THE FRIENDLY SONS OF MANTON, PENNSYLVANIA Humphrey, of course, is a well-known Irish name. The heart and soul it represents are Irish, too. But I must confess to you that I have a Norwegian mother. It was sheer political necessity out in my part of the country. Not only was she not Irish. She had certain Republican inclinations.

Fortunately it was my father who gave me my politics -
Jefferson and Wilson in large doses. And he used to tell

me, "Hubert, you respect that lady because she is

your dear mother and my beloved wife. But don't forget:

She's politically unreliable."

I ad Week - Scotch this

Now I don't want this solemn occasion to degenerate into a partisan meeting -- after all it is possible to be Irish and Republican -- so I am not going to talk politics.

Carred Jack

Z You may have noticed that the President himself set the non-partisan tone of the season when he had all the Governors down to the White House a couple of weeks ago. I thought it was pretty big of him, too -- particularly when I noticed that several of the wives were measuring the furniture and feeling the draperies.

Well, that is a wonderful house -- good address in a nice neighborhood. The plumbing works. The garbage is collected regularly. And whenever it's cold you can count on a hot blast from Capitol Hill.

It has only four bedrooms, however. And that is something to keep in mind if you have a big family.

There was a lot of talk at that bi-partisan meeting about a draft for Nelson Rockefeller. And General Hershey said he would draft him -- if only we can get his views on Vietnam.

Johnson -- Samuel, that is -- once meanly remarked:
'The Irish are a fair people; they never speak well of each other." That is only because of modesty.

But I am here today to praise the Irish, and an easy, pleasant enterprise it is. - (Yasguck)

Let me make clear, however, that nothing I say,

however sincere, is meant to endorse a candidate -- actual or potential -- of Irish name for the Democratic nomination in 1968.

First let me say a word about a departed friend, a man who was one of the greatest political statesmen

Labor's champion...civil rights advocate...

friend of business...shaper of skylines...builder of

parks and highways...big city mayor...governor...

assistant to two Presidents -- he was a powerful man who

took as his cause whatever was right and good for America. —
this and more has been said by the great and

humble who have mourned his passing. One of my lasting personal regrets is that urgent national business kept me from his funeral.

You all remember that it was Dave Lawrence who virtually assured the Democratic nomination of John F. Kennedy in Los Angeles in 1960.

What is not so well remembered is that he strongly advised Senator Kennedy to take Lyndon B. Johnson as his running mate. And the table of the Cruli pure the table of the Cruli pure the table of the Cruli pure the table of the Cruling of the Cruling of the table of the Cruling of the Crulin

## Inthat Electron. Religious Brighting Defeat !

And then he helped sell John Kennedy's choice to some key barty leaders who knew Lyndon Johnson only as a "Southern Senator," not as a man with a burning vision of an America of full and equal opportunity for every citizen.

#

The Irish have stood for liberty in America from the very founding of our Republic. Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Maryland, was one of the wealthirst and largest lives of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Four ther signers of that Declaration were born in Ireland, and yet another four had Irish names.

And Joseph Galloway, Speaker of the Pennsylvania

Assembly during the Revolutionary War, testified before a

none-too-happy Foreign Relations Committee in the British

House of Commons that fully one-half of our forces

were Irish.

Those fanatic hearts built the cities of America in the 19th century. They were the people who made the foundries and shops of Scranton hum. They and their descendants provided the Irish clergy who were the teachers and leaders.

They became brave soldiers. + hope my friends,

Robert and Paul Caynor are with us today -- both winners

of the Distinguished Service Cross.

And it was it y who provided the politicians.

Most genteel native-born Americans had regarded politics like a call to jury duty -- something inevitable to be endured...a duty and a sacrifice...but not fun. To the Irish it was a career -- no interlude but a way of life...

yes Petities - Fun and Vocation!

William Shannon, in hismastirfus book "the american Irish" write the History of the Druh in america is founded on a paradox. The liver rube a rural people in Ireland and become a city People in the United States. The Cities in Ireland were founded by the Danes The founded bythe trish themselves (Dublin- Sammanien) Thanin reasons that the brook rejected the landon america, because the land had rejected them in Ireland, Between 1818- 1848. There had been 12 crop feeling In Ireland. In 1850, N. J. City Lad 26 70 of 24

The however the Sections,

Perhaps British oppression had forced them to become politicians in spite of themselves. Perhaps it was because they became city-dwellers in America. George Moore wrote: "English, Scotchmen, Jews do well in Ireland -- Irishmen never; even the patriot has to leave Ireland to get a hearing." And get a hearing they did. Even the Pennsylvania Irish -- renowned for their retiring modesty -- made themselves heard. Indeed some of the other groups in melting-pots like Scranton have been known to complain that "the minority" party had majority power. But David lawrence and many other outstanding political leaders have emerged from that eat minority In Ireland, the trick had interited restory and suffered it - In america As the American Revolution proceeded on this side of the Atlantic, the Great Irish Parliamentarian, Henry Grattan, proclaimed to his colleagues:

"The new world has overturned the prejudices of the old, it has let in a light upon mankind and the modern philosophy has taught men to look upon each other as brethern."

Yes, that was the dream men everywhere saw coming true in America.

And indeed it has come true for the vast majority of us -people of many faiths from many lands who have,
together, achieved a prosperity and a fulfillment which no
other nation has ever yet attained.

not escape or duck them. Even as the helping hand was extended to others of your noble Irish race several generations ago so to day and mind the wisdom of George Moore who said, "After all, there is but one race, humanity." And the great Irish poet,

Thomas Moore, perhaps best phrased the rhetorical question,

Shall we ask the brave soldier who fights by our side

In the cause of mankind if our creeds agree?

Shall we give up the friends we have valued and tried

If they kneel not before the same altar as we?

One nature under tod I finally our hearty and harden to sources through the

fellow Americans in the same measure as you and your parents and

grandparents were helped - with interest.

no answer from those here tonighto

And what is the promise the future holds for the Irish in their adopted land? (Thomas Wolf quotation)

and Washingtons private secretary, Sweral Stephen Moylan, was the first Private Manually Some of St. Petrick organization

Of course there was Hercules Mulligan, General

Washington's "confidential aide" -- really his CIA chief who also organized the first New York branch of this 4 Cal Davidhum

Then through the 19th century this new Republic became home for more and more sons of St. Patrick

determined to be free. They came in millions,

sorrowing for their homeland but determined to find

a freer land and a better future.

The great Irish poet William Butler Yeats wrote these bitter but hopeful lines:

"Out of Ireland have we come.

"Great hatred, little room,

"Maimed us at the start.

"I carry from my mother's womb

"A fanatic heart."

Of Course there was Hercules Multigan, Ganeral

Les are reminded of great spiritual teachers like James Cardinal Hitches of Baltimore, and archbutop reland of St. Paul, 7 Minn -

determined to be tree, They came in millions,

sorrewing for their hometens but determined to link

a freer land and a tellor luture.

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"Jamed pinges A"

reactedto this green invasion with hostility and rejection,

to put it mildly.

a

a battering ram to break the unjust power of hostile majority, eliminating

The earliest political leaders of the Irish fashioned

religious discrimination in its various forms, demanding the

appointment of Irish as school teachers, policemen and firemen

But the promise of America is not yet fully realized.

Just a few days ago a special Presidential commission spelled out a clear warning to this country -- a warning that unless men of good will are ready to act and to give their personal commitment, our America might be permanently divided into two separate and unequal societies.

We cannot help being reminded of Abraham Lincoln's words of more than a century ago: "A house divided against

A good friend of mine turned to me after reading the morning newspaper a few days ago and said: There just isn't any good news here. I've never been so discouraged. I just don't see any daylight anywhere."

itself cannot stand.

Strange, that in a time of such general material prosperity
we should feel such concern and even, at times, discouragement

Yet, for Americans, it is not so strange.

For I believe the spirit of this country is such that we can never be satisfied until our higher dreams and aspirations are achieved.

And I believe that because we are not satisfied,

America will prevail.

I believe Henry Grattan's vision of America will be realized.

# # #

INTRODUCTION AND ADDRESS

OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK DINNER

SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1968

SCRANTON, PENNA.

#### PREPARED BY

Frank M. Costello, Official Court Stenographer

Carolyn M. Saar, Secretary to Judge Richard P. Conaboy

### INTRODUCTION OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BY DOCTOR JOHN A. QUINN FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK DINNER SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1968 SCRANTON, PENNA.

A man as renowned as our Vice President, should be introduced simply as the Honorable Vice President of the United States. I see so many young men in the audience, including three of my own sons, that I decided against a simple introduction. Our youth today need models such as Hubert Humphrey, and in view of this great self-made man, I would like to give just a capsule resume of his meteoric rise. He was born in South Dakota in 1911, the son of a druggist. Financial difficulties arising from the depression, forced him to drop out of the University of Michigan in 1929. He had to return to help his father in the drugstore. In 1933 he earned a degree at the Denver College of Pharmacy - - and, incidentally, we have two large groups of pharmacists here to pay him special tribute. He was married in 1936 to Muriel Buck of Huron, South Dakota. They have three sons and one daughter. He returned to the University of Michigan in 1937, graduated magna cum laude in 1939, and he took his master's degree in 1940 from Louisiana State University. The Vice President taught school for awhile and in 1943 he ran for Mayor of Minneapolis. He was defeated, but he ran for the office two years later and won, and he was re-elected in 1947. As mayor, the Vice President set in motion a vigorous crackdown on gambling and rackets. He reorganized city housing, social welfare

programs and many, many other reforms and developments, again too numerous to describe in detail. In 1948 he was elected United States Senator and was re-elected in 1954 and 1960. In 1961 he was named the Majority Whip in the Senate and he worked tirelessly to weld Democrats and Republicans behind the legislation of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. He was inaugurated the thirty-eighth Vice President of the United States on January 20, 1965. Every day was, and is, a fourteen to a sixteen hour day. He is responsible for federal programs on human rights, food for peace, aid to education, arms control disarmament, nuclear test ban, peace corps, and again, accomplishments too numerous to list. A typical headline in the New York Times, "HUMPHREY TRAVELS LIKE A COMET, NINE AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN THIRTEEN DAYS." He is blessed with six grandchildren, and was christened by his oldest grandchild Vicky as "Boppa," and so "Boppa" he is to the rest of his grandchildren. Vicky is mentally retarded and to quote the Vice President, "She is to me, the sweetest breath of life upon this earth. You will never know the meaning of love as it is described in the Scriptures, until you know the love of a child like Vicky. She is the greatest spiritual experience I have had, and because of her I know with certainty that the more you give, the more shall be given to you."

Gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

#### ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK DINNER SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1968 SCRANTON, PENNA.

Your Excellency, Bishop McCormick; Reverend Fathers; this remarkable toastmaster tonight, of whom I will have a word or two to say a moment later, Doctor Quinn; the Mayor of this great city, Mayor Walsh; Congressman McDade; the distinguished Justice of your State Supreme Court, Justice Michael Eagen; my friend who has been so kind as to invite me here tonight, Judge Conaboy; the host of distinguished dignitaries of the State and local governments, and my fellow Americans:

I think it is quite obvious that the introduction that was just given to me was one that I will long remember. I liked every word of it and some of it touched my heart. Some of it was very flattering, but when you're Vice President you can use that too. I appreciate it. There is so much that I want to say to you tonight, and yet our good friend, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. O'Shea, has already set some standards here that a poor sinner like me ought to try to abide by. I don't know why in the world you didn't defy the Bishop just a little bit tonight, Monsignor, and go beyond the fifteen minutes. The President tells me all the time that I talk too long and I pay no attention to it at all. Of course, there is a little difference, the Bishop is here and the President

isn't, and I understand that everything I say here is off the record, but on tape and on television. I was deeply touched tonight, as I am sure all of you were, by that scholarly, brilliant address of Monsignor O'Shea. It was really a reaffirmation of all of our faith and I want to thank him very much. It meant a great deal to me as I listened here this evening.

I want to make one or two comments. I do think that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick here in Scranton, Pennsylvania, set standards that the rest of this nation could well abide by. One observation that I made, is the way you elect your president. This business of the right-of-succession is something that I always thought we should follow. The problem is that I don't have as good a control over the political apparatus that you seem to have here in the Friendly Sons.

Mister Mayor, I want to thank you so much for the key to the City. When you presented that key to myself and Monsignor O'Shea, I leaned over and said to the distinguished Monsignor, "It's nice to get this big key, I guess it lets us into almost everything around here." He said, "Yes, even Fort Knox." But, Monsignor, there isn't much left in Fort Knox, I'm afraid DeGaulle got there first - DeGaulle got the gold.

You have gone out of your way to receive me in your wonderful community. I was met at the airport by a fine reception committee,

a wonderful group of people. There were people there that expressed themselves through word and sign and hand-shake, and I just want you to know how much I appreciate it. I hope you will tell the Scranton Technical High School Band that I didn't get around to thank by word, at least by hand-shake I did, how much I appreciate their presence there. And when I was here the last time, as it has been indicated, you went out of your way again to give me a real warm welcome. I don't think you ought to have to repeat that. Don't burn down anything tonight for me. I was here that time at the invitation of Irving Epstein. and I came back to the hotel under the gentle custody of Tom Foley and Preno's hasn't been the same since. Well, there is so much to talk about and so much to say, but this good toastmaster of yours tonight really has taken over, it's amazing. I gather that Bob Hope can collect his social security now. There is no need of any humorist being around at all. He told some wonderfully good stories. I am glad to know how you qualify to be a toastmaster around this community. It is a high standard may I say. I trust they are all Democrats. Well, Congressman, we'll give you a couple.

Now, I want to say a few words about the Humphrey family. Of course, you know that Humphrey is a well-known Irish name, at least when I go to meetings such as this. Well, in its heart and soul it represents the Irish tune. But I have to make a confession here, I have to confess that my mother was born in Norway. I might add that

it was a sheer political necessity out of my way, to remind people of that a number of times. But I don't want you Irish to get any too hoity-toity here, because after all it was the Scandinavians that had an awful lot to do with civilizing you, as you may remember. It wasn't just St. Patrick alone. But one thing about the Irish, they were unappreciative, they booted out the Scandinavians after the process was over. Dublin is still the name of a Scandinavian community, but the Irish kept the city's name, got rid of the Scandinavians and sent them to Scotland. The Scots were much less considerate, they kept them half the time and sent them to Iceland and they haven't been able to get out of Iceland since.

Well, now, a word about my mother. Mother still lives and she's my dear sweetheart. Not only was mother not Irish, but she had certain political failings too. As a matter of fact, my father reminded me many times that she had Republican inclinations. Fortunately, however, it was my father who gave me my politics, all the way from Jefferson and Wilson to F. D. R. and on up to Truman, and then my dear father passed away, and my father gave me my politics in large doses. He used to tell me on many an occasion, because he loved my mother and we boys were brought up to respect her, I'll tell you that. We didn't have a lot of lectures about it either, it was simple respect, profound respect. He said, "Hubert, I want you to

respect that lady because she is your dear mother, she is my sweetheart and my beloved wife, but don't forget, son, she's politically unreliable."

And I want Pastor Williams to know that dad was part Welsh. Yes, they're a hearty stock.

Now, I don't want to have this solemn occasion degenerate into a partisan meeting, that wouldn't be right at all. Even though I have looked over your other speakers over the years. I must say I want to thank you and congratulate you on your fine sense of selectivity. I am glad you finally made it ecumenical and got me in. As a matter of fact, I wondered how I got in at all. Then I found out that they had a meeting up here. Judge Conaboy told me that they did have a meeting and there was some dispute about it, but the invitation finally came and it sort of reminded me at the moment, of a story I heard about an industrialist up here in Scranton that was taken very ill. The poor soul went off to the hospital and nobody wrote to him, nobody called on him, nobody sent him any flowers, he never got a card, they say he was lying there sick for a week, and finally the executive board of the local union that had organized his plant had a meeting. They met and they discussed the boss' situation and they finally passed a resolution and it read something like this: "The executive board of Local 100 has met and duly considered your condition and situation, and by a vote of eight to seven we wish you complete and early recovery." Judge

Richard Conaboy said that that was about the way it happened here, but I want you to know in light of what I read these days, I am glad to be here under any circumstances.

Well, I said I didn't want it to degenerate into a political meeting, and particularly, a partisan one. After all, I understand it is possible, even if it is unusual, to be both Irish and Republican. So I'm not going to talk politics. I was already forewarned by Congressman McDade that he would ask for equal time if I did.

You may have noticed that the President himself is setting a non-partisan tone of the season. Just about two weeks ago he had all the Governors down at the White House for a little gathering. I thought it was pretty big of him too, particularly when I noticed that several of the wives of the Governors were going around measuring the furniture and feeling the draperies. Well, I think I should say that it is a wonderful house, that White House, it has a good address and a nice neighborhood, the plumbing works, and Mayor, the garbage is collected regularly, and whenever it is a little cold, you can always count on a hot blast from Capitol Hill. There are some limitations that some people in public life ought to take note of, it has only four bedrooms, and that is something to keep in mind if you have a big family. You fellows are with it tonight, I can see that. I guess we ruled out a couple here already.

I just happened to note on the way coming up from the plane, a

quotation of Johnson, I mean Samuel Johnson, who once rather meanly remarked, "The Irish are a fair people, they never speak well of each other." I think that's only because of their modesty, I think we ought to add that. But I am here tonight to praise the Irish. With this audience, indeed I am. There is such a thing as being too brave, you know. And I might add in all honesty it is a very easy and pleasant enterprise, if I exaggerate a little, well, I am here to talk about the Irish. As a matter of fact, they tell that story about Knute Rockne down at Notre Dame, that a young fellow came up and wanted to play football at Notre Dame. He was really a remarkable football player, he had four years of high school football and he was trying to explain why he ought to be on the team right away. And Knute Rockne said, "Just what are your credentials, what is it that makes you think that you ought to get on the team right away, when generally we wait a couple of years to give these boys a chance to be even on the squad, the traveling squad?" This young chap said, "Well," he said, "I'll tell you, Coach," he said, "I can run a hundred yards fully outfitted, full football uniform on, and I can run it in a little over ten seconds." Knute Rockne said, "A hundred yards in ten seconds fully outfitted?" he said, "That's incredible." Well, he said, "I can do it." He said, "That isn't all, Coach." He said, "Listen, in the last three years in high school my average punt was seventy yards. "Knute Rockne said, "Good grief, if that's true," he said, "that's just fantastic, "he said, "I'm impressed." "But, "he said, "that isn't all, Coach." He said, "My average pass the last two

years, and I'm on target every time, was over fifty yards." Knute Rockne just looked at him, he said, "Boy, you're a wonder," he said, "Man I can use you. But, by the way, before we sign up here, "he said, "do you have any limitations at all?" The kid said, "Well, Coach, I do exaggerate a bit." Well, I think I should let you know that I am occasionally guilty of that tonight and have been in the past. But let me make it clear right now, so we have no misunderstanding at all, that anything I say, however sincere, is meant to endorse a candidate, actual or potential of Irish name for the democratic nomination. I just had to get that disclaimer in early here, you know. It's a long way from Texas, but you would be surprised how news does travel.

Well, my dear friends, we are here for good fellowship and we have had it, and we are here also for serious purpose and we have had that. I cannot think of anything that is better for a nation, for a community, or for a neighborhood, than to get together and talk together, visit together, sing together and be together. I think it is that way that we really find out that there is more good going on than bad, there is more solid substance than there is soft fluff, and I sense in this audience tonight the good that's going on in this community. And after all, America is just the sum total of its communities. I don't know of any way you can build a better America unless you start it at home. It doesn't come from the top down, it comes from the bottom up. This is a country of the people, not of presidents. This

is a country by the people, not by congress. This is a country for the people, not just for some of the people, but for all of the people, and we build a better country this way when we think this way.

There was a very famous and well respected Pennsylvanian that I want to just say a word about. I don't know if this is the proper place or not, but his memory came to me, his life came to me as I was thinking about this gathering and getting ready to come up here. It's about a dear and departed friend, a man who I think was one of the real political statesmen, one of the finest that America has known, he was a Pennsylvanian, and I gather that many of you knew him, and he is our late and beloved former Governor and Mayor of Pittsburgh, David Lawrence. He was a man of all seasons, and I mention him because I knew him so well, and his life touched my life, and his sense of political responsibility touched me. He was labor's champion, civil rights' advocate, friend of business, shaper of skylines, builder of parks and highways, a big city mayor, a governor, and assistant to two presidents. He was a powerful man, too, but he never used his power unless it was for a good cause or what he thought was good for America. And besides that, he had those characteristics that have been talked about tonight of the Irish people. He was kind and he was faithful, he was loving and gentle to his wife and to his family, and he loved politics, he loved it with all his being. And all this and more has been said by the great and the

humble who mourn his passing. I think that some of you may remember, if you will just permit me to reminisce with you a minute, that it was this same man, Dave Lawrence, who virtually assured the democratic nomination of John F. Kennedy in Los Angeles in 1960. And what is not so well remembered is that he strongly advised the then young Senator from Massachusetts to take Lyndon Johnson as his running mate, and he knew and said that here, in Lyndon Johnson, was a man who could pick up the master controls of government if the hand of fate should summon him to the task. Those are literally his words. He had judgment, and in that election which followed, without regard now to partisanship, because elections are won and elections are lost, and I don't happen to think the Democrats have a monopoly on wisdom and virtue any more than I think Republicans have, we have the right of our political persuasion. But the great thing about that election was not only the election of the man, but it was that a staggering blow, and I hope and I pray the final blow, was struck against religious bigotry in this country, and at long last Americans can stand high and tall because they are Americans. Regardless of how they spell their name, how they look, what church they attend, as long as they are people who love their country, who love and respect their God and who love the people of this land, those are the only standards really that are required, faith and love of country and of God and family and man, with ability, with competence.

Well, you know the Irish have stood for liberty for a long time, and they stood for liberty in America from the very founding of our republic. They stood for liberty in other parts of the world too. About some five years ago I was traveling in Latin America, and whose painting do you think I saw in the halls of government in Santiago, Chile? O'Higgins. Yes, the Irish were there with Simon Bolivar, fighting not only for the independence of Chile but a half a dozen countries. Passionate believers in freedom and men and women of undying faith. I want to underscore and may I say a very strong AMEN to this declaration of faith tonight, that I heard from this platform by Monsignor O'Shea. It means so much in these days. And when we think of the history of our country we ought to remember that five of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were born in Ireland, and there weren't very many signers you know, and yet another four had Irish names, and they weren't half-hearted patriots. They pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the independence of this nation. They didn't pledge a half hour of their lives a day, ten per cent or two per cent of their fortunes, and occasionally a little of their honor, they pledged it all, and this country has stood well ever since. Joseph Galloway, the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly during the Revolutionary War, testified before a non-too-happy Foreign Relations Committee in the British House of Commons, that fully one-half of the Revolutionary Forces in America were Irish. They were even fighting then and they fought well. And

I guess you know that Washington's aide-de-camp and private secretary was General Stephen Moylan, who was the first president of the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, organized in Philadelphia on March 17, 1771. And I want you to know that another aide-de-camp to George Washington was Colonel David Humphrey, part Welsh. And, of course, there was Hercules Mulligan, General Washington's confidential aide, he was Mr. C.I.A. of his time, the man who had the secrets, who also organized the first New York branch of this society. So, whatever this country is or ever hopes to be, you and your forebearers, were those who made it, so you have a big investment in it. That's why I come to you, to talk to you about taking care of it.

I think all of us know so well that the nineteenth century saw literally waves of the Irish coming here. They came in millions, sorrowing for their homeland but determined to find a freer land and a better future. The great Irish poet - - and I have by my bedside his poems, given to me by my dad - - William Butler Yeats, wrote these bitter but hopeful lines: "Out of Ireland have come great hatred, little room, maimed thus at the start. I carry from my mother's womb a fanatic heart." And those fanatic and determined hearts that the Poet Yeats talked about, built the cities of America, and they built many of them in the nineteenth century with hard labor, pain and sorrow. They were the people who made the foundries and the shops of Scranton hum. They and their descendents provided the Irish clergy who were the teachers

and the leaders. And just as tonight, we have listened to the words of Ireland, the land of saints and scholars, the church throughout all of our history has been literally the protector of knowledge and of culture. It would have all been lost in those dark ages, the middle ages, without the monks and the friars, without the fathers and the priests who took care of it. And I am reminded of great spiritual teachers like James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, and if you will permit me to be a bit parochial, of Archbishop Ireland of Saint Paul, Minnesota. What a lasting impact he left in our part of America. I think that all the progressiveism and all the so-called liberalism that comes out of that great midwest, had much of its foundation in the spiritual teachings of Archbishop Ireland and Pope Leo's encyclicals. You know, I have had a great opportunity to read encyclicals. I think maybe I read as many as those of the Catholic faith. Only recently while I was in the Vatican, Pope Paul gave me his most recent encyclical, and he gave it to me in the Latin, and then kindly gave me one translated into English, and autographed it for me. And I placed in the Congressional Record when I was a United States Senator all of those great encyclicals of that beloved peasant priest, Pope John The Twenty-Third. Beautiful, how I shall always remember them. I remember where he said, "Where there is constant want there is no peace." And how Pope Paul has reminded us only lately that "development" is the new name for peace. Well, these great teachers and members of the clergy of the

church, stood us well in these early days, and of all the churches, in fact without the churches, Catholic, Protestant and people of Jewish faith, without them we might very well never have had higher education in America in the early days, because the land grant college didn't get started until after the Civil War. We owe so much.

The Irish became our brave soldiers, and many of those who wear the Distinguished Service Cross, are Irish. And it was the Irish who provided the politicians too, in abundance. I don't know how I ever squeezed in, but I have been accused of having a bit of the blarney myself and there may be something to it. Most gentile, native-born Americans have regarded politics like a call to jury duty, something inevitable to be endured, a duty and a sacrifice, but not fun. To the Irish, it was a career, a vocation, it was not an interlude but a way of life, because politics was fun, it was joy, the joy of public life, and it was a vocation and service. In fact, the earliest political leaders of the Irish fashioned a battering ram, literally a human battering ram, to break the unjust power of a hostile majority, eliminating religious discrimination in various forms, demanding the appointment of Irish as school teachers, policemen and firemen. The early Irish had to fight for their rights like some people are fighting for them now. All the more reason why you should be sympathic and understanding, because it didn't come easily. Not so long ago, the prejudice against any nationality group in this country, as it sought its place in our society,

was all too heavy and all too extreme. Perhaps, the British oppression had forced the Irish to become politicians in spite of themselves and, perhaps, it was because they became city dwellers in America.

I am sure some of you have read William Shannon's masterful piece, a book entitled, "The American Irish," and if you haven't, you ought to do it, and I get no percentage here at all. But I noticed these lines, "The history of the Irish in America is founded on a paradox, the Irish were a rural people in Ireland and became a city people in the United States. The cities in Ireland were founded by the Danes, the Normans and the English, none was founded by the Irish themselves." And then Shannon reasons that the Irish rejected the land in America because the land had rejected them in Ireland. Between 1818 and 1848 they had twelve crop failures, famine plagued the land, poverty, death from starvation. In 1850 it was estimated that twenty-six per cent of the population of New York City had been born in Ireland, and now one out of three claim Irish descent. All over America, the great cities of Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New York, and particularly on the eastern seaboard, waves of the Irish immigrant, all coming from the land, all rural, all settling in the great cities, all doing the most menial tasks to begin with, having to claw their way up the social ladder so to speak. All the more reason they understand and appreciate the meaning of freedom and democracy. George Moore wrote that the English, Scotchmen and

Jews do well in Ireland, the Irishmen never, even the patriot has to leave Ireland to get a hearing. Now, that may have been cynical, I don't know what George Moore had against the Irish at the time. But they came here and they did get a hearing. And even in Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Irish renowned for their retiring modesty, made themselves heard. Indeed some of the other groups, in melting pots like Scranton, have been known to complain that the minority party - that's what you were called then - - had the majority power. In Ireland the Irish had inherited history and suffered it; in America they became the makers of history. And, gentlemen, that's what's important. It is one thing to know history, it is another thing to make it. It is one thing to be a student of ancient history, but it is better to be a fashioner of contemporary history and the history of the future, and so many in our country have lived up to that promise. As the American Revolution proceeded on this side of the Atlantic, that great Irish parlimentarian, Henry Grattan, proclaimed these words to his colleagues, and they stand us well in the year 1968. He said, "The New World has overturned the prejudices of the Old, it has let in a light upon mankind, and the modern philosophy has taught men to look upon each other as brethren." What beautiful words! They are very much the same words that we have heard so many times. The same George Moore said, "After all, there is but one race, humanity." And that great Irish Poet, Thomas Moore, perhaps best phrased the rhetorical question, "Shall we ask the brave soldier who fights by our side in the cause of mankind if our creeds

agree? Shall we give up the friends we have valued and pride if they kneel not before the same altar as we?" I think what these men were saying is what our children say and what I hope we adults are not ashamed to say, and if it sounds a little sentimental and on the patriotic side, that's exactly the way I mean it. I think the most concise definition, or the most concise statement of creed for America is to be found in what we call our Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag of this Republic, "One Nation Under God, Indivisible, With Liberty and Justice For All." Now, this is not always a fact, but it is a promise, it is a commitment, it is a standard, and whenever I say it, as I did tonight, I know how much unfinished business there is yet in this country of ours, and yet I know that we are well on the way.

The business of democracy is never completed, Gentlemen, it's the beginnings that count, it's the break-throughs that are meaningful. This promise of America, oh, how much it means. Lincoln said it was the last best hope on earth and it is. This is why whatever we do, whatever we say, however we act, is not only important to the people of this land, but throughout the whole world. Wilson once said that the flag of the United States, he hoped and prayed, could become the flag of all humanity, that it could stand for hope and for justice, and I think it does. And I was so pleased tonight to hear some words that put in proper perspective what's going on in this country of ours today. I do

not think you prove yourself to be a great intellectual by debunking the great institutions of this land. I do not think you prove yourself to be an educated man by constantly being a cynic and a skeptic without any positive faith or positive alternatives. Anyone can criticize, but it takes men to create, to build, to mold a nation, a state, a city, even a home. You know, our country is being tried today as never before, we are being tried at home and abroad. Not long ago there was a report that came out of the President's commission on civil disorders that gave a warning, that unless men of good will are ready to act and to give their personal commitment, our America might be permanently divided into two separate and unequal societies. Now, it didn't say we are divided, it said we could be, it was not an obituary, it was a health report. I don't think we can help but be reminded by Lincoln's words a century ago, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." If there ever was a time that we should bind up our wounds, if there ever was a time that we should learn to pull together and to work together, it is now. This does not mean that we hush debate, discussion or dissent, all of which are the well-springs of a free people. It means, however, that whatever we say or do that we offer constructive alternatives even as we criticize. And, finally, it means that somewhere along the line after the talk, after the debate, after the dissent, there must come that moment of decision. And if you will permit me as one who stands alongside of a President now, it is very easy to be a debater, I have been one all of my life, it is a joy on occasion to dissent, it seems to emancipate your spirit, it is fellowship at the best to discuss, but this nation also requires men of decision, and when you make a decision that's when the awful burden of leadership comes down upon you, and leadership today is not a luxury, it's a duty, it's a responsibility, it gives you no special privilege.

So America today stands being tested all over the world, in the Middle East, in the Far East, in Europe and in Southeast Asia. But I am convinced as I stand before you tonight that if we have the will and the determination and the faith to see these things through, and not to flinch and not to retreat, that our cause, and it is a just cause, will triumph. I have no doubt about it. If we have the courage to see it through here at home, to see that America is one nation, not divided but one united, with a sense of humility before God Almighty, grateful for our blessings, thankful for the many benefits that have been bestowed upon us, if we have the courage to stand together, to work together, we can really realize the full promise of democracy which is at its best, equal opportunity for all of us.

I leave you with the words of a poet. I thought that maybe tonight would be a good night for a little poetry, because frequently the poet speaks the heart of a nation, and says in words of beauty and simplicity,

things that some of us say so clumsily. I talk to an audience of men that come from humble beginnings. I doubt that there is an aristocrat in the house. We are plain people, and, of course, it is out of the plain people that the great people come. The whole story of this nation is building greatness from simple, plain people, doing the impossible when others said it was impossible. That is the story of this country. And the reason I have great faith in this country is because the story is a true one. The success of this nation, economically, politically, socially, educationally, - - the success story is fantastic. So don't sell it short, never do so, because in doing so, you only sell yourself short. Because all that any of us ever wanted and all that America stands for, the promise of this land, was put in these words: the promise of America which enticed millions to our shores, which compels millions to cast their eyes upon us now either in envy or in great pride, that promise is to be found in these lines from Thomas Wolf; "To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity; to every man, the right to live and to work, and to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him, this is the promise of America." This is why America is what it is, this is why you are what you are. Every man his chance, every man to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. What greater philosophy of life is there for a nation than a respect for the

dignity of man, man who is created in the image of his Maker, because, you see, my religion is quite simple. I happen to believe that the way you treat people is the way you treat God. So let us treat each other respectfully and honorably. Thank you very much.

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