Dr. Bryan, Governor, my Hosts, Men and Women, Graduates of this University and Citizens of this State: No man could fail to be deeply touched and deeply pleased to be introduced in such terms as those used by you, Doctor, and by you, Governor, to this audience. And I want to say at the outset that I don't think I have ever been at a more beautiful university commencement than this. (Applause) I shall always keep in mind this scene here in the open by the university buildings, a university which, in what we are apt to think of as a new nation, is approaching its centenary, here under these great trees, these maples and beeches, that have survived over from the primeval forest, to see all of you here and the graduating class composed mainly of girls this year -- it is a sight I shall never forget, -- it will always be with me.

I know that none of you, not even the graduates of the University, will grudge my saying that I attach a special significance to the presence here today of the men who fought in the Great War fifty-five years ago. (Applause) No men needed to think of Belgian babies in connection with the deeds you did. (Applause) You proved that valor could go hand in hand with tenderness, and, friends, there were plenty of men then who cried, "Peace, peace," when there was no peace; and I know that you men who wore the blue would be the first to bear testimony to the valor and the high devotion to the right, as it was given them to see the right, of the men who wore
the grey. All fought for the truth that was in them; we are proud of them all, but we are not proud of the men who didn’t have enough conviction to fight on either side. (Applause) Isn’t that so friends? Exactly, exactly!

I remember a Kentucky friend of mine, John Mason Brown, who told me that shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter (the sinking of the Lusitania was our Fort Sumter, don’t forget that?) he got back from a year’s trip in the Rocky Mountains to his Louisville home. He was met by his mother, (His father, who had been an officer in the Mexican War was dead) who carried his father’s sword and said, “My son, war is on. I hope that you will draw this sword under the flag for which your father fought, but draw it on one side or the other you must!” (Applause)

There is only one person I more cordially despise than I do a German militarist, and that is an American pacifist. (Applause) I will shoot a wild beast, but I step on a snake.

Friends, I have spoken of how deeply I am stirred by this beautiful scene and by all that it signifies, but the thing that signifies most is the service flag (applause), the flag for the thirteen hundred graduates and undergraduates of this college, of this university, who now, when the country calls, move forward with the same gallant eagerness that was shown by you men in your golden youth fifty-five years ago. (Applause) Those men have made all the country their debtors, and they have made the university in a special sense their debtors, because they
have shown by their acts what the teaching under you has been, under you and your predecessors, Doctor. They have shown by their acts that this university teaches its sons and its daughters that when the moment for sacrifice comes, for service and sacrifice comes, they are willing to crowd eagerly forward to render the service without thought of the sacrifice.

The scholars are fortunate indeed who have served just prior to the wartime and who graduate during this war. They are fortunate indeed that they have moved out of the cloistered life, the pleasant, cloistered life of the university, into the great world, with their souls stirred by the pulse of the nation as its heart beats quicker and quicker for mighty aims.

And friends, today driving out here this morning, a little incident occurred which illustrates what I have to say better than I can say it, far better, for, remember, my speech counts for absolutely nothing save as it really represents deeds, save as it can be translated into deeds, and your approval also counts for nothing unless you turn that approval into something tangible by your action.

We all remember Gettysburg, we remember Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, but we remember it because the men fought the battle through to a finish. The speech would never have been delivered if the battle had not been won. It wasn't delivered in advance, as to what you were going to do; it was delivered when you had done the deed, and the deathless words are deathless because they commemorated the
deathless deeds.

On the way out here, I had sent word to the Governor that I would have to refuse to stop and speak. We struck Martinsville, and they had a drum and fife corps and an automobile, and there were two Grand Army men in it and two veterans of the Spanish War (my war, it was only a little war, but it was all the war there was; personally, I found it a less exclusive war than the present) (Laughter) and the fife man was a man with two stars on his pin, for his two sons, both of them in the army, one of them having just been wounded, belonging to the same division of troops to which my boy Archic, who was wounded, belonged, and he was wounded not far from where Archic was wounded. When I saw those five men, I said, "By George, I am going to speak. I don't care what happens now." (Applause) So, we stopped, and I just said a word to the men and women who had gathered there, and, friends, it was fine to look in their faces, the faces of the American type, of the type we like to think of as personifying what is best and truest in our country, of the type that is slow to anger, but that having been roused does not sink back until the end has been attained. (Applause)

I asked about the boy who was wounded and for whom one of those stars in the father's coat lapel stood. He was a graduate, had just graduated from this university. He was the catcher of your nine last year, Wayne Schmidt. (Applause)

There are two things about that. In the first
place, that college boy was proving that he had the right stuff in him, the stuff that warrants us in demanding that this country keep up its universities and back them in every way. In the next place, I want to point out this, — that boy had a name that, like mine, was "double-Dutch" (laughter), I rather think another branch of Dutch than mine — out East we used to call mine Amsterdam Dutch, and the others plain Damn Dutch. (Laughter) I happen to have the blood of both strains in me. That boy, of course, as his name shows, was partly of German blood, but he was an American and nothing else. (Applause) What he has done and what he has suffered and what his family stand for convey with a thousandfold greater force than I can convey it the lesson that I wish to teach today, the lesson of Americanism, straight but Americanism, nothing but Americanism.

Every now and then I meet some weak-kneed creature who tells me it is hard, as an American of German origin, to fight against Germany. My answer is that if Washington had felt that way, we would never have been independent of England. (Applause) Washington, like Israel Putnam, and most of the great men of the Revolution, was of English blood; but they were Americans and nothing but Americans, and when the necessity came to submit to a course of action that would have marked us as inferiors, or to fight, they fought at the drop of the hat. They did that against the armies of their own kinsfolk.
Every man who comes here and accepts the privileges of American citizenship is a traitor to this country unless he is prepared to fight for the American flag against every foe. (Applause)

And, as for wrong-doing, the wrongs committed prior to 1776 on us by the British, which justified the Revolution, grave though they were, were utterly trivial compared to the wrongs committed on us by Germany this time, (applause) and, without unduly praising George III, he was an Easter lamb compared to the Kaiser.

This country, I believe, though it will have to pay a heavy price for the war — it has paid it in treasure and it will have to pay it in blood — and for its failure to prepare, which will have rendered the war so much more bloody and made it so much longer, yet it will come out of this war immeasurably bettered by the fact that it has fought it. We shall come out with a unified, a nationalized Americanism such as we have not had before.

After the great strain of the heroic days of the Civil War, we permitted ourselves to sink back, we abandoned ourselves to a gross materialism rendered more noxious by a sham sentimentality, and it needed something like this to bring us back to our true selves.

I was asked the other day if I wasn't surprised at the spirit I found in the West about the war. I told them, not in the least. I had been uncomfortably surprised three years ago, but what I saw now didn't surprise me at all. I was absolutely certain that given time our people would wake to the needs of the situation, — only, friends, remember that
if we always proceed on the theory that we will be given
time, the time will come when we won't be given it. Don't
forget that! I am going to touch on that point later.

We have been given the time, and we now have
the chance to look back and see some of the lessons that
have already been taught us by the last four years. Prior
to that time, we were going along with easy, slipshod good
nature, that good nature that likes to boast about itself,
and that really comes uncomfortably near weakness and care-
lessness. We were going along and saying—Oh, yes, every-
body could do what he liked, and the people that once
here would somehow or other turn into Americans anyhow
and we didn't have to bother ourselves about them. We have
now been forced to wake up to the fact that there were men
here who tried to combine a loyalty to this country with
a loyalty to some other country.

In matters patriotic you can no more combine
allegiance to one country with allegiance to another than
in matters domestic you can combine loyalty to your wife
with loyalty to some outside lady. (Laughter)

We have had enough "fifty-fifty" Americanism.
(Appause) There is no room in this country for any man
who isn't American and nothing else. (Applause) If he
has in him any longing, any looking back, any desire to
return to the "flesh pots of Egypt", let him get back to
Egypt. (Applause) If he tells us that he likes this country,
but he likes another country, too, let him go to the other country. There is room in this country for but one flag, and that is the American flag. (Applause) You men who wore the blue in the early Sixties settled once and for all that there should be no sectional flags in this country, now and let us/settle once for all that there shall be no racial flags in this country. (Applause) There is to be no little Germany, little England, little Ireland, little Scandinavia -- whatever it is.

If the man becomes an American in good faith and honestly does his full part, then treat him on a full equality with every other American; and if he doesn't become an American and nothing else, send him back to the land from which he came. (Applause)

Friends, it is unpatriotic and un-American to damage America because you love another country, but there is one thing worse, and that is to damage America because you hate another country. The Sinn Feiner who acts against America because he hates England is a worse creature than the member of the German-American Alliance who has acted against America because he loves Germany.

I want to point out this bit of etymological information -- Sinn Fein means "us ourselves". It means that those who adopt that name are fighting for themselves, for a certain division of people across the sea. Then what right have they to come here to America? Their very name shows that they are not America, that they are anti-American, that they are for themselves against America.
I wish that we would begin to copy Germany in just one thing, and that is the way she deals with spies and alien enemies. (Applause) Let us treat every sympathizer with Germany, and especially any man who because of hatred for one of our Allies acts in the interest of Germany, the way that Germany would treat them if they weren't sympathizers with Germany in Germany. (Applause) We have carried good nature to the point of weakness. We have a right to demand that in this country nothing but Americanism shall obtain among our citizenship, and that pending the war, any man, alien or native, who in any shape or way attacks us or our allies or stands up directly or indirectly for Germany or the vassal allies of Germany, shall be interned at once. (Applause) Interned, unless his offense is sufficiently serious, in which case bury him. (Applause)

We must have in this country a unified nationality. There should be no social club or organization to which, if other conditions are met, every good American can't belong. Any organization kept up in such manner as to serve the purposes of a foreign nation is hostile to this country. We can afford to have in this country but one language (applause), the language of the Declaration of Independence and of Washington's farewell address, the language of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and second inaugural, the English language. (Applause)

Mind you, I am not blaming the immigrant as much as I am blaming ourselves. We have failed to give the immigrant the chance to become Americanized as he should be-
come. We have permitted him to be exploited. We have failed to see that he was taught English, and, on the other hand, we have failed to demand from him a full allegiance, not merely in name but in deed, to the flag.

Let's exactly reverse that policy, let's hereafter treat each immigrant not merely as a labor unit but as the possible father of the American citizens with whom our children and children's children are to inherit this land. (Applause) If he isn't the right type to make us think that his children's children will be fit co-citizens of ours, then keep him out. If he is the right type, admit him on a full equality. Don't do anything half and half. (Applause) Provide for night schools at which every immigrant can learn English. Give him five years. Require him to learn to speak and read English. It will immensely increase his chance of being able to earn a livelihood on American standards. It will free our own workingmen from the danger of an inrush of men with a standard of living that will debase theirs.

If at the end of the five years, he has learned to speak and read English, give him his citizenship and give him the square deal. If he hasn't learned English, then send him back to the country from which he came. (Applause) Don't let's ever again see a condition created in which a divided citizenship has any chance to exist in this country. If a man isn't an American, he hasn't any business being in this country at all. If in good faith he shows himself to be an American, then it is an infamy to discriminate against him because of his creed or the country from
which his fathers came.

Now, friends, that is the first lesson for all of us to learn, the lesson of Americanism. If we are not Americans, we are not a unified people, we are not a nation at all -- we are a polyglot boarding house.

We have got to be a nation first, but it isn't enough to be a nation. China is a nation, but China can't fight and therefore half of China is now owned or dominated in some way or other by other nations, and the remaining half is more under foreign control than under its own control, so much so that I was struck a few months ago by the matter of fact way in which the dispatches from Washington announced that our government had of necessity, in endeavoring to settle China's future, settled it by an agreement not with China but with some other nation as to what China should do. And yet, four years ago, there were pacifists, nice, amiable people, who wanted to turn the United States into the China of the Occident, who held up China to us as a model, wished to put a pigtail on Uncle Sam, and assured us that if we would only be perfectly harmless everybody would love us. I haven't noticed that there has been any universal outburst of benevolence toward a Chinaman on the part of the people at large. They have been able to control their affection for the Chinese, in spite of the fact that China was harmless.

However, we half tried the experiment. We were assured by those nice people, after the war broke out, even, that if we only kept unprepared we would keep out of the war,
that if we only made it evident that people could kick us
with impunity nobody would fight us.

Well, we tried it, we kept unprepared and we
are in the war. Now, friends, I hope we will remember that
keep
lesson. The pacifists never kept a country out of war; they
only keep it unprepared to do its duty if war comes. Even
a pacifist will fight if you kick him long enough. (Laughter)
The trouble is that when he does fight he is no earthly
good. (Laughter) The pacifist keeps the nation fighting
within itself, appealing to what is shorts-sighted, cloth-
ful, foolish in the national make-up, until it is forced into
the war, so that it has to make its preparations after the
war has begun.

Now, friends, that represents ex-
actly the wrong attitude to take. Nobody can believe more
heartily than I do in peace. Nobody can wish for peace
more earnestly than I do. The bulk of the men who in every
great crisis have made up the American armies have not been
the men who wished for war, they weren't men who wished to
go as swash-bucklers around the earth, picking a quarrel;
they were men of peace, but there were things they loved
more than peace.

Abraham Lincoln loved peace, but he loved the
right, he loved the union, he loved liberty more than he
loved peace. If he hadn't, I wouldn't be speaking to you
today, for you and I would probably be living
in different nations and possibly all of us under some foreign
yoke.

I love peace. I ask for preparedness not because
I wish war but because I wish to avoid war. (Applause)
I would make my chief appeal to the mothers of the land.
I would be content because I knew that the women of today,
when they are given the chance to see facts as they are,
are the spiritual heirs of the mothers and wives of the
men of the Civil War, the mothers and wives of the men who
fought through the Revolution.

I ask for preparedness not so that we may have
war, but so that we may avoid war. I don't promise you
absolute immunity from all war in the future. No one but
a fool will say that the Millenium is near at hand, even
in this matter. I do promise that if the women of this
country will see that their sons, not a few of them but all
of them, are trained so that when or if the need comes,
they can move forward to do the common task of defending
the Commonwealth, the chances become a hundred-fold less
that any nation will ever force us into war. (Applause)

Think for yourselves. We went to war -- I am
not certain as to the exact date, because Germany went to
war with us sixteen months ago and we went to war with
Germany fourteen months ago; there was an intervening two
months twilight. If when Germany forced us into war she
had known that we had the ships, the guns, the aeroplanes,
the men to put two million men in Europe within the next
sixty days, you couldn't have dragged Germany into fighting
us and the war would have been over just as soon as we en-
tered it. (Applause)
Now, friends, there isn't any earthly use of speaking of the past, except in so far as we govern our future conduct by what we have learned from our failings in the past. What I have said to you I think most of you believe to be true. I ask you to act on that knowledge by preparing so that never again will we be caught as we have been caught, and don't prepare on the theory of letting George do it. It is the business of all of us. Let every mother in the land see that every son in the land between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one is trained by six months service in the field with the colors, as the draft army, as the National Guard, and the regular army have been trained in the past years. Let them see that that is done, and the guns and the aeroplanes and the war balloons and all the complicated mechanism of modern war prepared adequately, and there isn't a nation in the world that will venture to attack the United States. (Applause) It will be the longest step toward peace that can be taken.

As I tell you, friends, I don't mean that it will absolutely guarantee peace. I don't know any course of action in life that will absolutely guarantee anything—do you? I would like to know it if you do. All I can say is that it will immeasurably increase the likelihood that we never will have to go to war; and it will make it certain that if we do go the war will be waged with the maximum of efficiency and speed and with the minimum of loss.

There was a song that used to be sung about four
years ago. It has always struck me as about as degraded a
ditty as I ever listened to. "I Did not Raise my Boy to be
a Soldier" -- think of an American writing a song like that,
and of other Americans being willing to sing it! The answer
to it ought to be, "I didn't raise my Boy to be the only
Soldier". If you raise them all to be soldiers for the
right if the need comes, if all the mothers of the land
see that all the sons of the land are thus trained, then
no mother will have to weep the death of her son because
her son has had to go out single-handed against odds that
he should not face. (Applause)

Two years ago, a woman in Michigan - I am sure
a good woman - wrote to me saying that she had raised six
sons, and that she didn't agree with me about my policy of
preparedness because she didn't wish her sons to go up a-
again the cannon.

The two years have passed and her sons are now
going up against the cannon and going up without our
cannon back of them, just because too many of our people
felt as that good, short-sighted woman felt, that if they
failed to prepare against a danger somehow or other the
danger would disappear. I ask that we prepare in advance
our giant but soft and lazy strength precisely because I
don't wish to have to see us have to use it; and if we do
have to use it, I wish to see us use it with the utmost speed
and efficiency.

And, another thing - that is every man's business.
I wouldn't excuse any one from doing his share of the common duty, but the man I would excuse least from doing his share in the fighting is the wealthy man. (Applause)

Now, understand, I believe that in this war the great majority of the men of means have come forward with the bodies of their sons in fine shape, but there have been a few who have believed that by money you could offset personal service. I would never permit it for one moment.

In the first place, I would treat it as a point of honor that the millionaire's son should feel that, above all other young men, it was incumbent on him to show that he put his life as of no more and no less value than the value of the life of every other young man in the land. (Applause)

In the next place, as a matter of public duty, if I had anything to do with the Conscription Board, I wouldn't excuse any one who ought to go, and I would make him bring mighty good evidence that he oughtn't to go. But, by George, the man I would excuse least would be the man of wealth; and it is no improvement if, instead of permitting his son to be a slacker, he permits him to be a slicker. I don't know if you know the distinction they draw in Washington. A slacker is a man who dodges out of the service entirely; a slicker is a man who gets a uniform and a soft job where he won't be shot at. (Applause) Now, I despise the slacker, but, by George, I despise the slicker more. (Laughter) There are plenty of positions, very useful, where work has to be done.

...Crying of baby...
Praise the Lord. I am a grandfather myself, and I congratulate the mother and father. I think the baby has behaved extremely well. I am certain at that age I wouldn't have stood this speech as long as that.

... There are plenty of positions that are not dangerous but that are very important which must be filled by some one, but don't let them be filled by inexperienced men of sound body. Let them be filled if possible by men who have been at the front, who have perhaps been wounded at the front, by men who have shown that they are not afraid of the life in the trenches, if the hardship of exposure, the wearing fatigue, the danger -- let the positions be filled from among them. I would like to see eighty per cent. of the nice young people in uniforms in safe jobs go right straight out to the trenches. (Applause) And I know, Governor, that heartily meets your views.

Now, Friends, this war mustn't be over until we fight it through to a knockout. (Applause) There must be no decision until we have Germany beaten to her knees. (Applause) My belief is that we should have the same standards in international as in private honor. I do not accept the view that a nation should act differently from a man. I hold that a nation should show scrupulous regard for the rights of others and should instantly defend its own rights against aggression by others. (Applause)
In other words, I want to see the nation act as I believe an honorable man should act. Every one of us — I was going to say us fathers and mothers, I forgot I had moved on in the class, — so I shall say every one of you fathers and mothers (you see I have eight grandchildren now) wish your boys to grow up equally alien from the bully and from the coward. You wish your boy to avoid a brawl, to be ashamed of inviting a fight, of getting into needless trouble, but you also wish him to be able to hold his own and not to stand oppression and be able to protect his sister, his little wife, his mother, if the occasion arises. That is what you feel. Well, it is a good rule to tell him, to impress upon him never to hit if he can avoid it, but never to hit soft. (Laughter and applause) Nobody is grateful for being hit soft. If you hit a man a little but not much, he will hurt you. Don't hit him at all if you can possibly avoid it, if you do hit him put him to sleep. (Applause) I think that is sound doctrine from the ethical and every other standpoint.

It is just the same thing with a nation. Let it do all it honorably can to keep out of a war. When it has gone in, let it fight the war through. We have got to humble Germany now or prepare for a more dangerous war in the future. If we don't win now with our allies, some time in the future we will have to fight to a finish without allies.

It is our business, first and foremost, to put through this war, and then when the war is over, to reshape our
lives and in that reshaping a special thought part must be played by colleges, institutions of learning, such as this, throughout the land, by those who teach in them and by those who graduate from them. The first of those lessons is that while it is absolutely essential that the man or the woman shall be able to earn his or her own living, (somebody has got to earn it) yet that the college has taught you nothing unless it has taught you that that is only the beginning and not the end. The college has taught nothing unless it has taught its sons and daughters that while money-getting within reasonable is an absolute necessity, it is worse than an evil if made the ultimate end in itself for the man's activities.

We need institutions of technical teaching, of technical learning in the country; but in my judgment, we need still more the institutions that teach the broad, cultural development which this nation needs more than it needs anything else. We need the kind of learning acquired not because it can be turned into money but because it is worth so much more than money.

You have shown that you have that spirit in you. The thirteen hundred stars to which you are entitled show it, show that thirteen hundred of your sons have welcomed the chance to show that they are eagerly glad to wager everything, life itself, for the great prize of victory in battle for the right.

If American shows itself to be nothing more than a huge, money-getting Republic, then it isn't worth while that this experiment of free government should have been
tried on this continent. Unless we are able to build a sum of American achievement in art, in letters, in music, in science — I am not speaking of business science for material reward; I am speaking of science as science was taught in the great schools of Greece two thousand five hundred years ago — unless we can show that, then America has come short of its mission among the peoples.

Now, don't misunderstand me, there are two or three very essential duties which take precedence. The first duty is that the man shall be able to pull his own weight, (if he doesn't, somebody else has to pull it for him) that he shall be able to hold his own, to support his wife and his children — and I don't regard him as a man unless his chief ambition is to have a wife and children, and you know my views on that. Unless he is able to do that, the rest of health isn't in him, and there is no use bothering further with him. But if he goes on and makes out of money-getting, which should be a necessity up to a certain point, a fetish beyond that point, and judges men merely by the dollars they can accumulate, so that his standard of the size of a man is the size of the man's money-bags, then he shows himself unfit to be a fellow-countr tym en of Washington or Lincoln.

Let him remember that his first business, then, is to work so that he can support himself and give his wife and children the comforts, the reasonable opportunities to which they are entitled, but let him remember that no nation ever yet amounted to anything or ever will amount
to anything if it consisted simply of money-getters, and
if the trophies and proofs of its success consisted merely
in the symbols of successful money-getting. The money
must be there as a basis, but by no means as broad a
basis as most of the very successful men among us have
made it in their lives. It must be there as a basis,
as a foundation but it is only the foundation, and the
foundation is worthless unless upon it you build the super-
structure of the higher life, the life with ideals of
beauty, of nobility, of achievement for good for the
sake of doing what is good, the life of service and of
sacrifice in any one of a hundred lines, all directed
toward the welfare of our common country. (Applause)