
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 828

1935 December 9

**South Bend, IN –
Speech accepting Degree from Notre Dame**

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

W.E. 12-7-35

P.P.D.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Following draft of remarks to be used by you at South Bend, Monday, was prepared by Father Burke, with whom Mr. Hassett consulted. It embodies some part of Ray Moley's suggestions:

"Almost forty years ago the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.

"We are here to welcome the Commonwealth of the Philippines into the Commonwealth of Nations. I consider it one of the happiest events of my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which gives national freedom to the Philippine people.

"The time is not given me to recite the history of those forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is an extraordinary tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted

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The White House
Washington

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themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that independence which is natively theirs as a people, which they have championed for themselves in season and out of season, which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new constitution, and which they have now in their own right fully secured.

"We cannot refrain also from congratulating ourselves as a people who in the long run have done the better thing; who have sought not our own - but through our power have blessed and benefitted others.

"That both nations had and ultimately preserved the policy leading to this most happy result is due to the fact that both nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. Those rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. Those same rights are championed in the present Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth.

"There can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of

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religious worship.

"This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle-West - its first explorers and first Jesuit missionaries - Joliet, Marquette, Dele Salle, Hennepin - its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here - its apostolic father Sorin, founder of Notre Dame University - its zealous missionaries of other faiths - its pioneers of varied nationalities - all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to those fundamental principles of freedom - freedom of education, freedom of worship.

"Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia declaration of rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: 'Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.'

"In the conflict of policy, of political system which the world to-day witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of

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The White House
Washington

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lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

"Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every plan that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living they are in the hearts of every true American.

"Of their own initiative, their own appreciation, the Philippine Commonwealth has also now championed them before the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity, and may they grow in national stature contributing their rightful share to the peace and well-being of the whole world."

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TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

WX 12-7-35.

Memo. for The President:

Before you begin reading your formal address at South Bend think it would be the right thing for you to make extemporaneous acknowledgment of the Degree. The following is suggested:

"In acknowledging the honor which through the granting of this Degree the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank the president of Notre Dame, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of its faculty. I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. To say that both are unmerited is unnecessary. One in public life learns that personally he is unworthy of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation - both for the sake of my country and for the sake now of Notre Dame University, which has set such high standards in both the educational and the athletic field."

STE

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

WX 12-7-35

Memo. for the President:

Special note to the President:

The following memorandum concurred in by Father Burke was prepared by Mr. Hassett with the idea of giving you certain background information.

"I think it would be inadvisable to eulogize the Jesuits exclusively and to single out their educational ideals for special praise, as Dr. Moley suggests, in an address to be delivered at a university conducted by the congregation of the Holy Cross, a rival organization. Such special praise of their rivals - for holy men are human too - would cause the faces of the Notre Dame fathers to lengthen. The Jesuits are probably the least popular order in the Catholic church, especially among other priests. It must not be overlooked that other religious orders made equally important contributions in the earliest history of the western hemisphere as for instance, Las Casas, the Dominican who prevented development of slavery in the Spanish colonies and a Franciscan Monk who in South America discovered quinine. The list could be multiplied. I think Father Burke handled the Jesuit reference just right."

STE

TELEGRAM

Draft
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Washington

WX 12-7-35.

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Washington**

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Invent ~~Almost forty years ago the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.~~

~~"We are here to welcome the Commonwealth, of the Philippines into the Commonwealth of Nations. I consider it one of the happiest events of my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which gives national freedom to the Philippine people.~~

"The time is not given me to recite the history of those forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is ~~an extraordinary~~ ^a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted

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"We cannot refrain also from congratulating ourselves as a people who in the long run have done the better thing; who have sought not our own - but through our power have blessed and benefitted others.

Insert C "That both nations ~~had and ultimately preserved the~~ ^{11/15/55} policy leading to this most happy result is due to the fact that both nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. Those rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. Those same rights are championed in the ~~present~~ Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth.

"There can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of

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religious worship.

"This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle-West - its first explorers and first ~~French~~ missionaries - Joliet, Marquette, De Salle, Hennepin - its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here - its apostolic father Sorin, founder of Notre Dame University - its zealous missionaries of other faiths - its pioneers of varied nationalities - all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to those fundamental principles of freedom - freedom of education, freedom of worship.

"Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: 'Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience.'

"In the conflict of policies of political systems which the world to-day witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never

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lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

"Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every ^{prayer} ~~place~~ that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living they are in the hearts of every true American.

"Of their own initiative, ^{by} their own appreciation, the Philippine Commonwealth has ~~now~~ ^{also} championed them before the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity, ^{and} may they grow ~~in all their own efforts to~~ ^{in all their efforts to} contributing their rightful share to the peace and well-being of the whole world."

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STE.

December 9, 1935.

NOTRE DAME ADDRESS

In acknowledging the honor which through the granting of this Degree the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. One in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation - both for the sake of my country and as a new Alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. I am glad to take part in this special Convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines.

Almost forty years ago the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider

it one of the happiest events of my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people.

The time is not given me to recite the history of those forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that freedom which is natively theirs as a people, and which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought our own. Through our power we have sought to benefit others.

That both nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy result is due to the fact that both nations

have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. Those rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. Those same rights are championed in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth.

There can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship.

This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle-West - its first explorers and first missionaries - Joliet, Marquette, De La Salle, Hennepin - its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here - its apostolic father Sorin, founder of Notre Dame University - its zealous missionaries of other faiths - its pioneers of varied nationalities - all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to those fundamental principles of freedom - freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

In the conflict of policies and of political systems which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every prayer that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation,

ARMED FORCES
THE WHOLE WORLD

the Philippine Commonwealth has now also championed them before the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. May they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace and well-being of the whole world.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY, NOTRE DAME, INDIANA

Monday, December 9, 1935, 3.30 P.M.

Cardinal Mundelin, President O'Hara, you, the members of the great Notre Dame family, of whom I am proud and happy to become a part today:

In acknowledging the honor which through the granting of this Degree the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. (Applause) And I cannot without feeling a little choke in my voice thank my old friend, His Eminence Cardinal Mundelin. I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citation. You know, one in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States Government. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation -- both for the sake of my country and, also, as a new Alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. (Applause) I am (glad) especially happy to take part in this special convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines. And I am especially privileged to have heard that brilliant address of Mr. Romulo, who so well represents his Commonwealth. (Applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was delivered, transcribing what was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

Now about me I made to you last week and the

whole thing is composed of general

statements and generally doesn't need any elaboration at all.

As you continue your effort to disseminate our program right now I would say to you that we have, first of all, the moral movement of which you're speaking and the second, the economic policy of which you're speaking, and the third, the foreign policy of which you're speaking.

Now as far as the foreign policy is concerned, we are going to give you a very short and simple statement of it. We are going to do our best to keep you informed of our policies and of our efforts to maintain world peace and to maintain friendly relations with all nations. But we are not

going to guarantee any particular nation or group of nations, but we are going to do our best to maintain friendly relations with all nations. This is the main point of our foreign policy.

(smiling)

It cannot seem so long because even I remember it
and yet it is (almost) forty years (ago) since the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider it one of the happiest events (of) in my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippine people.

The time is not given to me to recite the history of these forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that freedom, that essential freedom which is natively theirs as a people, a freedom (and) which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves

in our country as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought our power (own). Through our power we have sought to benefit others.
(Applause)

That both nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy (result) event is due to the fact that both nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. These rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. (Those same rights are) And again they have been championed within a few months in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, a Constitution which I would like to have read and learned about in every school and college of the United States.

No, there can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship.
(Applause)

This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle West -- its first

explorers and first missionaries -- Joliet, Marquette, (De) La Salle, Hennepin -- its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here -- its apostolic father Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame (University) -- its zealous missionaries of other faiths -- its pioneers of varied nationalities -- all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to these fundamental principles of freedom -- freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." (Applause)

In the conflict of policies and of political systems of old kinds and of new fanatical (?) kinds which the world today witnesses, the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and

our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar. (Applause)

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every prayer that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living, how permanent they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation, the Philippine Commonwealth has now also championed them before all the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. More important, may they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace, to the good of the (and) well-being of the whole world.

(The following was delivered extemporaneously:) And so let me say, as I leave you, that I am happy to be here today, that I am proud of the great distinction which you have conferred upon me and may I tell you that I was more touched than anything else by the little word of the President of Notre Dame when he said that I will be in your prayers. I appreciate that. I trust that I may be in your prayers.

(Prolonged applause)

From Thomas J. Barry,
Publicity Director,
The University of Notre Dame.

Reading of the citations for the conferring
of the honorary degree of doctor of laws by
the University of Notre Dame at Convocation
on December 8th.

On a leader and ruler who, with faith and invincible courage when
other brave men were faltering, took the reins of government at a
crisis which threatened with collapse and chaos the centuried
civilization and institutions of our country and the rest of the
world, and who is now by achievement even more than by official
position the first citizen of our republic -- The honorable
Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States.

* * * * *

On an eminent Catholic journalist, orator, educator, and public
servant, who has had a leading part in the establishment of the
newest nation, a man who by his convincing championship of Christian
principles has won the confidence and support of his people -- The
honorable Carlos Peña Romulo, of Manila, Philippine Islands.

From Thomas J. Barry
Publicity Director
University of Notre Dame

Introduction of President Roosevelt by His Eminence
George Cardinal Mundelein, presiding officer, at a special
convocation at the University of Notre Dame, Dec. 9, 1935.

It is now nearly fifteen years since my last visit to Notre Dame. I used to come frequently in its days of struggle and poverty, but now that success and prosperity have come to the university, I feel it has an abundance of friends. But that I should have come at this time and this season surely indicates that this must be an all-important occasion and a weighty reason for my coming. And so it is. I have come to join with Notre Dame in its welcome to the Chief Executive of our nation. And while I speak for myself, yet in a way I act too as your spokesman, on behalf of the faculty and student-body on this occasion in our endeavor to make the President feel that he has really come into the home of his friends. We are not in politics, neither the Church or I; no individual Cardinal, Bishop or priest, no organization of laymen or Catholic newspaper has the right to speak for the twenty million Catholics in this country in matters of politics; only the Bishops of the Country together, in conference or in council, and they have not done so, and so we do not wish our words to be interpreted in that sense. Nor have I any intention of defending the Rooseveltian policies; the President is perfectly well able to do that himself and he needs no outside help.

But - I have known the President quite intimately, better than many who meet him oftener and deal with him officially. My relations with him were of a personal character. I had no axe to grind, no favors to seek, and so he was always able to express himself freely without fear of misinterpretation or breach of confidence. It is at such times one is able to better gauge a man's character, to look down into his very soul, to read more clearly the purposes that motivate his actions. I have talked to men who were his real friends, men who would have laid down their lives for him,

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edl—Cardinal Mundelein, Notre Dame

and unconsciously they painted for me a picture of the man that he is. And as a result I have learned to admire in him, more than anything else, his indomitable fighting courage, the courage that enabled him to overcome a great physical handicap that would have laid low almost any other man; the courage that helped him fight his way and come to the very top with clean hands; the courage that enabled him to bring order and renewed confidence out of chaos at the very beginning of his administration; the courage that caused him to set aside the traditions of his class, the friendships of his youth, the pressure of the money-power, to come to the aid of the forgotten man in the more equal distribution of wealth. We who know how the poor must live, we whose duty it is to lighten their burdens and help solve their problems as much as we can, we have long since felt that the great swollen fortunes of yesterday and today must soon be a thing of the past, that the burden of taxation must soon be shifted to be more equally borne by those who have the inherited wealth and plentiful income to enable them to do so. I can only repeat again in public what I said to the President in private when he spoke of his purpose to levy a more equal tax on great wealth and large incomes, as he has, "it is something that should have been done long ago, but oh, it will take a lot of courage to do so, and to carry it through".

I believe this visit today of our distinguished guest to Notre Dame is timely and propitious. Here are several thousand young men on the threshold of their great adventure. They are facing the coming struggle with hope high in their hearts and the future bright and promising to their eyes. They are impatient to reach the goal of success as quickly as they can. They already see themselves rich and famous in but a few years from now. And yet we, who are about to lay down the burden they are preparing to take up, who have no other light to guide us than the lamp of our experience of the past, we can see more clearly into the future than they; we know that the days of the get rich quick are over, that many of them must endure poverty and want unless they are prepared to meet many an obstacle, to overcome hardship with great perseverance to hold their faith high, their courage fast and unshaken.

The old Latin had an adage "verba docent, exempla trahunt". Students of Notre Dame you are fortunate in having for your President at this time a man who has given us all an outstanding example -

Add 2 Undeloin.

in his life of indomitable persevering courage, who has striven to the best of his strength and ability to benefit his fellow man, who has been every bit as brave a soldier as any who fell on the battle-field.

As the highest ranking Roman Catholic ecclesiastic west of the Alleghany mountains, and westward past China, Japan and the Philippine Islands, as a native American of four generations and the grandson of one of the finest soldiers to shed his blood for the Union, but more than all, as a warm personal friend and admirer, I have the great pleasure of welcoming to this midwestern seat of Christian culture and education its most recent alumnus, the 31st President of these United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

From Thomas J. Barry
Publicity Director
Notre Dame, Indiana

Release:
After delivery
Dec. 9, 1935

Address delivered by Mr. CARLOS P. ROMULO on the occasion of the conferring of the degree LL.D., by the University of Notre Dame at a Special Convocation honoring the new Commonwealth of the Philippines, December 9, 1935.

One would be dull of wit, indeed, and slow of heart who could be unresponsive to the fortunate coincidence of historic influences brought to this occasion at Notre Dame. I refer to the apt confluence of the Faith and freedom that have streamed through the history of the Philippines, nurturing our people to the maturity of independence. Today, both are given representative testimony in a joint gesture of remembrance and the concerned congratulation of amicable hope.

His Excellency, the President of the United States, be-speaks the freedom of a nation dedicated to the proposition that all men, and all groups of men, are created equal before the law: a nation which controls itself through democratic institutions so designed as to serve evenly the rights of all - their liberties and opportunities; that each may live without servitude and without envy; protected in domestic security and confirmed in the inalienable, proprietary powers of citizens.

The sovereignty of this Republic is shared by all, possessed by none, that the authority of government may never be presumptive or arbitrary but only representative and revocable. A Democracy may vote away its powers - as it has in Germany and, recently, in Greece: but a republic cannot do likewise without ceasing to exist. In the United States, freedom is not limited to the franchise of suffrage but extended to all elements of political and social function. The State, then, can never become co-equal with the community: as could be if processes of government were accepted as embracing the structure and form of society. The community is greater, as well as antecedent to, the State. It creates the State to control and order its multiple interests; interests which citizens never relinquish whether to kings, princes, or parliaments. To mistake this relation, to misread the genealogy of government, is to induce the subservience of the popular to the governmental will. 'Of the people, by the people, for the people' is, therefore, a prepositional summary of the concept of that freedom which the United States enjoys and which, with singular magnanimity, it has conveyed and bequeathed to the Filipino people.

Among a people so naturally disposed as the Filipinos to independence, this doctrine of freedom, taught with the conviction of discovery, found widespread and lively acceptance.

ad-1 Carlos P. Romulo

Small wonder, that we should have desired for ourselves what the Americans taught was the preeminent blessing of national existence!

There are some now, however, who would caution us (and not imprudently) that autonomy may prove precipitate that we are unskilled in state-craft; lacking the consciousness of organic unity; infantile in the arbitrament of arms; that we are economically over-weighted by the past preformat of export: in short, that freedom may mean famine, if it will not mean worse.

To such counsel of caution we reply that freedom is an essential condition of national, as of individual, expression. The Revolutionary Americans so believed and, risking all, died in the hallowed name of Liberty. Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, Saratoga are the immortal watch-words of an ideal and a lasting record of its price. The Filipinos, too, have their battlefields of Freedom and they shall bear, I trust, with equanimity the trials that independence imposes. Indeed, misfortune and dangers are but the transient, if inescapable circumstances of living: to strive to overcome them is to live valiantly. We desire no more!

And in our freedom, we shall be fortified by that Faith which outlasts because it transcends Time. This greater heritage of the vast majority of our people is given witness today by Notre Dame and the prelates of the Catholic Church. Like freedom, Faith reached us through conquest. Centuries ago, with the crown of Spain came the cross of Christ; both borne on the vehement and masterful exuberance of those dauntless adventurers who foreshortened the earth. They sought silver for their king and subjects for their God. Among us they found both. But the crown was really buried with them; we have almost forgotten how or when. The cross remains throughout our islands, a symbol and an evidence of the radical culture of our minds.

For no one can believe human life foreshadows, through mysteries, a more ample and intimate existence with God: no one can believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God Who saved us by His death and sanctifies us by His Sacrament: no one can believe himself a conscious soul under the commandment of Divine love: no one, I repeat, can believe these things without having altered profoundly the quality of his thought and the direction of his cutlook. Such belief is a tradition among the Filipinos. It distinguishes us among the peoples of the Far East; and it will be a vital, creative agent in the formation of our new nation. By this, I do not wish to imply that Catholicism is the religion of the State. It is much more: it is the religion of the people. And the people, not the State, are sovereign. To constrain religion as an instrumentality of Government and to adopt the anomalous thing called 'State Religion' is to consider religion falsely and abandon it, as contemporary events elsewhere prove, to the mercy of a Government which may not be representative of the people whom it rules. To permit the State to

adopt a religion is to concede to the State its potential extension to all functions of Society; it is to conceive the State as the ultimate framework of the social organism. The contrary is, of course, true in the very nature of things. Government, unless it be tyranny, is but an instrument variously chosen by the community for its own social purposes.

So the Philippine constitution instructs its future government that there shall be freedom of worship, indicating thereby that its power shall be limited to control manifestations affecting public discipline; and indicating, too, that the practice of religion shall in no way be considered as dependent on legislative concession. The phrase 'freedom of worship' places religion outside the basic law rather than within it; and properly so, since a constitution is projected to restrict government, not Society.

The Catholic Faith will be, accordingly, free to inspire, develop and modify our institutions conformably to its supreme law of charity. Through charity we should achieve obedience without servility; authority without autocracy; justice without favoritism; equality of respect without the anarchy of no distinctions. A legalistic mechanism never has been, nor will be, devised to attain per se the ends of social justice. Nor are these ends furthered substantially, as some maintain, by racial temperament, geographical position or contingent relationships. Only the assurance of Christian charity enables us to forecast the direction that the exercise of sovereignty will take. Faith, then, gives sustenance to our freedom.

Grace~~s~~ with this double gift of constructive forces, the Philippine Commonwealth initiates a new national effort for the realization of an ordered and equivalent Society. It would be presumptuous to say we shall achieve it: it would be spine not to try. We shall begin our task with an enthusiasm sobered by historical perspective. If we are a new-born nation, we are not, thereby new-born to the perception of realities. We can be careful not to be misled by ardent apostles of fatuous panaceas, infallible in appearance because tested only against the unanswering vacuity of their author's minds. We can be docile before facts and mindful that systems, however finely sculptured, can be broken by inordinate hearts and tempestuous wills. We can put forth a modest, well-principled effort to approximate a solution of the harassing problem of economic balance and distribution.

Until lately, the Philippines had a plantation economy such as once obtained in the South-eastern States of the Union. Now, we have moved, though in a limited degree, toward the complexities of agrarian and industrial capitalism. There is, in capitalism, much that is still immature and, therefore, maladjusted to the existing social order.

But there is nothing inherently vicious in capitalism. This pooling of wealth for production needs to be counter-balanced by pooling of resources for consumption; only so, can capitalism be wholesome and beneficial. We do not share the views of those who would prevent the acquirement of wealth by distributing it gratuitously. We believe such a process would either destroy wealth for all or concentrate it in the hands of some group who would call themselves, euphemistically, the State.

We do not accept the Marxian dialectic that classes are economically formed and that the road to security is through the liquidation of those classes in favor of the proletariat. Every Oriental knows that there is scarcely any proletariat in the Far East; and knows, too, that classes are formed there by educational discrimination as in China, by social heredity as in Malaya, by religious modalities as in India where no amount of acquired wealth would warrant infringement of class privileges. True, the Far East is mildly sensitive to Communism but not because the Far East is class conscious; rather because it is land conscious. Communism in the East is not a philosophy; it is an illegitimate hope for unequalled increment. Economic class warfare is a myth of the Communists. But economic conflict, as a disorder of the whole social body, is no myth and we shall strive to eliminate it from our commonwealth by what I have referred to as a modest well-principled effort.

The approach to this must be realistic; not patronizing and crusading. It is grandiose and anarchical nonsense to pretend that all elements of society must enjoy equality of identity. 'Every man a king' is the motto of a fool's paradise and the catch-phrase of political trumpery. There is in society a natural diversity of gifts and function and where there is distinction of ability, there will be distinction of reward. The coalescing of sundry groups composes the pattern of communal living; and communal living is not an artificial result produced by one class for its own advantage but the inevitable expression of man's social character.

Accordingly, we believe economic factors possess social as well as individual significance. Men are not free to ignore these; nor have we the power by legislative fiat to abolish them. We shall maintain, then, that ownership is a right derived from nature, not from law, and its use or misuse cannot destroy, or cause to be forfeited, the right itself. Wealth invested as capital should have a return but the return should be related to the economy of the nation current at the period of the deposition. Income should be as thermal as the discount rate. A fixed interest or a fixed wage scale for profit, determined over any but a short period is obviously unsocial since economic conditions will have altered before the loan or the contract has expired. Contracts for interest or labor once cut-made destroy the equilibrium of the economic field in which the incidence of their fulfillment occurs. The fixed element in economics should be the equation of justice; the variable element is price.

Like ownership and its rewards labor, too, has its social obligations. Labor must attain its individual rights without infringement of the common good. It is false that the worth of labor is the worth of its net result; false that labor exercised on the property of another begets ownership; false even that all profits not needed for repair and replacement belong to the workingman. To assert the contrary is to lose sight of the social aspect of labor and the right of ownership. But labor does create a right to profit-sharing--a right that is again individual and social. It is the right of labor to share in profits on the basis of a living wage. If capital does not pay this, social justice demands that employment be prohibited. But if employers cannot pay this because of unfair competition or unethical imposition of taxes, then the controlling laws of the State should be abrogated.

Such considerations will form the basis of our principled effort to obtain the peace of economic security within our own country.

But for the assurance of that larger peace which depends not on us but on the nations of the world, we must await a more enlightened internationalism. In international affairs, the Darwinian theory seems still to persist though long since dispossessed from its native habitat in Biology. The survival of the fittest appears to be the law of national existence and actions which, in the domestic ambient, would be corrected by police power, are glorified and given the support of armies in the international arena. When will we learn to apply to nations the same principles of morality we apply to individuals? When will we learn that nations, as well as men, are created equal before the law? Until we do, all nations, the great as well as the small, are in jeopardy; the great may repel invasion, they have yet to succeed in repelling War. The present competition for mathematical equality is a trepidating evidence of mutual distrust and a proof of reliance in strength for the enforcement of claims. We must inveigh against and deplore the conditions which warrant this cynicism of preparedness. And I venture to propose that, of these conditions, the most pernicious is the prevailing concept of the State as a political and economic, rather than a moral, entity. When Louis Quatorze said, "I am the State," he at least made the State a responsible person. Today, State absolutism is impersonal and neuter. Unless this is corrected, the Congress of nations will continue to be regulated by a diplomatic, rather than a moral, code; governments will be recognized as great or small; the voice of power, instead of truth, will continue to be the decisive voice; and the freedom of little nations will depend on their ability to remain unnoticed or undesirable.

Against the aggression of arms, the Philippines will have no fortress on land or sea. Competitive armament would be a tragic error. The only defense of the Philippines will be its spirit--its articulated cultural unity which will give it protection in the indestructible integration of character. If war comes, or fresh conquest from whatever source, we shall oppose it to the death; but we shall oppose it alone. We shall not ask the shedding of another's blood to spare our own. We shall not make the Philippines the Sarajevo of another world Armageddon. Let no one fear it. To the Philippines, the United States has been a generous benefactor; a loyal and true friend; and if, "Sir, President, we can honor

ad 5--Carlos P. Romulo, Notre Dame

that debt in no other way, we can pay with our lives, if need be, lest any act of ours should be a prelude to the weeping of American mothers for their dead. We are a poor nation but not, I hope, without valor and gratitude.

We have requested independence: The American people have granted it. So let it be: and may it prove a blessing for both and a pledge of friendship through the years that are to come. We shall go forward bulwarked with abiding faith in God; confident of the particular good-will of the United States and the smity of our Far Eastern neighbors; and we shall take our place glorying in our freedom, with restrained courage, ambitious of peace, with malice toward none and with charity toward all.

We thank you, Mr. President, Prelates, the Faculty of Notre Dame, for the honor you have, this day, conferred upon us and we bring to each and all the expression of high regard and cordial esteem from the Honorable Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth.

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STATEMENTS FILE
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FOR THE PRESS:

This address of the President, to be delivered at Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Ind., on Monday, December 9, 1935, MUST BE HELD IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 3:30 P.M.
Central Time.

C A U T I O N: PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

M. H. McINTYRE
Assistant Secretary to the President.

In acknowledging the honor which through the granting of this Degree the University of Notre Dame confers upon me, I wish first personally to thank your President, the Very Reverend John F. O'Hara, and all the members of your faculty. I deeply appreciate the honor and the accompanying citations. One in public life learns that personally he can never be worthy of the honors that come to him as an official of the United States. But it is equally true that I am most happy to be so honored. The honor places upon me an additional obligation to try to live up to the citation - both for the sake of my country and as a new Alumnus of the University of Notre Dame. I am glad to take part in this special convocation called to honor the new Commonwealth of the Philippines. forty years ago the United States took over the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands. The acceptance of sovereignty was but an obligation to serve the people of the Philippines until the day they might themselves be independent and take their own place among the nations of the world.

We are here to welcome the Commonwealth. I consider it one of the happiest events of my office as President of the United States to have signed in the name of the United States the instrument which will give national freedom to the Philippines people.

The time is not given me to recite the history of these forty years. That history reveals one of the most extraordinary examples of national cooperation, national adjustment and national independence the world has ever witnessed. It is a

tribute to the genius of the Philippine people. Subject to the government of a country other than their own, they generously adjusted themselves to conditions often not to their liking; they patiently waited; they forfeited none of that freedom which is natively theirs as a people, and which they have so definitely expressed with due regard for fundamental human rights in their new constitution.

We have a clear right also to congratulate ourselves as a people because in the long run we have chosen the right course with respect to the Philippine Islands. Through our power we have not sought our own. Through our power we have sought to benefit others.

That both nations kept to the policy leading to this most happy result is due to the fact that both nations have the deepest respect for the inalienable rights of man. These rights were specifically championed more than a century and a half ago in our own Declaration of Independence. These same rights are championed in the new Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth.

There can be no true national life either within a nation itself or between that nation and other nations unless there be the specific acknowledgment of, and the support of organic law to, the rights of man. Supreme among those rights we, and now the Philippine Commonwealth, hold to be the rights of freedom of education and freedom of religious worship.

This University from which we send our welcome to the new Commonwealth exemplifies the principles of which I speak. Through the history of this great Middle-West - its first explorers and first missionaries - Joliet, Marquette, De-La Salle, Hennepin - its lone eagle, Father Badin, who is buried here - its apostolic father Sorin, founder of Notre Dame University - its zealous missionaries

of other faiths - its pioneers of varied nationalities - all have contributed to the upbuilding of our country because all have subscribed to these fundamental principles of freedom - freedom of education, freedom of worship.

Long ago, George Mason in the Virginia Declaration of Rights voiced what has become one of the deepest convictions of the American people: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."

In the conflict of policies and of political systems ~~which~~
~~the world today witnesses,~~ the United States has held forth for its own guidance and for the guidance of other nations if they will accept it, this great torch of liberty of human thought, liberty of human conscience. We will never lower it. We will never permit, if we can help it, the light to grow dim. Rather through every means legitimately within our power and our office, we will seek to increase that light, that its rays may extend the farther; that its glory may be seen even from afar.

Every vindication of the sanctity of these rights at home; every prayer that other nations may accept them, is an indication of how virile, how living ~~they~~ they are in the hearts of every true American.

Of their own initiative, by their own appreciation, the Philippine Commonwealth has now also championed them before the world. Through the favor of Divine Providence may they be blessed as a people with prosperity. May they grow in grace through their own Constitution to the peace and well-being of the whole world.

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