norman C. Lewis
 Harold Libros
 John R. Logan, Jr.
 William H. Lorigan
 Gladys A. Marks
 Emma K. Martin
 *F. Edwin Marvill, Jr.
 Allen Eldridge Maussner
 *Charles P. McIntosh
 Edward duMeé Montgomery
 Harold J. Moyer
 James J. O'Neill
 Bernard Osser

Walter M. Ousey
 Christopher Pappas
 Myron Anthony Pashuck
 Roberta Paulhamus
 Ira Irving Pechter
 Jeanne L. Picard
 Albert Potts
 Allen E. Praissman
 Frank Edwin Price
 William Joseph Purtell
 Joseph Reed
 John Baptist Rey
 Mae Rigberg
 *Isadore Risen
 *Charles Franklin Roberts
 Edward Bob Rosenberg
 Harold Salt
 *Bertram P. Scanlin
 Edwin A. Schmidt
 Frank W. Schmidt
 Carl Henry Schreep, Jr.
 Jeanne Danielle Schubert
 William C. Search
 Paul D. Secon
 Edgar H. Semprini, Jr.
 *Edna B. Shelly
 Eugene Shore
 Paul Silverstein
 Myer Siman
 *Mary Ethel Simmins
 I. Sidney Slipitsky
 Leonard C. Staats
 Louis F. Statuti
 David Steinberg
 Henry W. Stevens
 Virginia Lee Straw
 *Nathan Stredler
 *James K. Watt, Jr.
 George Wichterman
 Lennard Winokur
 Stanley A. Wise, Jr.
 Archie L. Zabinsky
 Walter A. Zackon
 Ruth Ziegler

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
 DEAN G. FLOYD ZIMMERMANN

Doctor of Sacred Theology

Francis Lester Bouquet, A.B., Park College, 1921; B.D., San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1924; Th.M., San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1927; D.D., Park College, 1934.

*With honors.

Magnus Andrew Bradford, A.B., Queen's University, 1921; B.D., Queen's University, 1921; one year of graduate theological study, Queen's University.
 Edward Rutledge Cook, A.B., Ursinus College, 1925; B.D., Temple University, 1925; S.T.M., Mt. Airy Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1930.
 Maurice Rynearson Gortner, A.B., Susquehanna University, 1921; B.D., Susquehanna University, 1924; S.T.M., Mt. Airy Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1934.
 Robert Delp Hershey, A.B., Gettysburg College, 1931; B.D., Gettysburg Theological Seminary, 1934; S.T.M., Gettysburg Theological Seminary, 1935.
 Herbert H. Hunsberger, Th.B., Temple University, 1928; B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1935; S.T.B., Temple University, 1935; Th.M., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1936.
 Karl Koepke, A.B., Mission House College, 1928; B.D., Mission House Theological Seminary, 1931; S.T.M., Temple University, 1936.
 Robert Strong, A.B., University of California, 1930; Th.M., University of Southern California, 1932; A.M., University of Southern California, 1933; three years of graduate theological study, Westminster Theological Seminary.
 Alfred John Thomas, A.B., Albright College, 1930; B.D., Evangelical School of Theology, 1932; Th.M., Crozer Theological Seminary, 1933.

Master of Sacred Theology

Christian M. Hansen, A.B., Gettysburg College, 1924; three years of graduate Theology study, Mt. Airy Lutheran Theological Seminary.
 Joseph Rowland Harris, B.S., College of Wooster, 1926; Th.B., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1929.

Bachelor of Sacred Theology

Albert Stirling Adams, A.B., Temple University, 1935.
 George Washington Allen, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937.
 Edward Emanuel Burkman, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937.
 David A. Earley, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 Alexander Boyd Killough, Th.B., Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1934; B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 Ragnar Kjeldahl, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 William Robert McClelland, A.B., Taylor University, 1935.
 William Harry Nethery, A.B., Lafayette College, 1930.
 Raymond Wilson Nicholson, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 Robert Edward Rumer, Th.B., Temple University, 1935; B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937.
 Herman Ramsaran Seesaran, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 John Sylvester Smith, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1937.
 Charles Harvey Squires, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.
 Charles Yrigoyen, B.S. in Education, Temple University, 1938.

Bachelor of Theology

John Mahon

SCHOOL OF LAW
DEAN FRANCIS CHAPMAN

Bachelor of Laws

Richard A. Abbott	Vincent J. Mirarchi
Julius Axelrod	Edward A. Murphy
Irwin Benjamin	Hyman Oppenheim
Edward Beron	Albert Covler Osofsky
Max P. Bralow	Jerome Edgeworth Parker
Albert L. Bricklin	Theodore Plotnick
Thomas Edward Byrne, Jr.	Raymond J. Porreca
Nicholas John D'Allesandro	Abraham Emanuel Rosenfield
Albert Joseph Dooley	Leonard B. Rosenthal
Alexander Myron Dowbenko	Dante Saputelli
Clinton A. Frankenfield	David Hartranft Schantz
Albert C. Gekoski	Layton Martin Schoch, Jr.
Elliott B. Goldstan	Samuel F. Schwag
Joseph D. Greenstein	Sidney Schwartz
E. Walter Helm, 3d	Isadore Allen Shrager
George J. Ivins	Nathan Robert Sklar
Ernest Weston Kasser	Francis R. Smith
Morris A. Kaufman	Albert Bernard Soffian
John Martin Kurtz, Jr.	Charles Crabbe Thomas
Paul A. Liebman	John Wyatt Thorn
Archibald J. Loughery, Jr.	James Wilson Townsend
Mareline McElwee	W. Melville Van Sciver
Arthur D. McTigue	John E. Walsh
William James Madden, Jr.	Edward Youngerman
Gerald Mandell	Irving J. Zipin
Reuben Miller	

Graduate in Law

Harold Scott Baile	Daniel S. Malamed
John P. Carey	David A. Saltzburg
A. Brooke Geary	George Frescoln Shinehouse, Jr.
Jacob Kalish	James H. J. Tate

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
DEAN WILLIAM N. PARKINSON

Doctor of Medicine

Edwin Bernard Abramson	Martin Clyman
William Edward Adair, Jr.	Allan Bernard Crunden, Jr.
Harry Albert Adams	Edward Sims Dailey
Robert Finch Allen	Nicholas Peter Dallis
Howard Walter Baker	Richard Young Dalrymple
Alfred Joseph Barbano	Robert James Dickins a
Eugene Fred Berkman	Richard A. Dietrich
Anne Katherine Bernauer	Warren Cleveland Dietrich, Jr.
John Windsor Bieri	Francis Joseph Ditchey
Harry Brown	Luther Randolph Doffermyre
Ralph Cantafio	Albert Herbert Domus

Neil Franklin Dunkle	William Jones Neal
Merle Weaver Eshleman	Gennaro Carlo Nicastro
Clara A. Evans	Peter J. Nowotarski
Otis Milroy Eyes	Edward Vincent Ocelus
Hudson DeMott Fowler, II	Johnston Floyd Osborne
Florence Mary Frosch	Andrew James Parker
William Guy Furth	Sewall M. Pastor
J. Hoffman Garber, Jr.	Abe Paul
Jacob Louis Gluchoff	Robert Adams Peterman
Samuel Gottlieb	Glenn Allen Pope
Leo Francis Gowen	Homer Hayden Price
Joseph Chester Gribb	William Clarence Pritchard, Jr.
Gerald Bond Groskin	Elkin Ravetz
Allen James Hannen	James Leroy Reeves
Irvin Rivera Hanson	Laurence Bender Rentschler
Edward Francis Hardman	William George Rose
Arthur Holstein	James Keener Ross
Donald Hayden Huffer	Charles Joseph Schreuder
Joseph E. Imbriglia	Asher Segal
Morris Ivker	Arthur F. Seifer
Philip Jacobson	Alexander Walter Seygal
O. Henry Janton, Jr.	Joseph Evans Shelby
Reeves Frederick Jones	Wilson Poole Shortridge
Michael Joseph Jordan, Jr.	Leonard Soydman
Rosemary Elizabeth Joyce	Bernard J. Spear
Alfred Kershbaum	Alex. J. Steigman
Robert Russell Kooser	Russell E. Straub
Miller J. Kornis	Robert Schwartz Stricker
Richard D. Kraft	Carl Ernest Sweitzer
William Cress Kraybill	Helen Frances Tananis
Alfred Charles LaBocetta	George Augustus Truckenmiller
Ruth Virginia Leymeister	John A. Turtzo, Jr.
John Joseph Mahaffey	Marler Slate Tuttle
Francis Roxby Manlove	Bayard R. Vincent
Valentine Richard Manning, Jr.	Melvin A. R. Wainright
Samuel A. Manstein	James Edmund Walmsley
Irving Marshall	William Pease Warden
William Paul McCarthy, Jr.	Kenneth W. Warren
William Louis McLeod	Arthur Christian Webber
Sidney Melnicove	William Francis Weisel, Jr.
Edwin Mendelssohn	Luther Myron Whitcomb
Max Corle Miller	Henry J. Woloshin
Joseph Francis Morrison	Edith Evangeline Lois Worrall
Richard John Muenzner, Jr.	Henry Telesfore Wycis
Thomas V. Murray	James George Zaidan
John Edward Nardini	

SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY

DEAN I. NORMAN BRIDGEMELL

Doctor of Dental Surgery

William Z. Abrams	William Buckley Aumiller
-------------------	--------------------------

Alexander Bell
 Conrad C. Bennett
 Victor E. Beresin
 Victor R. Bonacci
 Edward R. Bruskey
 Edward J. Butterworth
 Anthony A. Campanella
 V. Edward Caravelli
 Leon Cherkas
 Frank J. Cianfrani
 Elliott Mason Clarke, Jr.
 Anthony J. Cobell
 James Francis Collins, Jr.
 John A. Comfort
 Albert Laurence Corbman
 Hugh J. Curran
 Leo Jack Cutler
 Bernard Davidson
 Jorge Hiram deCardona
 Samuel B. Detwiler
 Harry Hammond Dougherty
 Harvey F. Dunphy, Jr.
 Albert Dzuba
 Nathan B. Edelstein
 Robert M. Evans
 I. Irwin Fisher
 Robert M. Fleming
 Morris Friedman
 Harold T. Freundt
 Henry A. Geller
 Benjamin Gerber
 Malcolm H. Giess
 Walter Harry Giza
 Ernest Goetzberger
 Jerome B. Goodfriend
 Leonard Edward Halpern
 Francis Joseph Hanagan
 David Hillerson
 Benjamin D. Homer
 Samuel Izenberg
 Robert Irvin Kaplan
 Karl Herman Klerx
 John M. Konopka
 Stanley P. Kozlowski
 Klaudius Kuiper
 Edward Frank Kupiec
 Paul G. Lang
 Cyril Vincent Leddy
 E. Reuben Lipschutz
 James F. Lummis
 Thomas J. McCarthy
 Bernard P. McCauley

Joseph Steven C. Mach
 Robert James MacLaren
 Abraham W. Mamlin
 Frank A. Marciano
 Milton Marks
 Edward Jay Maser
 John Kenneth Miller
 Norman Mirow
 Theodore Mitchell
 Alex M. Mohnac
 Lawrence K. Montalbano
 George M. Montano
 Charles Milton Moore
 William K. Moore
 S. Anthony Mussari
 J. Carlyle Nagle
 Henry Orovitz
 Harvey Packer
 Morris Peckerman
 Harry Perloff
 Anthony J. Perri
 Thomas R. Pilkington
 John Jerome Pilny
 Pedro A. Ponce
 Adam F. Pubyalski
 Emanuel Rabinowitz
 Maximilian A. Rairigh
 Robert Earl Rankin, Jr.
 Herman A. Rappaport
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 Herbert H. Robinson
 Anthony B. Roman
 Charles F. Rossell, Jr.
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 Stanley Herbert Rynk
 Willis F. Sage
 James S. Salfas
 Frank J. Sammartino
 Andrew Edward Santopietro
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 Jay J. Segal
 Daniel N. Seigle
 Charles Shifrin
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 Bernard M. Shupack
 Max B. Silverstein
 Elwood M. Spellman
 Seymour Steinman
 James C. Steinruck, Jr.
 Frank M. Stout, Jr.

Charles C. Strout, Jr.
 Alexander P. Suer
 L. Gifford Taylor
 Anthony F. Triolo
 Benjamin Turoff
 Domenic J. Vettese
 Carl T. Warburst

Carlos Weil
 John Blakely Weimer
 David Weiner
 James F. Weisert
 James Quinter Wenger
 Arthur Joseph Wiener
 Jules Zarchin

SCHOOL OF PHARMACY

DEAN H. EVERT KENDIG

Bachelor of Science in Pharmacy

Herman Herbert Berger	John Joseph Toner Jackson
Irving I. Berman	Benjamin Kessler
Philip Brodtkin	Philip Kessler
Frank W. Cetta	William Lewis
Louis Finkelstein	Milton Rasinsky
Martin Glass	Morton Rosenzweig
Robert Goldstein	Robert Edward Shifren
Louis Gordon	Joseph Seymour Uram
Pascal John Guesto	Thomas Andrew Wall
Samuel Handler	Philip J. Waschko
Warren Albert John Harwick	Anthony Franz Michael Weber
Anne Hollander	Lee William Wolfe

SCHOOL OF CHIROPODY

DEAN R. RAY WILLOUGHBY

Doctor of Surgical Chiropractic

Thomas Albert Allen, Jr.	Janice Knapp
Bruner Lovear Bowersox	Ellis R. Kohn
H. Kenneth Boyer	Gladys Artine LaWall
Carl Arthur Bradbury	Joseph Cornelius Leary
Bob Leroy Brosius	Leon William Marmon
Harold Granville Fenstermacher	Ruth M. Melenson
C. David Flounders	Donald M. Newshige
Allen Edwin Forsythe	Morris B. Moss
Herman H. Friedman	Dorothy M. Pontzer
Lewis W. Gicker	Mary Sophia Reineberg
Alma B. Horn	Rubin Rosen
Harley Moyer Hunsicker	Max Speizman
William Kathrins	Earl Henry Springer
Bernard A. Katz	Sylvia Tobe
Theresa Marguerite Keogh	Paul Edward Tobin

Graduate in Chiropractic

Emil J. Bartos	Victor Leonard Brown
Aaron Baylinson	Miles Kenneth Detwiler
Edward P. Blumling	Robert D. Dickson
Eli Julius Brewer	William Wills Dobbins
Charles Joseph Briglia	Robert William Donnelly

Henry Fuhrman
Bella Wilen Gordon
Morissa Kaufman Gordon
Sargent Solomon Hendler
Stanley Morton Hornstine
Martin Horwitz
Willis Henry Hoyt
Samuel Katz
Albert Kleiman
Jay Stanley Landau
Carl Disston Lessing

Victor Herbert Levin
Gilbert Master
Lawrence Joseph McKeever
George Roth
William Stern
Raymond Francis Sagan
Stanley G. Szulewski
Maurice Edward Walsh
Kenneth L. Watson
Alfred A. Wolf

STELLA ELKINS TYLER SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS

BORIS BLAI, *Director*

Master of Fine Arts
Marion Lingo Ford

Bachelor of Fine Arts

Agnes Marie Bernabei Roslyn Lande Pearson
Allen Trasoff

SCHOOL OF MUSIC

DEAN THADDEUS RICH

Master of Music

Joseph Ralston Bowman Paul Wetzel Freed

Bachelor of Music

Florence Mary Conklin Harry H. Huber
John Walker Freeman Margaret Adelaide Merriman
Raymond Yun

AWARDING OF CERTIFICATES

SCHOOL OF NURSING

DR. WILLIAM N. PARKINSON, *Medical Director*

Leah Bernice Anderson
Dorothy Behr
Charlotte I. Blyth
Ruth Eileen Charlton
Elizabeth Deremer
Jean Winifred Derk
Betty Smith Dilks
Yetta Dining
Anne Audrey Docktor
Iona M. Frye
Mary E. Garrett
Marion C. Gerhart
Genevieve Gordon

Emma Groh
Virginia Gunther
Mary Eva Harpster
Mary Kauffman
Rowene J. Law
Thelma Lindsey
Marie Elizabeth Mason
Emma Miller
Margaret Morrell
Grace Florence Quinn
Eleanor Yetta Roth
Madeline Jeanne Seasholtz
Grace Warrenna Simpkins

Frances Smith
Martha Sniseak
Edna Stewart
Margaret Stonaker
Hilda Geraldine Stull

Elizabeth M. Swartley
Charlotte Louise Wagner
Ruth A. Wartman
Florence Worley
Norma Caroline Zimmerman

SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY

DEAN I. NORMAN BROOMELL

Course in Oral Hygiene

G. Patricia Anderson
Sara Elizabeth Arnold
Gertrude Buchanan
Frankie Claudia Campbell
Ann Marie Caramana
Helen Virginia Diller
Agnes Anna Dilliard
Earl Modelle Eichelberger
Emilie Muriel Epple
Anne Ruth Kline

Muriel Shirley Lesser
Elizabeth Louise Martin
Jane A. Martin
Gertrude M. Mittelman
S. Ruth Rosner
Dorothy Lee Safran
Dora Irene Schlegel
Dorothy Maw Sherrick
Gertrude Jeannette Short

SCHOOL OF COMMERCE

DEAN HARRY A. COCHRAN

Philip Alphonse Arminio
William Bell, Jr.
Steward Y. Bernd
Eugene Murray Bernstein
Paul J. Blumenthal
Martin Borowsky
Marie Greberman Brown
Norman M. Byar
A. Joseph Carbo
Thomas James Clark
Martin Cohen
Bartley Edward Conmy
Betty E. Copelan
Evelyn Wood Cross
Peter Dempsey
Morris Einhorn
Sylvia Eisenberg
Albert J. Elkins
Henry Fingerman
Russell Joseph Frey
Eugene Friedman
Esther E. Glazer
Horace E. Goldstein
Henry Louis Grossman
James H. Hall, Jr.
Harry H. Haltzman
William Martin Harley
Samuel Davis Hawley, Jr.

Doris M. Jaffe
Paul M. Jefferis, Jr.
Anna Louise Karns
Joseph E. Katen
Fred C. Keill
Benjamin Klein
Robert Kruger
David M. Law
Earl Wagner Lebo
Charles E. Lyle
Evelyn Marmar
John Wesley Mattson
Edna E. Meunier
Elwood Bunting Mills, Jr.
Harry Louis Mitchell
Thomas Edmund Morrow
Florence Scott Moyer
H. Dorothea Mulranen
Katherine E. Nettleton
Elias Paletz
Louis Palitz
Martin M. Plevinsky
William J. Potter
Edward Martin Ranck
Henry Gates Rankine
Julia Elizabeth Rosemond
Jack Rutman

Martin Sacks
Joseph E. Saffol
Jacob Seidman
Sylvia Shalo
Norman L. Shandler
Lillian Shatz
John Joseph Shields
Elizabeth Shook
Morris M. Slikin

Evelyn Nanette Spivak
Samuel Nobel Steinberg
Doris Milner Tracey
Edward H. Ward
Bernard Weissman
Theodore L. White
Edward Crogman Wilkins
Dominic Zirilli

SCHOOL OF MUSIC

DEAN THADDEUS RICH

Barbara Kreil Gleim
Della Colgan Prouty

Hilda Thumm
Anna L. White

EVENING TECHNICAL SCHOOL

CHARLES E. METZGER, Director

Course in Chemistry
Albert Henry Angerman

Course in Heating, Ventilating and Air Conditioning

Paul Russell Anderson
Edward Joseph Appelgren
John Aloysius Gross
William Howard Jardine
Irving L. Labov

Paul Charles Meyer
Richard V. Fierco
Millard C. Pike
Frederick Gardner Shourds
Charles J. Sullivan

Course in Heat Treatment and Metallography of Steel

Ernest G. Beck
Phil B. Blitz
Joseph Anthony Cunningham
Calvin Edwards
George Edward Evans
William F. Fasley
Walter George Fischer
Cornelius Hegeman Githens
George Joseph Kaiser
Sylvan Newton Levy, Jr.
James Howard Matheny

Joseph Mazia
Theodore J. Menalis
James E. Muldoon
John Elliot Newlin, Jr.
John Francis O'Grady
Lyle Leland Quail
Samuel Alfred Sholl
Walter Joseph Skindzielewski
Ezra Alexander Smith
William Charles Stotsenburgh
George J. Thomas

Course in Naval Architecture

Henry Joseph Andreas
Warren Vincent Beauchamp
William Hillman Conley
Albert F. Criyelli
William Carroll Joyce

John King Leister
John Benjamin Martin
Wilfred Rhoades Newton
Walter Washkevich
Frederick Gottlieb Weinhardt

PRIZES

The Pyramid Senior Honor Society Prize.—A Gold Key to the student in the Senior Class attaining the highest scholastic average. Awarded to MARVIN COMISKY.

The Pi Gamma Mu Prize.—A Gold Key to the member of the Senior Class graduating with the highest average in courses in Social Sciences. Awarded to MARVIN COMISKY.

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences

The Delta Omega Prize.—A Key to the woman student who has the highest scholastic average for the Junior and Senior years. Awarded to MILDRED ELIZABETH ECKHARDT.

The American Institute of Chemists Medal.—A Medal for scholastic achievement and character to a Senior in the Department of Chemistry. Awarded to HARRY BENNETT KIME.

Teachers College

The Alliance Francaise (Section de Philadelphie) Prize.—A Medal to the most proficient student in the French Department. Awarded to RUTH E. TOOMES.

The Robert B. Wallace Prizes.—Ten dollars to an outstanding Senior who, in the Department of Physical and Health Education, has given evidence of special ability in English. Awarded to LEONE KATHERINE MINER.

A complete set of Shakespeare to each of those two students who, in the Department of Physical and Health Education, has done good work in English. Awarded to DOROTHY JEAN LONG and BARBARA E. THOMPSON.

The Kappa Delta Epsilon Prize.—Ten Dollars to the student attaining the highest scholastic average, together with the maintenance of marked activity on the campus. Awarded to VIVIAN GADEL.

The Phi Delta Kappa Prize.—A Gold Medal awarded annually to the graduate student attaining honors in research. Awarded to MORROW J. OPPENHEIMER, M.D.

The Commercial Education Alumni Association Prize.—A Silver Vase to a graduating Senior on the basis of Meritorious scholarship and outstanding service to both the Department and the University, taking into consideration the character and personality of the individual. Awarded to MARY CAROLYN GREIDER, with Honorable Mention of HELEN GRAHAM BROOKS.

School of Commerce

The Delta Sigma Pi Prize.—A Gold Key to the man student graduating from a degree curriculum with the highest general average. Awarded to MARVIN COMISKY.

The Phi Gamma Nu Prize.—A Gold Key to the woman student graduating from a degree curriculum with the highest general average. Awarded to MARY E. SIMMINS.

The Beta Gamma Sigma Prize.—A Silver Cup to the student attaining the highest scholastic average in the Sophomore Year. Awarded to JOHN E. FREDRICKS, JR.

The Honorary Accounting Society Prize.—A Gold Medal to the Senior student, major in Accounting, attaining the highest average in Accounting. Awarded to MARVIN COMISKY.

The Sigma Delta Chi Prize.—Gold Keys and Certificates to the two Senior students in Journalism who have the highest scholastic averages in all subjects for the four-year period. Awarded to LOIS M. ANDERSON and CATHERINE DURAVANT.

The School of Commerce Alumni Association Prizes.—Book Ends to the student graduating from a day degree curriculum, and to the student graduating from a four-year curriculum in the Evening School, having the

most outstanding qualities of leadership, personality, and scholarship. Awarded to JOHN L. BARR and ALBERT J. ELKINS.

School of Theology

John Morrison Prize.—Ten dollars to the student graduating with the highest general average. Awarded to ALBERT STIRLING ADAMS.

The Alumni Prize.—Ten dollars presented by the Alumni of the School of Theology to the student of the graduating class who, in the judgment of the faculty and the members of his class, has made the greatest effort throughout his entire course. Awarded to JOHN SYLVESTER SMITH.

Systematic Theology Prize.—A prize of one year's tuition is offered to a regular student in the fifth year who makes the best grade in a competitive examination. Candidates for this prize should make application to the professor in charge not later than the beginning of the second semester. The examination will be given on or about the first of April. Awarded to CHARLES PHILIP WALZ.

Dean William A. Freemantle Prize.—Ten dollars will be presented to the student in the first year class with the highest general average at the end of the first year. (Not offered in 1937-38).

Church History Prize.—A prize of ten dollars is offered to the student of the fourth year class who excels in the field of Church History. (Not offered in 1937-38).

Second Year Class Prize.—The student of the second year class who, in the estimation of the faculty, has shown the most consistent improvement in the first two years in the Seminary is awarded ten dollars. Awarded to WALTER SCHERBAUM.

Homiletics Prize.—A prize of ten dollars is awarded to the student in the third year Homiletic class who in the estimation of the Head of the Department has shown the greatest effort during the year. Awarded to EDWARD EMANUEL BURKMAN.

Dr. Forrest E. Dager Prize.—Ten dollars to the student of the Sacred Oratory class giving the best presentation of a sermon in open competition under the direction of the professor of the class. Awarded to WILLIAM GORDON LOWDEN.

Dr. Russell H. Conwell Prize.—Ten dollars will be presented to the student with the highest general average in the class of Sacred Oratory at the end of the year. Awarded to JOSEPH ROWLAND HARRIS.

School of Law

The Tau Epsilon Rho Prize of the writings of Mr. Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo to the member of the Day School graduating class having the highest weighted average for the three academic years. Awarded to A. J. LOUGHEE, JR., with Honorable Mention of JOHN E. WALSH.

The Senior Day Class of 1936 School of Law Prize of Dillon's Life of John Marshall, three volumes, to the student in the graduating class of the Day School who, during his student career, has rendered the greatest service to the Law School. Awarded to ALBERT C. GEROSKI in recognition of his work on the Law Quarterly, with Honorable Mention of JAMES W. TOWNSEND.

The Law Alumni Association Prize of Twenty-five Dollars to the member of the Senior Evening Class attaining the highest grade in Evidence. Awarded to A. J. DOOLEY, with Honorable Mention of JOHN M. KURTZ, JR. and ALBERT C. OROVSKY.

The Phi Delta Delta (Tau Chapter) Prize of Isabel Drummond's work on Divorce to the student attaining the highest general average in the first year. Awarded to CONRAD G. MOFFETT and ARTHUR SOMSTEIN.

The A. J. Davis Memorial Prize of Beveridge's Life of John Marshall, given by the Caveat Club of Philadelphia, to the member of the first year class who made the greatest progress under difficult circumstances. Awarded to MICHAEL SHEEMAN.

The William H. Whitaker Memorial Prize of Holmes' Lectures on Common Law and Pound's Spirit of the Common Law, given by the Caveat Club of Philadelphia, to the member of the second year class who made the greatest progress under difficult circumstances. Awarded to CONRAD G. MOFFETT.

School of Medicine

The Faculty Prize.—A gold medal to be awarded to the member of the graduating class attaining the highest average during the four years' course. Awarded to HENRY TELESPOR WYCKS, with Honorable Mention of CHARLES JOSEPH SCHREADER.

Alumni Prize.—By the Medical Alumni Association, a prize of twenty-five dollars to the member of the Senior Class passing the best examination in the subjects for the year, providing the last three years of the course were taken in Temple University. Awarded to HENRY TELESPOR WYCKS, with Honorable Mention of ALFRED KEISERBAUM.

Surgery Prize.—By Professor Babcock, to the member of the Senior Class presenting the best written report of the Surgical Clinics for the year. First prize, a gold medal and Fifty Dollars to ALFRED KEISERBAUM. Second prize, a silver medal and Twenty-five Dollars, to RUSSELL E. STRAUB, with Honorable Mention of HENRY TELESPOR WYCKS.

Gynecology Prize.—By Professor Hammond, a prize to the member of the Senior Class presenting the best record at the end of the course in Gynecology. Awarded to MARTIN CLYMAN, with Honorable Mention of LEO FRANCIS GOWEN.

Rhino-Laryngology Prize.—By Professor Ridpath, a prize to the member of the Senior Class passing the best examination in Rhino-laryngology. Awarded to HENRY TELESPOR WYCKS, with Honorable Mention of ROY V. VIRGINIA LEYMEISTER.

Honors in Obstetrics.—By Professor Arnold for meritorious work in the field of "Psychoses Associated with Pregnancy." Awarded to MICHAEL JOSEPH JORDAN, JR.

Otology Prize.—By Professor Ernsner, a prize to the member of the Senior Class passing the best examination in Otology. First prize to WILLIAM CLARENCE PRITCHARD, JR., second prize to ALEX. J. STEIGMAN, with Honorable Mention of MARTIN CLYMAN.

Urology Prize.—By Professor Thomas, a prize to the member of the Senior Class passing the best examination in Urology. Awarded to WARREN CLEVELAND DIETRICH, with Honorable Mention of VALENTINE RICHARD MANNING, JR.

Dermatology and Syphilology Prize.—By Professor Wright, a prize to the member of the Senior Class presenting the best record in the course for the junior and senior years. Awarded to KENNETH W. WARREN.

Proctology Prize.—By Professor Hishman, a prize to the member of the Senior Class for the best examination in Proctology. Awarded to VALENTINE RICHARD MANNING, JR., and WILLIAM GEORGE ROSE.

Internal Medicine Prize.—By Professor Brown for the highest combined average grade in the Department of Internal Medicine for the Junior

and Senior years. Awarded to HENRY TELESPHORE WYCKS, with Honorable Mention of ALEX. J. STEIGMAN.

Hygiene and Public Health Prize.—By Professor Hartley, a monetary prize to the member of the class presenting the best sanitary and health survey of his home town. Awarded to MERLE WEAVER ESHLEMAN.

Junior Surgery Prize.—By Professor Babcock, a silver medal and Twenty-five Dollars to the member of the Junior Class presenting the best written report of the Junior Surgical Clinics for the year. Awarded to F. D. LANE HAINES.

Junior Obstetrical Prize.—By Professor Arnold, a year's subscription to "Obstetrics and Gynecology." Awarded to HARRY FERL LENHAMPT, with Honorable Mention of PAUL EARLE GORDON.

Surgical Procedures Prize.—By Doctor J. Norman Coombs, a prize to the member of the Junior Class presenting the best report on surgical procedures. Awarded to RICHARD RADCLIFFE HOFFMAN, with Honorable Mention of WALTER ANTHONY D'ALONZO and MARY VARDARO.

Therapeutics Prize.—By Dr. Samuel A. Savitz, to the member of the Junior Class passing the best examination in Therapeutics. Awarded to CHARLES MORGAN NOBLES.

School of Dentistry

The Professor Theodore Demetrius Costa Prize of Twenty Dollars for the best work in Processing and Mounting fourteen Roentgenograms. The judges of the recipient of this prize are Dr. John H. Yearick, Chairman, and two others selected by the President of the Dental Alumni Society. Awarded to ALEX MOHNAC, with First Honorable Mention of LEO CUTLER, Second Honorable Mention of MAX RAIRICH.

The Professor C. Burton Addie Prize of a Gold Medal to the member of the Senior Class showing the greatest proficiency in Crown and Bridge Work. Awarded to WILLIS SAGE, with Honorable Mention of FRANK STOUT.

The Professor Addinell Howson Prize of a Gold Medal for the Best Final Examination in General Anatomy. Awarded to MORRIS FRIEDMAN, with Honorable Mention of VICTOR BERESIN and HARRY M. RUDMAN.

The Anatomical League Prize of Fifty Dollars for the best examination by a member of the League. Awarded to JAMES Q. WENGEL, with Honorable Mention of ELWOOD M. SPELLMAN and STANLEY RYNEK.

The Dr. Luther M. Mbitarian Prize of Twenty Dollars to the member of the Senior Class attaining the highest general average in Roentgenology. Awarded to HARRY M. RUDMAN, with Honorable Mention of JOHN COMFORT.

The Professor John C. Scott Prize of Twenty Dollars to the student attaining the highest average in Freshman and Sophomore Physiology. Awarded to ROBERT M. FLEMING, with Honorable Mention of FRANK J. SAMMARTINO and ABRAHAM MAMLIN.

The Professor Frederic James Prize to the student selected as having the best set of drawings in Dental Histo-Pathology during the Junior Year, 1936-37. Awarded to C. MILTON MOORE, with Honorable Mention of ALEX MOHNAC.

The Alumni Prize of a Gold Medal to the member of the graduating class having the highest general average for the four college years. Awarded to ALEX MOHNAC, with Honorable Mention of JOHN A. COMFORT.

The Professor F. St. Elmo Rusca Prize for the highest average in the Theory of Operative Dentistry. Awarded to JORGE H. McCARRONA, with Honorable Mention of BENJAMIN GERBER.

The Operative Dentistry Staff Prize for general operative proficiency. A Gold Medal awarded to C. C. STROUT, with Honorable Mention of R. L. SWINER.

The Professor Norman S. Ezig Society Prize for efficiency in Prosthetic Work. Awarded to DAVID WIEBER, with Honorable Mention of L. E. MALPHEIN.

The most credits for Prosthetic Work—VICTOR BERESIN, with Honorable Mention of J. KENNETH MILLER.

The Professor Alfred M. Haas Prize of Ten Dollars for the highest general average for the Senior Year in Dental Surgery and Anesthesia. Awarded to ALEX MOHNAC, with Honorable Mention of JEROME GOODFRIEND and A. SUER.

The Dr. Gustav C. Tazman Prize of Ten Dollars to the member of the Senior Class having the highest average in the Final Senior Examination in Pedodontia. Awarded to EMANUEL RABINOWITZ, with Honorable Mention of CHARLES C. STROUT.

The Dr. George W. Thompson Prize of Ten Dollars to the member of the School of Oral Hygiene attaining the highest efficiency in mounting Dental Roentgenograms. Awarded to GERTRUDE BUCHANAN, with Honorable Mention of (Mrs.) FRANKIE CAMPBELL.

The Poster Award to the Oral Hygienist submitting the best original poster as selected by a committee appointed from the Dental Alumni Association. Awarded to ELIZABETH MARTIN, with Honorable Mention of DOROTHY SAPHAN.

Consists of one year's membership in District, State and National Dental Hygienists' Association.

The Alpha Omega Award of Ten Dollars in memory of Philip Fishelis, M.D., to the student attaining the highest general average in General Histology and Pathology. Awarded to ROBERT KAPLAN, with Honorable Mention of ALEX MOHNAC.

Oral Hygiene Alumna Prize of Five Dollars or its equivalent to be awarded to the member of the graduating class in Oral Hygiene who makes the most progress during the year. Awarded to GERTRUDE SHORT.

School of Pharmacy

The John R. Mincher Gold Medal for the highest average for the senior year. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of BENJAMIN KESSLER and PHILIP KESSLER.

The Dr. Henry Fisher Gold Medal for the highest average in Materia Medica. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of BENJAMIN KESSLER and PHILIP KESSLER.

The Dr. H. Evert Keady Gold Medal for the highest general average in Theory of Pharmacy. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of PHILIP KESSLER and BENJAMIN KESSLER.

The Dr. Arthur E. James Gold Medal for the highest general average in Inorganic and Analytical Chemistry. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of BENJAMIN KESSLER and MILTON RASINSKY.

The John Howard Graham Physics Prize, awarded to that member of the Sophomore Class who has attained the highest grade in Physics, estimated upon his attitude toward, and performance in, that subject; and, provided that said grade is 90 or over. Awarded to VICTOR W. SHOVV, with Honorable Mention of ISRAEL S. ORRIN.

The John Howard Graham Organic Chemistry Prize, awarded to that member of the graduating class who has obtained the best combined grade in this subject for the junior and senior years. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of PHILIP KESSLER.

The Dr. Robert L. Swain Prize for the highest average in Pharmaceutical Law. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of BENJAMIN KESSLER and WARREN ALBERT JOHN HARWICK.

The A. I. Kremens Prize in recognition of sacrifices and perseverance. Awarded to PASCAL JOHN GUESTO.

The Pharmacy Alumni Medal for the best work in the Pharmacy Laboratory. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of PHILIP J. WASCHKO, BENJAMIN KESSLER and PHILIP KESSLER.

The Pharmacy Alumni Medal for the best work in the Chemistry Laboratory. Awarded to WARREN ALBERT JOHN HARWICK, with Honorable Mention of THOMAS ANDREW WALB and MILTON RASINSKY.

The Pharmacy Alumni Medal for the best work in Microscopy. Awarded to THOMAS ANDREW WALB, with Honorable Mention of LOUIS FINKELSTEIN and MARTIN GLASS.

The A. Z. O. Gold Medal for the second highest average in all branches. Awarded to BENJAMIN KESSLER.

The Minehart Scientific Society Gold Medal for the senior of the Society who rates highest in character, scholarship, and service to the Society as well as to the School of Pharmacy of Temple University. Awarded to ANNE HOLLANDER.

The Circolo Italiano Prize for the member of that Society who has attained the highest scholastic average during the entire course. Awarded to PASCAL JOHN GUESTO, with Honorable Mention of FRANK W. CETTA.

The Frank F. Law Prize for the best work in Professional Display. Awarded to WARREN ALBERT JOHN HARWICK, BENJAMIN KESSLER, THOMAS ANDREW WALB and LEE WILLIAM WOLFE.

School of Chiropody

Alumni Prize, offered by the Alumni Association of the School of Chiropody to the student attaining the highest general average. Awarded to GILBERT MASTER, with Honorable Mention of GEORGE ROTH and MARTIN HORWITZ.

Clinicians' Prize, offered by the members of the clinical staff to the member of the graduating class who, in their opinion, has attained the greatest degree of proficiency in Clinical Chiropody. Awarded to CHARLES BRIGLIA, with Honorable Mention of V. HERBERT LEVIN.

Chiropody Prize, offered by Professor Charles E. Kraus to the student attaining the highest average in Didactic Chiropody. Awarded to CHARLES BRIGLIA, with Honorable Mention of GILBERT MASTER.

Faculty Prize, offered by the faculty to a senior student for character, leadership and scholastic attainment during his entire course of study. Awarded to V. HERBERT LEVIN, with Honorable Mention of GILBERT MASTER.

Physiology Prize, offered by Professor R. Ray Willoughby to the student attaining the highest average in the course of Physiology. Awarded to ALBERT KLEIMAN, with Honorable Mention of STANLEY G. SZULEWSKI and GILBERT MASTER.

Technique Prize, offered by Professor Lester A. Walsh to the senior student who has attained the greatest degree of efficiency in Manipulative Therapy. Awarded to WILLIS HOYT.

School of Nursing

Board of Trustees Prize.—A three-year scholarship to the member of the graduating class attaining the highest average during the three years' course. Awarded to LEAH BERNICE ANDERSON.

Alumnae Prize.—By the Nurses' Alumnae Association, Oster's "Principles and Practice of Medicine" and Babcock's "Textbook on Surgery" to the member of the graduating class with the second highest average during the three years' course. Awarded to HILDA GERALDINE STULL.

HOSPITAL APPOINTMENTS

School of Medicine

Abington Memorial Hospital, Abington, Pa.—Irvin Rivers Hamon.

Alameda County Hospital, Oakland, Calif.—Glenn Allen Pope.

Allegheny General Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Thomas V. Murray, Miller J. Koris, Luther Myron Whitcomb.

Allentown Hospital, Allentown, Pa.—Otis Milroy Eves, Ruth Virginia Leymeister, William Francis Wessel, Jr.

Altoona Hospital, Altoona, Pa.—Morris Iyker.

Atlantic City Hospital, Atlantic City, N. J.—Robert Finch Allen, Wilson Poole Shortridge.

Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, Los Angeles, Calif.—William Guy Furtle.

Chester County Hospital, West Chester, Pa.—Harry Brown, Gemaro Carlo Nicastro, James Edmund Walmsley.

Chestnut Hill Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Melvin A. R. Wainright.

City Memorial Hospital, Winston-Salem, N. C.—William Louis McLeod.

Conemaugh Valley Memorial Hospital, Johnstown, Pa.—Richard D. Kraft.

Delaware Hospital, Wilmington, Del.—Bayard R. Vincent.

Fitzgerald-Mercy Hospital, Darby, Pa.—Rosemary Elizabeth Joyce.

G. F. Geisinger Memorial Hospital, Danville, Pa.—Laurence Bender Rentschler.

Graduate Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.—John Windsor Bierl.

Harrisburg Hospital, Harrisburg, Pa.—Donald Hayden Huffer, Helen Frances Tanania.

Harrisburg Polyclinic Hospital, Harrisburg, Pa.—Joseph Chester Gibb, Alexander Walter Seygal.

Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit, Mich.—Kenneth W. Warren.

Hospital of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.—O. Henry Janton, Jr.

James Walker Memorial Hospital, Wilmington, N. C.—James Leroy Reeves.

Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Edwin Bernard Abramson, Edwin Mendelsohn, Abe Faul.

Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Arthur Holstein.
Lancaster General Hospital, Lancaster, Pa.—Reeves Frederick Jones.
Maryland General Hospital, Baltimore, Md.—Marler Slate Tuttle.
McKeesport General Hospital, McKeesport, Pa.—Eugene Fred Berkman.
Meadowbrook Hospital, Hempstead, N. Y.—Robert Adams Peterman.
Medical Center of Jersey City, Jersey City, N. J.—Allan Bernard Crunden, Jr., John Joseph Mahaffey, Irving Marshall.
Mercer Hospital, Trenton, N. J.—William Paul McCarthy, Jr., William George Rose.
Mercy Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Harry Albert Adams.
Methodist Episcopal Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Ralph Cantafio, William Jones Neal.
Misericordia Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Francis Joseph Ditchey.
Mount Sinai Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alfred Kershtbaum, Elkin Ravetz, Asher Segal, Henry J. Woloshin.
Navy Department—John Edward Nardini.
Nesbitt Memorial Hospital, Kingston, Pa.—Clara A. Evans.
Norfolk General Hospital, Norfolk, Va.—Luther Randolph Doffermyre.
Northeastern Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Merle Weaver Eshleman, Samuel A. Manstein, Sidney Melnicove.
Ohio Valley General Hospital, Wheeling, W. Va.—Homer Hayden Price.
Orange Memorial Hospital, Orange, N. J.—Edward Sims Dailey.
Philadelphia General Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Martin Clyman, Albert Herbert Donn, Leo Francis Gowen, William Gress Kraybill, Sewall M. Pastor.
Pottsville Hospital, Pottsville, Pa.—Alfred Charles LaBocchetta, Edith Evaugeline Lois Worrall.
Presbyterian Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—J. Hoffman Graber, Jr.
Reading Hospital, Reading, Pa.—Russell E. Straub, Carl Ernest Sweitzer, Arthur Christian Webber.
Robert Packer Hospital, Sayre, Pa.—Neil Franklin Dunkle, George Augustus Truckenmiller.
Sacred Heart Hospital, Allentown, Pa.—Warren Cleveland Dietrich, Jr., Edward Vincent Ocelus.
Saint Agnes Hospital, Altoona, Pa.—Joseph E. Imbriglia.
Saint Agnes Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Bernard J. Spear.
Saint Alexis Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio—James Keener Ross.
Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, Youngstown, Ohio—Edward Francis Hardman.

Saint Francis Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Richard A. Dietrich, Robert Russell Kooser, Andrew James Parke.
Saint Joseph's Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Florence Mary Frosch.
Saint Joseph's Hospital, Reading, Pa.—Michael Joseph Jordan, Jr., Peter J. Nowotarski.
Saint Joseph's Hospital, Milwaukee, Wis.—Richard John Muenzner, Jr.
Saint Luke's and Children's Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Gerald Bond Groskin.
Saint Luke's Hospital, Bethlehem, Pa.—John A. Turtzo, Jr.
Saint Mary's Hospital, Detroit, Mich.—Robert James Diekinson.
Saint Peter's General Hospital, New Brunswick, N. J.—Alfred Joseph Barbano.
Saint Vincent Charity Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio—Hudson DeMott Fowler, II.
Saint Vincent's Hospital, Erie, Pa.—Samuel Gottlieb, Johnston Floyd Osborne.
Temple University Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Howard Walter Baker, Richard Young Dalrymple, Francis Roxby Manlove, Valentine Richard Manning, Jr., William Clarence Pritchard, Jr., Charles Joseph Schreader, Arthur F. Seifer, Alex. J. Steigman, Henry Telefore Wycis.
Uniontown Hospital, Uniontown, Pa.—Joseph Evans Shelby, William Pease Warden, James George Zaidan.
Washington Hospital, Washington, Pa.—Nicholas Peter Dallis.
Watts Hospital, Durham, N. C.—William Edward Adair, Jr.
Wilkes-Barre General Hospital, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Jacob Louis Gluchoff, Joseph Francis Morrison, Leonard Saydman, Robert Schwartz Stricker.
Williamsport Hospital, Williamsport, Pa.—Anne Katherine Bernauer, Allen James Hannen, Max Corle Miller, Philip Jacobson.

School of Dentistry

Temple University Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Willis Sage and Robert Kaplan.
Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Robert J. MacLaren and Alex Mohnac.
Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Earnest Goetzberger.
Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—William Z. Abrams and Daniel Seigle.

Northeastern Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—William B. Aumiller.
Germantown Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Klaudius Kuiper.
Misericordia Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Frank J. Hanagan.
Allentown Hospital, Allentown, Pa.—J. Kennedy Miller.
Chester Hospital, Chester, Pa.—Thomas Pilkington.
Easton Hospital, Easton, Pa.—Thomas J. McCarthy.
Reading Hospital, Reading, Pa.—Harry H. Dougherty, John B. Weimer.
St. Luke's Hospital, Bethlehem, Pa.—Charles C. Strout.
Monmouth Memorial Hospital, Long Branch, N. J.—Robert E. Rankin, Jr.
Mountainside Hospital, Montclair, N. J.—C. Milton Moore.
Newark City Hospital, Newark, N. J.—Harvey Dunphey.
New Jersey State Hospital, Trenton, N. J.—James Steinruck.
North County Community Hospital, Glen Cove, N. Y.—James F. Collins, Jr.
Delaware Colony Hospital, Stockley, Delaware—Joseph S. Mach.
Forsyth Dental Infirmary, Boston, Mass.—Charles Rossell, Jr.
United States Marine Hospital, Boston, Mass.—Frank J. Sammartino.
Joseph Samuels Dental Clinic of the Providence, Rhode Island, Hospital—Milton Marks.

School of Oral Hygiene

Temple University Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Helen Virginia Diller.
Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Sara Elizabeth Arnold.
Germantown Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Gertrude Buchanan, Agnes A. Dilliard.
Jefferson Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—S. Ruth Rosner, Dorothy L. Safran.
Jewish Health Center, Philadelphia, Pa.—Anne R. Kline.
Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Gertrude M. Mittelman.
Philadelphia General Hospital, Philadelphia, Pa.—Dora I. Schlegel.
Chester Hospital, Chester, Pa.—Gertrude J. Short.
Allegheny General Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Dorothy M. Sherrick.
Munhall Public Schools, Munkhall, Pa.—Jane A. Martin.
Hershey Industrial School, Hershey, Pa.—Elizabeth L. Martin.

Marshals

William T. Caldwell, Ph.D.
Stuart Robertson, Ph.D.
Claude S. McGinnis, Ph.D.
J. Lloyd Bohn, Ph.D.
William Rogers, Jr., Ph.D.
Floyd T. Tyson, Ph.D.
Robert B. Wallace, D.D.
Quincy A. Kuehner, Ph.D.
Arthur Cleveland, Ph.D.
Jonas W. Bucher, M.A.
Walter S. Gladfelter, M.A.
Willis E. Kraeber
John D. Kern, Ph.D.

June 22, 1958

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Dear Harry:

I am sending you herewith a copy of my address at Temple University. I am particularly anxious to have you read it in view of this morning's discussion in Henry Wallace's office.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Hon. Harry L. Hopkins,
2821 N Street,
Washington, D. C.

7/11/58-103

NOTE:

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Mrs. Herbert called and said that she had asked Mr. Gaston if ~~she~~ thought it necessary to hold this letter for the Secretary's attention. He told her that he spoke to the Secretary about the letter and therefore did not think it necessary to hold the letter to show to the Secretary.

mas 7/21/38

July 11, 1933.

Mr. John Boettiger,
Seattle Post-Intelligencer,
Seattle, Washington.

Dear John:

I have received your letter of July 7th, enclosing a letter to Henry. He has not yet left for his vacation trip. His ship, the *Staatendam*, sails from New York on Friday. He has been at the farm over the weekend and will not be in the office until late today since he and Mrs. Morgenthau are going with Mrs. Roosevelt to the Cardozo funeral at Judge Lehman's home at Port Chester this afternoon.

I am sending you, under separate cover, fifty copies of the speech, as I am sure he would approve, and will also greatly appreciate your interest in it. We have arranged to have distribution made to college people through Temple University and they are to print 2500 copies for that purpose.

It was a pleasure to see you for a brief moment and I am sorry that I did not have a real chance to talk with you when you were here.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signature)

Herbert H. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

HBC/mah

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

ESTABLISHED 1862

OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER

July 7, 1938

Dear Herbert:

The attached letter addressed to Henry is self-explanatory.

I will appreciate it if you can let me have the copies requested.

On returning to Seattle we found that optimism has developed here also among the people, but not to the extent we encountered in the East. We are driving in the paper to develop a broader spirit of cheerfulness in the Northwest.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,


John Boettiger.

Honorable Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to the Secretary,
Treasury Department,
Washington, D. C.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer

ESTABLISHED 1863

OFFICE OF THE PUBLISHER

July 7, 1938

Dear Henry:

I have reread, and Anna has read, your Philadelphia address "THE ROAD AHEAD."

It is such a sane and persuasive statement of the principles of the New Deal that I think it would be helpful to give it wider publicity.

I don't know whether you and Herbert Gaston can work out anything in this respect, but I feel it definitely would be worthwhile mailing printed copies of the speech to certain outstanding leaders in the country. If you don't mind my making the suggestion, it might be possible for someone other than you to do the mailing, someone, for example, like Bernard Baruch.

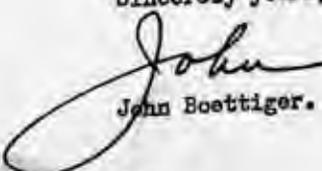
I would like to send copies of the speech to some of my business friends in Seattle, and if you have about 50 copies available, I would appreciate your sending them to me. If you do not, I will have copies made here.

It just occurs to me while I am dictating that you will be abroad, so I am sending this letter to Herbert, with a request that he send me the copies, and if he deems it advisable, start the ball rolling for other disposition of the address.

Anna and I loved seeing you and Eleanor, and hope the next occasion will be sooner than has been the case these latter years.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,



John Boettiger.

Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury,
Washington, D. C.

July 19, 1938.

Dr. James A. Ford,
Assistant to the President,
Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Dear Dr. Ford:

I am enclosing herewith a list of 2,006 names of members of college faculties to whom copies of Secretary Morgenthau's address may be sent. The Secretary desires that 500 copies, with envelopes, be sent here. At your convenience you may send the bill for the printing, the labor and the stamps on to us. We all appreciate your kindness in undertaking the distribution.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Thomas E. Gaston

Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

HEG/mah

18801 8 JUL

September 2, 1958.

Alliance Printing Company,
533 S. Broad Street,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Attention: Mr. H. Silver

Dear Sirs:

I regret that because of my absence and that of Secretary Morgenthau reply to your letter of August 4th, with which you submitted your invoice for the printing of three thousand copies of Secretary Morgenthau's Temple University address, has been delayed. I am enclosing the Secretary's personal check for \$465.00, the amount of your bill. The five hundred books and envelopes, which you shipped through the Railway Express Agency, have been received.

The Secretary was much pleased with the excellent appearance of the book.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

Enclosure.
HEG/mah

September 2, 1938.

Dr. Charles A. Ford,
Administrative Assistant to the President,
Temple University,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

My dear Dr. Ford:

I regret that on account of my absence and that of the Secretary reply to your letter of August 25th has been delayed. I am enclosing the Secretary's personal check for \$240.80, the amount of the Bureau's statement covering the cost of postage on the 2,005 copies of the Secretary's address which you mailed out. The Secretary appreciates very much your kindness in arranging for the printing of the speech and undertaking the work of mailing it out. He was much pleased with the appearance of the finished book.

I returned this week from four weeks of vacation during which I escaped a good deal of the unpleasant weather of which you speak.

I hope that we shall have an opportunity to see you again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary.

Enclosure.
HEG/mah

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To TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, Dr.

BROAD ST. AND MONTGOMERY AVE.
PHILADELPHIA

~~43~~

August 25, 1938



DEPARTMENT: BURSAR

Henry E. Morgenthau, Jr.
Secretary of the Treasury
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C.

For Mailing 2,005 copies of "The Road Ahead"

at Postage Cost of 12 cents each . . . \$240.60

ck 5705
9/2/38
\$240.60

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
PHILADELPHIA

August 25, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston
Assistant to the Secretary of Treasury
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gaston:

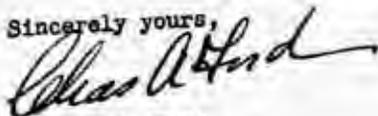
Enclosed is the bill for postage for Secretary Morgenthau's speech.

There have been some twenty copies returned because of incorrect address; that is, the various professors have moved and left no forwarding address and cannot, therefore, be located.

We are getting quite a number of replies, commenting favorably upon the Secretary's address and making some appreciative remarks on the courtesy of having it sent to them.

I certainly hope you have been away on a pleasant vacation by this time, and that the rest has done you some good. Washington, like Philadelphia, has abominable weather.

Sincerely yours,



Charles A. Ford
Administrative Assistant
to the President

CAF:BW
Enclosure

1595
640

295

No 1393



ALLIANCE PRINTING COMPANY

Printers of Effective Direct Mail Advertising

333 S. BROAD STREET PHILADELPHIA, PENNA.

42

August 4, 1938

to

Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.,
Secretary of the Treasury, U. S. A.
Washington, D. C.

ORDER NUMBER

OUR ORDER NUMBER

1684

TERMS: NET CASH

3000 Books - 16 pages and cover)
"The Road Ahead")
3000 Envelopes

390.00
75.00 \$465.00

ck 4705
9/2/38
465.-

ALLIANCE PRINTING COMPANY

METHODS OF EFFECTIVE DIRECT BY MAIL ADVERTISING

333 S. BROAD STREET KINGSLEY 1592
RACE 7020 PHILADELPHIA, PA.

August 4, 1938

Mr. Herbert E. Gaston,
Assistant to Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
Secretary of Treasury, U. S. A.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Upon instructions from Temple University,
we have printed 3,000 Books entitled, "The Road
Ahead - an address by Henry Morgenthau, Jr." and
3,000 Envelopes. We have shipped to you today
through The Railway Express Agency 500 Books and
Envelopes and delivered to Temple University, 2500
Books and Envelopes. *as per*

Temple University further instructed us
to bill the above mentioned books and envelopes to
Mr. Morgenthau, and that he would take care of the
payment of the bill. We are therefore enclosing
our invoice for \$465.00 which is the price agreed
upon before we printed the books and envelopes.

Thanking you, we are

Very truly yours,
H. Silver
ALLIANCE PRINTING COMPANY

HS:MS

Recd in C's office 8/8/38

THE ROAD AHEAD

I am grateful to Temple University for this opportunity to talk to its graduates of 1938. My presence here is a particularly happy occasion for me because a few years ago this University paid a similar honor to my father.

-2-

There is much I should like to say, and yet I confess that I approach my opportunity with much the same trepidation as many of you approach the new phase of life on which you are embarking. Ten years ago I should have been more confident. But no one who has been close to the seat of Government and has had to grapple with the complex problems of the last decade can speak glibly of the road that is before you.

-3-

Were you graduating ten or more years ago you probably would have been assured of the triumphant spread of democracy and the growth of amity among the ~~nations~~. You would have been informed that you lived in a land abounding with unequalled, yet equal, opportunities for all. You would have been told of the rapidly rising standard of living, of the distribution of the good things of life to larger sections of the population, of the near-disappearance of poverty.

I cannot carry such illusory glad tidings to you. The world which now awaits you bears small resemblance to the world of the Twenties. In the last decade history has marched at a tremendously rapid pace. The pattern it has evolved becomes more complex, more unstable. I think you will share with me the feeling, that change, will be even more rapid in the months and years to come. The world today is one which increasing numbers cannot enter with full assurance of security, with certainty that the capacities which they have developed for work, for creativeness, for enjoyment, will attain a rich fulfillment.

~~423~~

-5-

You are graduating into a world, parts of which are already at war, while over most of the remainder the expectation of war hangs like a storm cloud. Seldom in recorded history have tensions been so great. Seldom has the world prepared so madly and so rapidly for a war which all hope to avoid.

You are graduating into a world throughout large sections of which the lights of democracy have gone out and much of the driving force of individual initiative destroyed; into a world in which there is more and more regimentation of political, of economic, and of cultural life, and less and less security for life, for liberty, and for the pursuit of happiness.

-6-

This regimentation has assumed its most acute form in those countries engulfed by an anti-democratic philosophy -- a philosophy which is having its greatest impact on youth.

In most of those countries -- from kindergarten through university -- mounting restrictions are being placed on educational opportunities and the pursuit of knowledge. Every year youth devotes more and more of its energies to the preparation of war.

-7-

In those countries economic opportunity as you and I know it is either non-existent or is being steadily whittled away. Even the elementary right to move freely from occupation to occupation is being drastically curtailed, while the opportunities for advancement are becoming increasingly dependent not upon merit but upon conformity to the political creed of the group in power.

In those countries you cannot join political parties save the one prescribed by the State; you can have no voice in the Government; you can neither elect nor depose your leaders; you can neither make nor alter the laws by which you are governed; you may read only from a prescribed list of books; what you write is strictly censored; what you say is closely watched; your thoughts are suspect; you must love and hate, rejoice, cheer, salute, breathe, at the State's bidding. In those countries all the elements which constitute the liberal traditions of our country and are the warp and woof of our democratic philosophy are either dead or dying.

Nor does the campaign against democracy stop at the confines of the States which have abandoned democracy. It is being carried boldly and aggressively to other countries where democracy is cherished by the bulk of the people. So effective has been the attack that democratic peoples abroad have begun to lose confidence in their own powers of resistance and defense. For this reason the fate of democracy in the world becomes increasingly dependent on what happens in this country. The responsibility which history has placed upon you -- the youth of America -- is epic in its consequences. As the President said in this very city, you have 'a rendezvous with destiny'.

-10-

You who are graduating in the United States are in an especially favored position to undertake this responsibility. For you the menace of war is more remote. There is no immediate threat from an enemy without.

For you, the democratic rights and privileges of your fathers are in no wise abridged. You may study what and where you like, engage in any profession you elect, live where you will. You are not cogs in a war machine. You don't have to devote fruitful years of your life to the science of killing.

-11-

~~433~~

You are not forced to put behind you for one, two, or three years all thought of creative effort, of cultural pursuits, of a full life and peaceful endeavor toward which you have been looking and for which you have so earnestly prepared. You are not compelled en masse to doff your caps and gowns for uniforms and entrain for an army camp.

-12-

All the liberties denied in the non-democratic States are yours. They are yours because your Government has refused to deviate from the fundamental principle that the will of the people freely and openly expressed shall be the law of the land. In these disturbed times, when freedom is being assailed throughout the world, those liberties will remain yours only so long as you give them your whole-hearted allegiance.

-13-

In my generation we took our liberties largely for granted. They were handed to us on a silver platter and we accepted them as a matter of course. Your generation cannot afford such complacency. The retention of the decencies and amenities of civilized life— involves, nay demands, a struggle in which we all, and youth especially, must participate. None can afford to be neutral. He who abstains from the struggle in the naive belief that these matters do not concern him or that the outcome will not depend on his own efforts is unconsciously helping the enemy.

-14-

We must jealously guard our liberties against infringement. We must never forget that they will be swept away unless the liberties of all who accept the basic principles of democracy -- minorities as well as majorities -- are consistently protected and preserved.

Pause
Failure to defend those liberties in one city, or county, or State strikes at the liberties of all of us. When we are indifferent to repression, when we tolerate the curtailment of constitutional rights in any place by any individual or group of individuals, no matter how powerful, no matter how close to the seat of Government, we make easier an attack upon our own constitutional rights.

-15-

We cannot expect our Government to do all the fighting for us. No truly democratic Government can move faster or farther than the people. But we do expect it to express the people's will for the defense of democracy; we do expect it to take the lead in anticipating the basic needs of the people.

Pause

How has our Government done that? How has it fostered the conditions under which our democratic institutions will thrive and the right to economic security become a meaningful reality?

-16-

Our Government has steadily worked to develop peaceful international relations. It has sought to arrest the tide of war by rigid adherence to its treaty obligations and by its determined refusal to condone acts of aggression. In its dealings with small nations it no longer permits the intrigues of 'dollar diplomacy'. It pursues the 'good neighbor' policy with the Latin American nations. We are not among the war-mongers. ^{Pause} 'The American nation hates war.' It has sought peace and pursued it. Thus it has taken the initiative in cooperative efforts to introduce order in international monetary relationships and it has undertaken an active program to lower the barriers to international trade.

-17-

At home our Government arrested the catastrophic decline which devastated the lives and fortunes of Americans during the first years of the depression. To an extent unparalleled in history it provided useful work for the unemployed by a vast system of public works which have permanently increased the wealth of our country. It has introduced basic reforms long overdue. Our currency and credit are no longer at the mercy of irrational gusts of speculation. Our banking system has been strengthened and made more flexible; the adoption of deposit insurance gives protection to the small depositor.

-18-

The securities markets are beginning to function as a concern fraught with public interest and must henceforth bear the responsibilities which public interest demands. More equitable relations between capital and labor have been promoted, and we have taken the first and most difficult steps toward a system of social security.

The Administration is particularly proud of its record of aid to the youth of America. We set up the Civilian Conservation Corps, which has brought health and vigor to hundreds of thousands of young men who were losing confidence in themselves.

-19-

We created the National Youth Administration, which has enabled hundreds of thousands of young men and women to attend high schools and colleges or to obtain vocational experience through part-time work. Among you here today there are doubtless a number who can attest to the utility of that program.

True, this program has involved large expenditures. But I consider those expenditures a necessary investment to maintain the physical and spiritual health of the people.

Pause

There remains much to be done: millions of decent homes to be built; slums wiped out; transportation reorganized; the machinery of Government Administration improved. The excessive power of monopolies must be restricted. Our taxation system must be revised so as to eliminate cumbersome overlapping of Federal, State and local taxes and attain more equitable distribution of tax burdens. These are only some of the tasks.

The major task, however, is to get our economy to function on an even keel so that all who are able and willing to work can find outlets for their creative energies. Until we succeed in that task, our liberties will not be safe.

-21-

When men and women are haunted by the spectre of unemployment, they may fall prey to anti-democratic movements. Such movements thrive on economic insecurity. The enemy is ever within the gates ready to exploit hardship and suffering for its own advantage.

In the fight for economic security and political stability the Government has already incurred the enmity of those who, firm in the possession of the prerogatives arising from unbridled economic power, would deny to others the liberties which in a democracy belong to every man.

-22-

In times of stress their greatest strength lies in the confusion of issues, in the distortion of fact and principle, in the exploitation and subtle misinterpretation of the noblest American traditions. We must not let the issues become confused. We must not be tricked into exchanging our liberties for an illusory mess of pottage. We must not forget that the liberties we cherish for their own sake are the very weapons with which the fight for economic security must be won.

-23-

There are those who still tell us we ought not to plan our future, that we ought to take refuge in the good old practices and precepts of the past when all seemed well. That is a perfectly comprehensible attitude. But it is the dream-thinking of beaten men who seek solace in the surroundings and the associations of a less troubled time in the hope of recapturing the past. ^{Parade} The past will not return. We cannot turn the clock back. We live in different times and history confronts us with new problems, that the past had no need to solve and cannot solve for us.

-24-

I wish I could tell you that we were out in the clear: that the immediate pressing problems were over. I wish I could truthfully say that "prosperity is around the corner". But our tasks -- your tasks -- have only just begun. The basic reforms carried through under the leadership of President Roosevelt are only a beginning. They prevent a repetition of the 1932 cataclysm, but the fight to alleviate and end the present recession, to make further recessions impossible and to bring about an order of things better than we have yet seen is still before us. It is a task that calls for effort and sacrifice, for wisdom and courage, patience and vision.

-25-

You are living in difficult times, yet adventurous times. The geographical frontiers are gone, but there are new, ever-expanding worlds, whose limits recede as we approach them. In the past we concentrated on the development of our natural resources. More recently, and somewhat tardily, we turned our attention to the ^Sconservation of those resources. The time has now come for us to devote a much larger share of our energies to an even ^Svaster task ^{Pause} _^ the maintenance and development of our human resources.

America is a land of economic potentiality which can provide for the full development of our people. Nature has endowed us with almost all the natural resources essential for a high standard of living for all. We have far more capital resources than any other country. We have the technical skill and knowledge to utilize this capital. Our labor supply is as varied and as efficient as our technique of production is advanced. We have all the ingredients essential to a high standard of living.

The solution of the economic problems of providing an abundant life for all, is temptingly within our grasp. It is no longer a will-o-the-wisp.

Pause

But it still escapes us. We find one-third
of this, the richest nation in the world,
ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clad. Bumper crops
of wheat, of corn, of rice, of cotton -- yet
poverty stalking the land. Billions of capital
idle, millions of hands with no work to do. The
best-equipped factories in the world working
quarter- and half-time, while millions lack the
goods these factories could make. Warehouses --
full, yet larders empty. This year the prospect
of unusually abundant crops confronts us. Instead
of giving rise to rejoicing, this prospect arouses --
fear that the farmers will have a lower income.

-28-

Technological progress is steadily occurring in most industrial fields. But this progress is often accompanied by displacement of labor, reduced employment, and the emergence of stranded areas. It is indeed a tragic commentary that abundance alarms us, that inventions which ultimately raise the standard of living take such heavy toll, that increased capacity to produce may actually reduce the national income.

-29-

Pause

Somewhere in the process of the production and distribution of wealth, there is a short-circuit which no one as yet has been able to eliminate. There must be a satisfactory method; there must be a way out. It must be possible to develop our economic resources more successfully than we have been able to do. It must be possible to eliminate the glaring inequalities in the distribution— of income and yet retain private incentive.

-30-

It must be possible, while retaining our democratic liberties, to win for the people of America the realization of the most fundamental right, the right to work -- to work at tasks suited to their capacities and training, under conditions in keeping with human dignity, without restrictions on genuine collective bargaining, for wages yielding a decent standard of living. It must be possible to so organize our economy as to insure economic security for *all*.

~~all~~*Pause*

This is your challenge. These are the frontiers you must explore, the worlds you must conquer.

-31-

Your discoveries, your conquests, will yield riches infinitely greater than ^{the} pioneering of geographical frontiers. They will demand all the courage and audacity you have.

It will be written in history that my generation openly faced the problem of under-consumption on the one hand and the waste of unused productive resources on the other; that my generation began to cut a way through the puzzling maze that separates the American people from the enjoyment of economic security.

-32-

We have taken the first steps in the right direction. We now know that without a more equitable distribution of income, a balance of production and consumption at high levels is impossible. It is for you to advance our work and turn the knowledge we have gained into a lasting security for all. When history passes judgment on your generation, let the verdict be that you attained the goal. Let it pronounce that you resolved the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

-33-

Pause

The post-war generation has sometimes been called the lost generation. Your generation, I hope, will go down in history as the generation which found itself, the generation which, no longer seduced by the glittering prizes that blind chance awards to the few, turned itself to a concerted pursuit, of the welfare of the country as a whole, and thereby saved America by its courage and resourcefulness, and the world by its example.

356
June 20, 1959.

Dear Col. Halsey:

I have not had an opportunity before this to write to thank you for your courtesy in arranging to have my Temple University speech appear in the Congressional Record. I very much appreciated this and want to thank you most heartily for your interest and cooperation. The speech has had a most favorable response, and I am glad to have it come to the attention of the wide audience which reads the record.

Sincerely,

(Signed) H. Morgenthau, Jr.

Col. Edwin A. Halsey,
Secretary of the Senate,
Washington, D. C.

OMW/dbs

331

9:30

Sent by
messenger

June 28, 1958.

My dear Senator:

I have just returned to Washington today, and I want to write immediately to tell you how much I appreciated your courtesy in putting my Temple University speech into the Congressional Record. Because of absence from the city I have been unable to thank you before this.

You may be interested to know that I have had a very favorable response to the address, and since so many thought well of it, I am glad to have it have the wide audience given it by publication in the Record.

Sincerely,

(Signed) E. Sargantau, Jr.

Honorable Alben W. Barkley,
Seelbach Hotel,
Louisville, Kentucky.

GXP/dbs