
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**

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1940 September 20

**Philadelphia, PA –
Address at University of Pennsylvania**

Just draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 20, 1940

In this strange period of relapse in the history of the world, when in some lands it has become almost a custom to burn books and to decree ^{fire by government} national forms of religion, morality and culture, it is more than a mere routine to join with you in happily celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this University of Pennsylvania ~~now~~. I am honored in becoming an alumnus. The very foundation of this institution was concerned with ~~the ideas of~~ freedom of religious teaching and free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education.

I am told that it was originally thought of as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor Whitehead might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservative respectability of Philadelphia threw in his path; indeed, it was to make it unnecessary for him to preach ^{out and side of the} in the open fields when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of its founders to make it a source of education to the children of the artisans of the city, the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the University through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength of freedom in human thought and action.

Here is living proof of the validity and force of a single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the great masses of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people through these two centuries have worked to win and hold the privilege of free government.

inspired
When this institution was first ~~begun~~ by the earliest liberal among American patriots, Benjamin Franklin, there had already developed strong national governments in Europe which had become sufficiently powerful to impose peace and prevent violence among their populace. The earlier system of small independent and warring barons and principalities had given way to strong national governments, with centralized political power.

But even by that time there was a growing feeling that government was too often conducted solely for the benefit of a privileged few at the expense of the overwhelming majority

of the population. With that feeling there had come gradually into being in various nations bodies of representatives of the common people to provide limitations on arbitrary power ~~by~~ through popular participation in government. Soon thereafter came the American Revolution itself, which brought about political independence ~~in these Colonies~~ from the rule of force ~~from~~ abroad. winning of political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of universal suffrage.

It cannot be denied that Hamilton, by reason of the general recognition of his own ~~peculiar~~ unselfishness ~~which~~ respect to himself and to his associates in places of high responsibility, had acquired a very large following among the people of his day. His adherents probably constituted even a majority of those who were entitled to vote.

The better elements of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school, and were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the best educated and the ~~richest men~~
^{VOTES of the most successful} citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. So long as the voters of the nation regardless of higher education or property possessions were free to exercise their choice, without hindrance, in the polling place, the country would have ~~nothing~~^{no cause} to fear ~~from~~ the abolishment of free elections and the substitution of the hand of tyranny.

since Hamilton

At all times in our history there have been many Americans
who still wished to confine the ballot to ~~a~~ limited group ^{of people}.
groups. A quarter of a century ago, President Elliott of Harvard
^{has views not} summarized one phase of this when he said to me "Roosevelt, I
am convinced, ~~for example~~, that even though we have multiplied
our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher
learning seems to have come into its own, ~~that~~ if the ballot
were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the
nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem
ungracious in a very new degree holder to say this to this
audience of degree holders, but my authority is a great educator,
noted for his effort to disseminate college educational facilities
throughout the country.

If ~~I~~ ^{a citizen} run a farm, employing a farmer and his wife and
several farm hands, ~~I would rather~~ ^{on matters of government} their aggregate
judgment on election day than if the right to vote were con-
fined to ~~them~~. If with the help of a Board of Directors,
a large number of Vice Presidents, and a group of managers
and foremen ~~run~~ ^{on candidates and on election issues} a plant with their hands than ~~the few~~ ^{in judgment} confined to the few
~~people~~ ^{at the top}. If I ~~was~~ the President of a railroad, I would
~~more~~

rather, in matters affecting government, trust the aggregate

^{and} ~~franchise~~
opinion of the engineers and brakemen and conductors and

trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others than

~~law~~ ^{law} ~~the right to~~ ^{the franchise} ~~confined to myself and the division~~

superintendents at the top.

^{Only too often in our political}
~~And, surely no a matter of history, we know that~~

~~we have tried + advised + dictated to~~ ^{occasionally}
~~efforts on the part of the few at the top to tell the many~~

^{sometimes even}
lower down how they should vote, using ~~no request to say,~~

~~and~~ threats ^{and} dire prophecies ~~to some cause~~, have met with
little success.

^{of party by envelope unless their}
~~There are, I regret to say, Even today in certain~~ ^{advice is followed. Fortunately for}
~~quarters, demands for a return to a type of government to~~ ^{the preservation of democracy and self-}
^{constituted}
^{reposeance}
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the control of those few, who, because of business ability
^{supposed to be} or economic omniscience, are just a touch above the average

of the present governmental system. As in the days of
^{one of our own generation shall} Hamilton, ~~but~~ give them all credit for pure intention and

high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of ~~desire~~ could
^{political thinking}
^{lead to government}
with ease ~~be used~~ by selfish seekers for power and

riches and glory. The great danger is that once the

government falls into the hands of a few elite,
^{after} ^{a wise selection}
^{a Entertainment} of free elections might be adopted as

the means of keeping them in power.

~~As long as periodic free elections survive, these people~~

~~cannot permanently control government.~~

~~It has always been~~

~~there are those who would demagogue their way into places of~~

~~responsibility. We have had examples in recent days. They usually~~

~~are able to obtain large followings among unthinking people and among~~

~~those who saw therein a short-cut to office. There is much shouting and tumult; they rise high and fast. But the~~

~~decline and fall of the demagogue is equally swift.~~

Why? Because of the simple fact that our system of and the sense of humor and intelligence of the American people -- periodic free elections still lives; The untrammeled language of the demagogue is living and vital proof that free elections in the United States are still with us -- and should be.

I have said this because it is a ~~principle~~ to an argument

contrast to things which have happened in other lands. A

decade ago, for example, the German people were dismasted

with the processes of their ~~new~~ democracy which were based on

the free use of the franchise. They turned to a new cult

called "Nazism" -- a minority group which expressed extra-

ordinary patriotism and offered better government through ~~the rule of~~

~~a handful of persons believed to have~~ special aptitude for government.

In those days ~~the~~ emphasis was placed on the purity of purpose of this special group. Many people of large business affairs, dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed alliances with the small group ~~and did so, in all probability, with the belief~~ ^{political and economic} that free elections would not be abolished. It is worth noting that during that period nothing was said about the abolishing of free elections.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. And free elections, the free choice of heads of government, were quickly wiped out. It is, of course, a travesty on fact to claim that there is ^{The right of} any free choice of governors in that nation today, or has there ever been one since 1933. What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, ^{and government by special classes} if the philosophy of the restricted vote were adopted, did actually happen in Germany.

Many years ago, in speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote ^{long} ~~long~~ ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind . . . as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance

also, and keep pace with the times".

We ~~can expect that~~ ^{follow that rule} today as readily as then, on the sole condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods ~~must~~ remain within the continuing framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and ^{with the advent of the industrial age} the free use of unoccupied lands have ended, and that certain financial and industrial controls have become necessary to prevent relatively small groups from harming or cutting the throats of other very large groups.

Furthermore, we have -- largely through the processes of education -- developed new beliefs in our responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life, for example, to consider the duty of government in its relationship to starving people or unemployed people. Twenty years ago people had scarcely given thought to the term "minimum wages" or to the thought of the necessity of the insurance of bank deposits, or to the belief in the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

Benjamin Franklin himself realized that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
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The better elements of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school, and were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the best educated and the richest male citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspecuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. So long as the voters of the nation regardless of higher education or property possessions were free to exercise their choice, without hindrance, in the polling place, the country would have nothing to fear from the abolishment of free elections and the substitution of the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history there have been many Americans who still wished to confine the ballot to a limited group or groups. A quarter of a century ago, President Elliott of Harvard summarized one phase of this when he said to me "Roosevelt, I am convinced, for example, that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, that if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious in a very new degree holder to say this to this audience of degree holders, but my authority is a great educator, noted for his effort to disseminate college educational facilities throughout the country.

If I own a farm, employing a farmer and his wife and several farm hands, I would rather trust their aggregate judgment on election day than if the right to vote were confined to myself. If with the help of a Board of Directors, a large number of Vice Presidents, and a group of managers and foremen I run a factory or a series of factories, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all those who toil with their hands than if the franchise were confined to the top people. If I am the President of a railroad, I would

rather, in matters affecting government, trust the aggregate opinion of the engineers and brakemen and conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others than if the right to vote were confined to myself and the division superintendents.

And, purely as a matter of history, we know that efforts on the part of the few at the top to tell the many lower down how they should vote, using, we regret to say, even threats or dire prophesies in some cases, have met with little success.

There are, I regret to say, even today in certain quarters, demands for a return to a type of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are just a touch above the average of the present governmental system. As in the days of Hamilton, let us give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of American could with ease be succeeded by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory.

As long as periodic free elections survive, these people cannot permanently control government. As always in our history, there are those who would demagogue their way into places of responsibility. We have had examples in recent days. They obtained large followings among unthinking people and among those who saw therein a short-cut to office. There is much shouting and tumult. They grow greatly and speedily. But the decline and fall of the demagogue is equally swift.

Why? Because of the simple fact that our system of periodic free elections still lives. The untrammeled language of the demagogue is living and vital proof that free elections in the United States are still with us -- and should be.

I have said this because it is a prelude by way of contrast to things which have happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people were dissatisfied with the processes of their own democracy which were based on the free use of the franchise. They leaned to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which expressed extraordinary patriotism and offered better government through persons believed to have special aptitude for government.

In those days much emphasis was placed on the purity of purpose of this special group. Many people of large business affairs, dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed alliances with the small group and did so, in all probability, with the belief that free elections would not be abolished. It is worth noting that during that period nothing was said about the abolishing of free elections.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. And it is, of course, a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of Governors in that nation today.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote were adopted, did actually happen in Germany.

Many years ago, in speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance

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We can expect that today as readily as then, on the sole condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods shall remain within the continuing framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended and that certain controls have become necessary to prevent relatively small groups from harming or cutting the throats of other very large groups.

Furthermore, we have -- largely through the processes of education -- developed new beliefs in our responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life, for example, to consider the duty of government in its relationship to starving people or unemployed people. Twenty years ago people had scarcely given thought to the term "minimum wages" or to the thought of the necessity of the insurance of bank deposits, or to the belief in the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 30, 1940

In this strange period of relapse in the history of the world, when in some lands it has become almost a custom to burn books and to decree national forms of religion, morality and culture, it is more than a mere routine to join with you in happily celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this University of Pennsylvania and I am honored in becoming an alumnus. The very foundation of this institution was concerned with the ideas of freedom of religious teaching and free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education.

I am told that it was originally thought of as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor Whitehead might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservative respectability of Philadelphia threw in his path; indeed, it was to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the open fields when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of its founders to make it a source of education to the children of the artisans of the city, the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

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of the population. With that feeling there had come gradually into being in various nations bodies of representatives of the common people to provide limitations on arbitrary power by popular participation in government. Soon thereafter came the American Revolution itself, which brought about political independence in these Colonies from the rule of force from abroad by monarchical and aristocratic power. With the winning of political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of universal suffrage.

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Second Draft.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
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With our winning ^{first} of political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of universal suffrage.

It cannot be denied that Hamilton, by reason of the general recognition of his own unselfishness as to himself and as to his associates in places of high responsibility, had acquired a very large following among the people of his day. His adherents probably constituted even a majority of those who were entitled to vote.

The better elements of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school, ^{Many Americans of those days} and were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the ~~most~~ educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolition of free elections.

For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guarantee

of popular government.

So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice without hindrance, in the polling place, the country would have no cause to fear ~~the abolition~~ of free elections and the ~~substitution~~ of the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who, still sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Elliott of Harvard summarized his views ~~as to one phase of this~~ when he said to me: "Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious ~~for~~ a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college educational facilities throughout the country.

(A)

If a citizen ~~owns~~ a farm, employing a farmer and his wife and several farm hands, their aggregate judgment on election day on matters of government would ~~probably~~ be sounder than if the ~~voters~~ ^{judgment} were confined to the farm owner himself.

B

INSERT A - PAGE 5

D I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of
the superior ability of the ~~great mass of~~ voters ~~in~~

in free and unhampered elections, to pass upon ~~great~~
political and social issues as ~~compared with that of~~

~~the~~ smaller group of individuals at the top of the
~~financial or social or educational~~ structure.

P If with the help of a Board of Directors, a large number of Vice Presidents, and a group of managers and foremen, a citizen runs a factory or a series of factories, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment on candidates and on election issues of ~~the~~ ^{These and if} those who toil in the plants with their hands, than a judgment confined to the few people ^{in charge} at the top. If I were the President of a railroad, I would rather, in matters affecting government, trust the aggregate opinion of the engineers and firemen and brakemen and conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others, than have the right to the franchise ~~confined~~ ^{rested} to myself and the few division superintendents, ~~at the top.~~

Only too often in our political history, ~~we know that~~, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote, ~~sometimes even using threats~~ ~~and dire prophecies of scanty pay envelopes unless their advice was followed.~~ Fortunately for the preservation of democracy such self-constituted repositories of political wisdom have met ~~with little success.~~

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of ~~the present~~ ^{all}, ~~men~~

11/17/34
~~governmental system.~~ As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite ~~a few usurpers~~ curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government ~~because each election is a new election and not a recurrence of an old election.~~ Complete and ~~enduring~~ safety of our form of government rests, therefore, in maintaining free elections ~~for four years.~~

~~Always in our history there have been those who would demagogue their way into places of responsibility. They usually are able to obtain large followings among unthinking or dissatisfied people and among those who see therein a short-cut to office for themselves. There is much shouting and tumult; they rise high and fast. But the decline and fall of the demagogue is generally equally swift. Why? Because of the simple fact that our system of periodic free elections still lives; and the sense of humor and intelligence of the American~~

voter still persists. The untrammelled language of the demagogue
such candidates has always furnished living and vital proof that free elections
in the United States and freedom of speech at election time are
still with us and should be.

P No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a free election.
P I have said this because it is so significant by way of

contrast to things which have happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people grew weary of privation and despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days ~~the principal~~ ^{by the small group in the government} emphasis was placed ~~on the purity of purpose of this special~~ ^{influenced by several factors and} ~~group.~~ Nothing was said about abolishing ~~free elections~~. Many people of large business affairs, dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. The right of free elections, the free choice of heads of government, ~~partly~~ ^{by a minority} were quickly wiped out. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of ~~governments~~ ^{public officials} in that nation today, or

that there ever has been one since 1933.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote and government by special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany.

Many years ago, in speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times".

We follow that rule today as readily as then, on the sole condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the continuing framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age and that certain controls have become necessary to prevent relatively small financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other very large groups.

; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between small units of finance and industry on one side and a great mass of workers and small business men on the other side;

~~Furthermore~~, we have -- largely through the processes of education -- developed new beliefs in our responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life, ~~for example~~, to consider the duty of government in its relationship to starving people or unemployed people. ^{what and relationships} ~~in its~~ ^{and to take steps to fulfil its} ~~to the~~ ^{Duty} ~~to them~~ A generation years ago people had scarcely given thought to the term "social security" ^{maximum limit.} ~~minimum wages~~ ^{Inserts D & E} ~~or to the thought of the necessity of the insurance of bank deposits~~ ~~or to the belief in the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poverty~~ ~~to whom this Ministry owes so much~~ Benjamin Franklin himself realized that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past. ^{Too} Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

Here take in "X" on p. 11

It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious effective way to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of fertile soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; ~~to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poor house,~~

~~to the insurance of bank deposits,~~

INSERT E - PAGE 10

P These are ^{some of the} new instruments of social justice which democracy has forged in America during the last seven years to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor -- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security.

These are the means ^{which} our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

It is the function of education to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture which has been tested in the fire of history. It is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We ~~can~~ ^{cannot always} build the future for our youth; we can ~~only~~ build our youth for the future.

X Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Principles and ideals are changeless; methods and means are mutable.

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds could not be subdued by power, ^{to} ~~of tyranny.~~ ~~the root of all evil~~ ~~brought by the people and power of the mightiest of tyrants.~~ They may live ~~in~~ ^{blot} ~~in~~ ~~exile~~; their bodies may be mutilated and tortured, but their ideas cannot be ~~broken~~ cut.

The greatest tragedy of this tragic period is that men seek escape from their own failure to adapt their thinking to new facts of civilization by revolting against reason and religion. They seek escape from their own failures by substituting force for morality, [by burning books], by exiling scholars, by spurning learning, by degrading art, and by denying God.

~~Let us not err. This revolt against ideals of civilization~~
~~lized living and culture symbolizes not physical~~
~~triumph alone, for it also admits~~^{as much as}~~intellectual failure.~~

If the disciples of that revolt in our own land -- and there are already too many of them in places high and places low -- should increase their strength, we who take pride in our learning and our peaceful humanities will not escape our share of the shame and blame.

about F
It is the task of men of thought [even more than men] of action. If democracy is to survive, to put aside pride and prejudice and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- find the truth and teach the truth
that shall make men free.

INSERT F Page 13

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems and the agonies of his society.

Principles without social content are empty, just as social content without principles are meaningless. The times call for bold belief that the world can be changed by man's endeavor and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds which unite him to his society by simply averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new and have sufficient courage and skill to face ^{real} new facts and to deal with them. He must be trained to measure and appraise in a realistic sense the old, ^{and} the new, the familiar -- and to judge whether they fit the contours of new conditions or whether they are merely phrases and formulas suited to a departed past.

your B.M.D

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 20, 1940.

This is a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world ~~when~~^{for} in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George Whitehead might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. ~~I~~
desired
Indeed, it was to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of ~~the~~^{The} founders to make it a source of education to the children of the ~~artisans of the city, the~~ poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the University through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and hold the privilege of free government.

With the ~~winning~~ ^{gaining} of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of ^{free} _A universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if

government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have ~~wanted~~ sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized his views when he said to me:

"Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

Proposed Article
(A) If with the help of a Board of Directors, a large number of Vice Presidents, and a group of managers and foremen, a citizen runs a factory or a series of factories, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment on candidates and on election issues of them and of those who toil in the plants with their hands, than a judgment confined to the few people in charge. If a citizen, owning a farm, employs a farmer and his wife and several farm hands, their aggregate or total judgment on election day on matters of government would be sounder than if the

PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE PAGE #4

A

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all the people in a factory -- the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers -- rather than the judgment of the few ^{who may be financially interested.} _{people in charge.} On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

judgment were confined to the farm owner himself. If I were the President of a railroad, I would rather, in matters affecting government, trust the aggregate opinion of the management plus that of the engineers and firemen and brakemen and conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others, than have the right to the franchise restricted to myself and the few division superintendents.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

(B)

I can never
forget that some
well-meaning people
^{everybody}
had seriously
suggested that the
right to vote be
denied to American
men & women who
though we forgot,
their own had lost their
jobs and, in order to
keep the family & the home

(B)

going, were working on
welfare relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of
people can permanently control government. ^{In the maintenance of free elections with} complete and
enduring safety of our form of government ~~we~~, therefore,
~~the maintenance of free elections.~~

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet
of a really free election.

Proposed Anti-Soviet C.I. [I have said this because it is so significant by way of
contrast to things which have happened in other hands.] A decade
ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes
of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the
franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called
"Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary
patriotism and offered bread and shelter and better government
through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special
aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed
emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity
of purpose. Nothing was ^{ever} said about abolishing free elections.
Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several
factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed
political and economic alliances with this small group. ✓

C

PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE PAGE #6

These fundamental truths have become commonplace
among Americans, except only in a very few places. *but*
it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to
understand what has happened in other lands.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. *Did following the same
principles of purpose*
right of free elections ^{and} the free choice of heads of government,
were suddenly wiped out by a new regime. It is a travesty on
fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials
in that nation today, or that there ever has been once since 1933.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if
the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by
special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany. *before our
very eyes*

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out
that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and
upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long
time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand
in hand with the progress of the human mind As new
discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and
opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions
must advance also, and keep pace with the times".

along
We must follow that rule today as readily as then, with
the ~~same~~ condition that any change in institutions or in economic
Shall not
methods must remain within the ~~communistic~~ framework of a freely
elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between ~~small~~ units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small business men on the other []; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent ~~the~~ ^{a few} financial and ~~and~~ industrial groups from harassing or cutting the throats of other ~~very large~~ groups ~~smaller in size, but much greater number,~~

We have at the same time ~~largely through the processes~~, ~~of education~~ developed new beliefs in ~~the~~ responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the ~~existing and~~ relationships of government are to its starving ~~people~~ or unemployed ~~people~~, ~~citizens~~ and to take steps to fulfill its ~~responsibilities~~ to them.

A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security", "minimum wages" or "maximum hours".

~~No it~~ It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric

water power, reclamation of ~~seaside~~ soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

These are some of the new instruments of social justice which ~~democracy~~ has forged in America during the last seven years to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor -- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security. These are the means which our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this University owes so much, realized too that while basis principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past. Growth and change are /

the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture which has been tested in the fire of history. It is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future ~~for~~ of our youth; we can build our youth for the future.

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny. ~~They may live in exile; their bodies may be mutilated and tortured, but their ideas cannot be blotted out.~~

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds which unite him to his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and to deal with them. He must be trained to measure and appraise in a realistic sense the old and the familiar -- and to judge whether they fit the contours of new conditions or whether they are merely phrases and formulas suited to a departed past.

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free. We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of ~~something~~, the deep ^{spirit} ~~rejoicing~~ ^{of achieving} ~~something~~ for something beyond ^{far} knowledge ^{more gloriously} ourselves, the ~~sense~~ that we ~~are~~ build ~~something~~ than we know.

Copy of Dr. D.

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 20, 1940.

This is a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world, when in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George Whitehead might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of its founders to make it a source of education to the children of the artisans of the city, the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the University through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and hold the privilege of free government.

With the winning of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if

government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have still sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized his views when he said to me:

"Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

If with the help of a Board of Directors, a large number of Vice Presidents, and a group of managers and foremen, a citizen runs a factory or a series of factories, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment on candidates and on election issues of them and of those who toil in the plants with their hands, than a judgment confined to the few people in charge. If a citizen, owning a farm, employs a farmer and his wife and several farm hands, their aggregate or total judgment on election day on matters of government would be sounder than if the

judgment were confined to the farm owner himself. If I were the President of a railroad, I would rather, in matters affecting government, trust the aggregate opinion of the management plus that of the engineers and firemen and brakemen and conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others, than have the right to the franchise restricted to myself and the few division superintendents.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government. Complete and enduring safety of our form of government rests, therefore, in maintaining free elections.

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a really free election.

I have said this because it is so significant by way of contrast to things which have happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was said about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. The right of free elections, the free choice of heads of government, were suddenly wiped out by a new regime. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials in that nation today, or that there ever has been once since 1933.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany.

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times".

We must follow that rule today as readily as then, with the sole condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the continuing framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between small units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small business men on the other side; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent the relatively small financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other very large groups.

We have at the same time -- largely through the processes of education -- developed new beliefs in our responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the duties and relationships of government are to its starving people or unemployed people, and to take steps to fulfill its responsibilities to them. A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security", "minimum wages" or "maximum hours".

It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric

water power, reclamation of fertile soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; &c to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

These are some of the new instruments of social justice which democracy has forged in America during the last seven years to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor -- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security. These are the means which our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this University owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past. Growth and change are

the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture which has been tested in the fire of history. It is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future of our youth; we can build our youth for the future.

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny. They may live in exile; their bodies may be mutilated and tortured, but their ideas cannot be blotted out.

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds which united him to his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and to deal with them. He must be trained to measure and appraise in a realistic sense the old and the familiar -- and to judge whether they fit the contours of new conditions or whether they are merely phrases and formulas suited to a departed past.

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

INTERPOLATIONS:

Opening:

"President Gates, my friend the Chief Justice of Canada,
and all of my friends of the University:

I am very greatly honored to have the privilege of
wearing this hood.

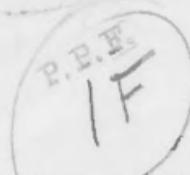
I am very happy in the present University of Pennsylvania.
I cannot say that I am wholly happy that the founders of
the University chose the year 1740. They might have had
that great attribute which I have so long sought of looking
ahead and planning. They would have founded the University
in 1739, lest the two hundredth anniversary should fall in
an election year. Thereby, I, at least, would have been
saved much embarrassment. And what I want to say to you
today very simply I might as readily and easily have
written in the Autumn of '39. For even then we were in
the midst of a strange period -- (pick up first paragraph
of release)

Fourth line of second paragraph of release:

Change "Whitehead" to "Whitefield."

Third page, third line:

"control of a fewer number of people, people who, because
of business ability or what I like to think of as economic
omniscience, -- I took four years of economics when I
was an undergraduate at Harvard and everything I was
taught is outside of all the textbooks today. The older
I grow, the less omniscient I become in regard to
economics, and I think most of us do -- people who are
supposed to have that ability are supposed -- (pick up
on fourth line.)



9/26/44

~~HOLD FOR RELEASE~~

~~HOLD FOR RELEASE~~

~~HOLD FOR RELEASE~~

September 20, 1940

~~CARSON:~~ The following address of the President, ~~to be~~ delivered in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, in connection with the 200th anniversary of the founding of the University of Pennsylvania, ~~WILL BE HELD IN CONFERENCE until released. Friday, September 20, 1940, 3 PM EST~~

~~NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 3:00 P.M., E.S.T., September 20, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.~~

~~CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.~~

~~STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President~~

~~... a period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.~~

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George Whitefield might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the university through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolition of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guarantee of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized his views when he said to me: "Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem uncharitable for a very now degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all the people in a factory -- the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers -- rather than the judgment of the few who may be financially interested. On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of ~~the~~
~~elite~~, ~~the~~, ~~elite~~, ~~elite~~, ~~elite~~, ~~elite~~, ~~elite~~, ~~elite~~,
~~elite~~ to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

I can never forget that some well-meaning people have even recently seriously suggested that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and enduring safety of our form of government.

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the ~~sunt-~~let of a really free election.

These fundamental truths have become commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

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We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace, not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves, the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know.

* * * * *

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED IN
CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, IN CONNec-
TION WITH THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1930, 5 P.M., E.S.T.

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President Gates, my friend the Chief Justice of Canada,
and all of my friends of the University:

I am very greatly honored to have the privilege of
wearing this hood.

I am very happy in the present University of Pennsylvania. I cannot say that I am wholly happy that the founders of the University chose the year 1740. They might have had that great attribute which I have so long sought of looking ahead and planning. They would have founded the University in 1730, lest the two hundredth anniversary should fall in an election year. Thereby, I, at least, would have been saved much embarrassment. And what I want to say to you today very simply I might as readily and easily have written in the Autumn of '39. For even then we were in the midst of a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world — for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George Whitefield might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

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Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

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Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of a fewer number of people, people who, because of business ability or what I like to think of as economic omniscience, -- I took four years of economics when I was an undergraduate at Harvard and everything I was taught is outside of all the textbooks today. The older I grow, the less omniscient I become in regard to economics, and I think most of us do -- people who are supposed to have that ability are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 20, 1940

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With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized his views when he said to me: "Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the

Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all the people in a factory -- the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers -- rather than the judgment of the few who may be financially interested.

On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of those few, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure

intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

I can never forget that some well-meaning people have even recently seriously suggested that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and enduring safety of our form of government.

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a really free election.

These fundamental truths have become commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany.

The right of free elections and the free choice of heads of government, were suddenly wiped out by a new regime, still professing the same purity of purpose. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials in that nation today, or that there ever has been one since 1933.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany before our very eyes.

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times".

We must follow that rule today as readily as then, always with the condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the same old framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small business men on the other; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent a few financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other groups smaller in size but much greater in number.

We have at the same time developed new beliefs in governmental responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the relationships of government are to its starving or unemployed citizens, and to take steps to fulfill its duties to them.

A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security", "minimum wages" or "maximum hours". It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

These are some of the new instruments of social justice which America has forged to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor -- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security. These are the means which our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats

which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this university owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past.

Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture which has been tested in the fire of history.

It is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth; to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future for our youth; we can build our youth for the future.

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny.

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds which unite him to

his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and to deal with them.

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace, not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves, the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

*Orig. reading copy
test array ad lib.*

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
SEPTEMBER 20, 1940

This is a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend ^{just} Doctor George Whitehead might preach his religion without

certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the university through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED IN
CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, IN CONNEC-
TION WITH THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1940, 3 P.M., E.S.T.

President Gates, my friend the Chief Justice of Canada,
and all of my friends of the University:

I am very greatly honored to have the privilege of wearing
this hood.

I am very happy in the present University of Pennsylvania.
I cannot say that I am wholly happy that the founders of the University
chose the year 1740. They might have had that great attribute
which I have so long sought of looking ahead and planning. They
would have founded the University in 1739, lest the two hundredth
anniversary should fall in an election year. Thereby, I, at least,
would have been saved much embarrassment. And what I want to say
to you today very simply I might as readily and easily have written
in the Autumn of '39. For even then we were in the midst of (this
is) a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization
of the world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn
the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national
forms of religion, morality and culture and education. In such a
time it is more than a mere formality, at a time like this, to join
with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free
and independent institution of scholarship. And, therefore, I am
doubly honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsyl-
vania. (Applause)

The very foundation of (this) the University was concerned

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 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.

return to existing old way of forcing others to do

good job

return to returning others old si good way of

existing old way of forcing others to do

(unintelligible) class

existing old way of forcing others to do

with freedom of religious teaching, (and) with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher (education) learning. And, as I understand my history, this (it) was originally proposed as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George (Whitehead) Whitefield, who, incidentally, used to go to my little County of Dutchess on the Hudson River -- a place where Dr. George Whitefield, might preach his religion without certain difficulties which -- what shall I say? -- the old conservatives of Philadelphia at that time threw in his path. (Laughter) Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for (him) the good gentleman to preach in the sun and the rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise (would go) might have gone untaught.

The survival and the growth of the University through these two whole centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength (which) that is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and the force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Yes, events in (the) this world of ours today are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people in the olden days have fought and have worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom you will remember that there came (the) a conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton -- who was such a good friend of my great-grandfather

that he named one of his sons Hamilton and the other Alexander Hamilton -- that point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and, on the other hand, the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives chosen (of) by all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought and free personal living and free religion and free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school of thought were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was, however, with rare perspicuity, as time has shown, (however) that Jefferson had pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop, in the long run, into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, (which) that would ultimately lead to the abolition of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. Just so long as the voters of the Nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were

free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history (since Hamilton) of nearly a century and a half since then, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. It was a quarter of a century ago that President Eliot of Harvard University summarized (his) this view(s) when he said to me something like this: He said, "Roosevelt, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, nevertheless, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the Nation would go on the rocks in a very few years."

(Laughter) It may -- it may seem ungracious for a very new degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders (laughter), but my authority for this that view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

And I must admit that I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the (superior) ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

On candidates and on election issues -- and remember that I am trying to think of this year as being 1939 (laughter) -- I would rather trust the aggregate judgment, for example, of all the people in a factory -- the president and all the vice presidents and the board of directors, and the managers and the foremen, plus all the

laborers -- rather than in the judgment of the few who may (be) have financial(ly) (interested) control at the time. (Applause) And on such questions the aggregate -- for another example -- the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, of the farmer and of all the farm hands will be sounder, I think, than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president and its superintendents, its engineers, its foremen, its brakemen, its conductors and trainmen and telegraphers and porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of the management, or of the principal stockholders themselves. (Applause)

Only too often -- and we know many examples -- in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they (should) have got to vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of (thse few) a fewer number of people, people who, because of business ability or what I like to think of as economic omniscience, -- I took four years of economics when I was an undergraduate at Harvard and everything I was taught is outside of all the textbooks today. The older I grow, the less omniscient I become in regard to economics, and I think most of us do -- people who are supposed to have that ability are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by self-

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As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can (permanently control government) can deny the right to vote to any other set. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and the enduring safety of our form of government.

And remember that no dictator in history has ever dared to run the gauntlet of a really free election. (Applause)

(These) Fundamental truths (have become) like these have been stated so often that they are perhaps commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, in 1930, (the German people) the people of Germany, the people who lived in the Reich despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazi-ism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by (this) that special group on

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We have at the same time developed new beliefs in governmental responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the relationship(s) of government (are) is to its starving people (or), to its unemployed citizens, and to take steps to fulfill its governmental duties to them.

(A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security," "minimum wages" or "maximum hours." It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.)

(These are some of the new) There are many instruments of social justice (which) that America has forged to meet the new conditions of industry and agriculture and finance and labor. I will not enumerate them, for you know them. (-- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security.) These many new instruments are the means (which) that our own generation (have) has adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this University owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science and of morality and (of) the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the pattern(s) of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist, were he with us today, that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not terms of the past. (Applause) Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

Eternal truths will be neither true nor eternal unless they have fresh meaning for every new social situation.

It is the function of education, the function of all of the great institutions of learning in the United States, to provide continuity for our national life -- to transmit to youth the best of our culture (which) that has been tested in the fire of history.

And it is equally the obligation of education to train the minds and the talents of our youth; to improve, through creative citizenship, our American institutions in accord with the requirements of the future.

We cannot always build the future for our youth, but we can build our youth for the future. (Applause)

It is in great universities like this that the ideas which can assure our national safety and make tomorrow's history, are being forged and shaped. Civilization owes most to the men and women, known and unknown, whose free, inquiring minds and restless intellects could not be subdued by the power of tyranny.

This is no time for any man to withdraw into some ivory tower and proclaim the right to hold himself aloof from the problems, yes, and the agonies of his society. The times call for bold belief, belief in the past and belief in the future, that the world can be changed by man's endeavor, and that this endeavor can lead to something new and better. No man can sever the bonds (which) that unite him to his society simply by averting his eyes. He must ever be receptive and sensitive to the new; and have sufficient courage and skill to face novel facts and (to) deal with them.

If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace,

not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves, the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know. (Prolonged applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand by Kanner

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September 20, 1940

CAREFUL following address of the President, ~~was~~ delivered in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, in connection with the 200th anniversary of the founding of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ *Today, Sept 20 1940, 3PM CEST*
NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 3:00 P.M., EST., September 20, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PRETITUDE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

Yesterdays speech, now available at 3 PM
There is a strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national forms of religion, morality and culture! In such a time it is more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of scholarship.) I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this University was concerned with freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed as a place where the good Reverend Doctor George Whitefield might preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old conservatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was desired to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the open fields, when the doors of the established churches were closed against him. And it was the dream of the founders to make it a source of education to the children of the poor who otherwise would go untaught.

The survival and growth of the university through these two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength which is inherent in the American concept of the freedom of human thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought and worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the conflict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely believing in the superiority of government by a small group of public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought, free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and, above all, the right of free universal suffrage.

Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity ~~however~~ that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of ~~sheer~~ human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolishment of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest guaranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history ~~since Hamilton~~, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized this view when he said to me, "Hoover, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years." It may seem ungracious for a very non-degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for ~~this~~ view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure. in 1, 1 67 1930

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all the people in a factory -- the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers -- rather than the judgment of the few who may be financially interested. On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they ~~should~~ vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of ~~business~~, who, because of business ability or economic omniscience, are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elites, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

I can never forget that some well-meaning people have even recently seriously suggested that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

As long as periodic free elections survive, no set of people can permanently control government. In the maintenance of free elections rests the complete and enduring safety of our form of government.

No dictator in history has ever dared to run the ~~count~~ list of a really free election.

Fundamental truths ~~were~~ commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by ~~the~~ special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

You and I know the subsequent history of Germany. The right of free elections and the free choice of heads of government were suddenly wiped out by a new regime, still professing the same purity of purpose. It is a travesty on fact to claim that there is any free choice of public officials in ~~that nation~~ today, or that there ever has been one since 1933.

What Jefferson prophesied might happen in this country, if the philosophy of the restricted vote and of government by special class were adopted, did actually happen in Germany before our very eyes.

Many years ago, speaking in San Francisco, I pointed out that new conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conducted government. As Jefferson wrote a long time ago: "I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times".

We must follow that rule today as readily as then, always with the condition that any change in institutions or in economic methods must remain within the same old framework of a freely elected democratic form of government.

I have pointed out many times that Western migration and the free use of unoccupied lands have ended with the advent of the industrial age; that with the changes wrought by new inventions of steam and electricity, new relationships have arisen between units of finance and industry on one side and the great mass of workers and small business men on the other; and that certain government controls have become necessary to prevent a few financial and industrial groups from harming or cutting the throats of other groups ~~smaller~~ in size but ~~smaller~~ greater in number.

We have at the same time developed new beliefs in governmental responsibilities to humanity as a whole. It is a relatively new thing in American life to consider what the relationship of government is to its starving or unemployed citizens, and to take steps to fulfill its duties to them.

A generation ago people had scarcely given thought to the terms "social security", "minimum wages" or "maximum hours". It is only within recent years that government has given its attention in a serious, effective way to the insurance of bank deposits, to soil conservation, relief to farmers and to farm tenants, development of cheap electric water power, reclamation of soil by proper use of water and forests; to the prevention of fraud and deceit in the sale of securities; to the assurance of the principle of collective bargaining by workers in industry; to government assistance to the blind and the handicapped; or to the need of taking care of elderly people without throwing them into the poorhouse.

These are some of the new instruments of social justice which America has forged to meet the new conditions of industry, agriculture, finance and labor -- conditions which had been neglected too long and which were beginning to endanger our internal security. These are the means which our own generation have adopted to overcome the threats to economic democracy in our land -- threats which in other lands led quickly to political despotism.

Benjamin Franklin, to whom this university owes so much, realized too that while basic principles of natural science, of morality, and of the science of society were eternal and immutable, the application of these principles necessarily change with the patterns of living conditions from generation to generation. I am certain that he would insist that it is the whole duty of the philosopher and the educator to apply the eternal ideals of truth and goodness and justice in terms of the present and not of the past. Growth and change are the law of all life. Yesterday's answers are inadequate for today's problems -- just as the solutions of today will not fill the needs of tomorrow.

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If democracy is to survive, it is the task of men of thought, as well as men of action, to put aside pride and prejudice; and with courage and single-minded devotion -- and above all with humility -- to find the truth and teach the truth that shall keep men free.

We may find in that sense of purpose, the personal peace, not of repose, but of effort, the keen satisfaction of doing, the deep feeling of achievement for something far beyond ourselves; the knowledge that we build more gloriously than we know.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED IN
CONVENTION HALL, PHILADELPHIA, IN CONNEC-
TION WITH THE 200th ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1940, 3 P.M., E.S.T.

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President Gates, my friend the Chief Justice of Canada,
and all of my friends of the University:

I am very greatly honored to have the privilege of
wearing this hood.

I am very happy in the present University of Pennsylvania.
I cannot say that I am wholly happy that the founders of the University
chose the year 1740. They might have had that great attribute
which I have so long sought of looking ahead and planning. They
would have founded the University in 1739, lest the two hundredth
anniversary should fall in an election year. Thereby, I, at least,
would have been saved much embarrassment. And what I want to say
to you today very simply I might as readily and easily have written
in the Autumn of '39. For even then we were in the midst of a
strange period of relapse in the history of the civilization of the
world -- for in some lands it has become the custom to burn the
books of scholars and to fix by government decree the national
forms of religion, morality and culture. In such a time it is
more than a mere formality to join with you in celebrating the two
hundredth anniversary of this free and independent institution of
scholarship. I am honored in becoming an alumnus of the University
of Pennsylvania.

The very foundation of this university was concerned with
freedom of religious teaching, and with free learning for the many
who could not pay for higher education. It was originally proposed
as a place where the good and Reverend Doctor George Whitefield might
preach his religion without certain difficulties which the old con-
servatives of Philadelphia threw in his path. Indeed, it was desired
to make it unnecessary for him to preach in the sun and rain of the
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two centuries are particularly symbolic of the eternal strength
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thought and action. Here is living proof of the validity and force
of single-minded service to the cause of truth.

Events in the world are making the vast majority of our
citizens think more and more clearly about the manner of the growth
of their liberty and freedom, and how hard their people have fought
and worked to win and to hold the privilege of free government.

With the gaining of our political freedom came the con-
flict between the point of view of Alexander Hamilton, sincerely
believing in the superiority of government by a small group of
public-spirited and usually wealthy citizens, and the point of view
of Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of government by representatives
of all the people, an advocate of the universal right of free thought,
free personal living, free religion, free expression of opinion and,
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Many of the Jeffersonian school were frank to admit the high motives and disinterestedness of Hamilton and his school. Many Americans of those days were willing to concede that if government could be guaranteed to be kept always on the high level of unselfish service suggested by the Hamiltonians there would be nothing to fear. For the very basis of the Hamiltonian philosophy was that through a system of elections every four years, limited to the votes of the most highly educated and the most successful citizens, the best of those qualified to govern could always be selected.

It was with rare perspicuity, however, that Jefferson pointed out that, on the doctrine of sheer human frailty, the Hamilton theory was bound to develop into government by selfishness or government for personal gain or government by class, which would ultimately lead to the abolition of free elections. For he recognized that it was our system of free unhampered elections which was the surest warranty of popular government. So long as the voters of the nation, regardless of higher education or property possessions, were free to exercise their choice in the polling place without hindrance, the country would have no cause to fear the hand of tyranny.

At all times in our history since Hamilton, there have been many Americans who have sought to confine the ballot to limited groups of people. A quarter of a century ago, President Eliot of Harvard summarized his views when he said to me: "Hoosierville, I am convinced that even though we have multiplied our universities in every state of the Union, even though higher learning seems to have come into its own, if the ballot were to be confined to the holders of college degrees, the nation would go on the rocks in a very few years". It may seem ungracious for a very now degree-holder to say this to this audience of older degree-holders, but my authority for this view is a great educator, noted for his efforts to disseminate college education throughout the country.

I agree with him thoroughly in his estimate of the superior ability of the whole of the voters to pass upon political and social issues in free and unhampered elections, as against the exclusive ability of a smaller group of individuals at the top of the social structure.

On candidates and on election issues, I would rather trust the aggregate judgment of all the people in a factory -- the president, all the vice presidents, the board of directors, the managers, the foremen, plus all the laborers -- rather than the judgment of the few who may be financially interested. On such questions the aggregate total judgment of a farm owner, the farmer and all the farm hands will be sounder than that of the farm owner alone. I would rather rely on the aggregate opinion, on matters affecting government, of a railroad president, its superintendents, its engineers, foremen, brakemen, conductors, trainmen, telegraphers, porters and all the others, than on the sole opinion of the few in control of management, or the principal stockholders.

Only too often in our political history, the few at the top have tried to advise or dictate to the many lower down how they should vote.

Even today in certain quarters there are, I regret to say, demands for a return of government to the control of a fewer number of people, people who, because of business ability or what I like to think of as economic omniscience, -- I took four years of economics when I was an undergraduate at Harvard and everything I was taught is outside of all the textbooks today. The older I grow, the less omniscient I become in regard to economics, and I think most of us do -- people who are supposed to have that ability are supposed to be just a touch above the average of our citizens. As in the days of Hamilton, we of our own generation should give them all credit for pure intention and high ideals. Nevertheless, their type of political thinking could easily lead to government by selfish seekers for power and riches and glory. For the great danger is that once the government falls into the hands of a few elite, curtailment or even abolition of free elections might be adopted as the means of keeping them in power.

I can never forget that some well-meaning people have even recently seriously suggested that the right to vote be denied to American men and women who through no fault of their own had lost their jobs and, in order to keep the family and the home going, were working on works relief projects.

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These fundamental truths have become commonplace among Americans, but it is well constantly to keep them in mind in order to understand what has happened in other lands. A decade ago, for example, the German people despaired of the processes of their democracy, which were based on the free use of the franchise. They were willing to lend ear to a new cult called "Nazism" -- a minority group which professed extraordinary patriotism, and offered bread and shelter and better government through the rule of a handful of persons boasting of special aptitude for government. In those days loudly professed emphasis was placed by this special group on their own purity of purpose. Nothing was ever said about abolishing free elections. Many people of large business affairs, influenced by several factors, and dissatisfied with the democratic system, formed political and economic alliances with this small group.

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