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

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 516

1932 September 20

**Seattle, WA - Campaign Speech from Civic
Auditorium**

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Civic Auditorium, Seattle, Washington
September 20, 1932

Governor Hill, Mr. Mayor, my friends of the
State of Washington:

I am especially glad on this occasion and in
this place to extend my heartfelt respects -- my affec-
tionate regards -- to the great progressive Senator
(from a great progressive State, Senator Dill) who re-
presents your State of Washington. Senator Dill and I,
in addition to a long personal friendship, have sat side
by side these many years in using every effort to make
sure that the Democratic Party shall maintain its posi-
tion as a party of liberalism and progress. (Applause)

To Clarence Martin, the next Governor of (the)
this State, (of Washington) and to Homer Bone, who is to
be junior Senator from this State, I also extend my best
wishes. (Applause)

(To Mr. Bone) I want to express the feeling
again that I set forth in my Acceptance Speech, that this
campaign is a campaign in behalf of principles that trans-
cend party. The fight this year is against weak and mis-
taken and insincere leaders in Washington (applause) --
(and) it is not against the splendid rank and file of (the
Republican party) that historic party.

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.

State of Washington:

I am especially glad on this occasion and in this place to extend my heartfelt respects to the great progressive Senator (from a great progressive State, Senator Bill) who represents your State of Washington. Senator Bill and I, in addition to a long personal friendship, have sat side by side these many years in making every effort to make sure that the Democratic Party shall maintain its position as a party of liberalism and progress. (Applause)

To Clarence Martin, the next Governor of the State, (of Washington) and to Homer Bone, who is to be Junior Senator from this State, I also extend my best wishes. (Applause)

(To Mr. Bone) I want to express the feeling again that I set forth in my Acceptance Speech, that this campaign is a campaign in behalf of principles that transcend party. The fight this year is against weak and ineffectual and mediocre leaders in Washington (Applause)

(and) it is not against the splendid work and life of the Republican party) that historic party.

Mr. Bone has paid me the great compliment of responding to the invitation that I extended in my Acceptance Speech to men of all parties and political beliefs to join me in this battle for a new deal. (Applause) I want to congratulate and compliment him on his unselfish and courageous stand and to prophesy his overwhelming election in the coming campaign. (Applause) And, my friends, after what I have seen today in Seattle and at the Fair and in Tacoma, no intelligent person can doubt, after considering the enormous (Democratic) vote in this State, that its citizens realize the necessity for a new deal, and will at the coming election give the Democratic ticket an overwhelming majority.

In coming here I come with one deep shadow of sorrow because, back in the Spring, I had said to myself that if I were nominated at Chicago I would come out here sometime during the autumn campaign and that the first person to greet me in Seattle would be a man for whom I had not just regard, but a man for whom I had the deepest affection, my old friend, Scott Bailey. (Applause) In his passing, you, his fellow citizens, and indeed the people of this State and his many friends in all of the states mourn the loss of an American gentleman who was unafraid. (Applause)

I am glad to visit Seattle once more -- this beautiful city and great seaport, on the one hand facing the Orient, with its great future significance in the life of the world, (today) and on the other hand, Alaska, our own Alaska, with its needs and its possibilities. When I arrived here in this city, there was handed to me a telegram from another friend of mine, Mrs. William Holtsmyer (?), the National Committeewoman, who lives up in Ketchikan, Alaska. She said, "An Alaskan greets you. This great northland is for you 100%." Over the air I want to tell that great northland that I am with them 100%.

Many of you people know that I am no stranger. I have been here on many occasions before and (I) have often visited this city, and always with pleasure. While I was in the Navy Department, (the line of my duty led me here.) over a long period of years, I had some share, I am proud to say, in the building up of the Puget Sound Navy Yard at Bremerton, Washington. I don't have to tell you that I believe in our Navy. (Applause) I hope for many years to come that the Bremerton Yard will remain an important adjunct of our Naval Service, and that a good part of the time each year, while the Fleet is on the Pacific Coast, they will be in your neighborhood.

(Now) I am glad to renew old associations under the (pleasant) delightful auspices that have brought me here today, and, in addition to that, I am glad to renew (old) new associations as well.

I started off by going to Chicago by air and breaking a precedent. I broke another one when I started campaigning in the State of Vermont. (Laughter) I have broken a third one today. About an hour ago at the hotel I got another telegram. This one was from a place called Soap Lake, Washington, and here is what it said: "As your train passed a hospital this morning a new Democrat was born (laughter) to Mr. and Mrs. John Pappas. (Laughter) He has been named after the next President, Roosevelt Pappas." (Laughter) (Applause) So you see that the State of Washington has paid me the highest compliment that they could possibly pay (laughter and applause) and I accept it with gratitude. (Applause)

I regret that I (shall) have such little opportunity to see more of the beauties of Seattle (and its neighboring city, Tacoma) and this part of the country. But I have seen enough, (however) my friends, and heard enough today to know how heavily the hand of the great depression has fallen upon this Western country; to see what has happened in this great seaport brings back with

keen irony some of the things that Republican leaders used to tell us about stimulating foreign trade. As I pointed out in my speech at Columbus, (Ohio) one of the ways that they were going to stimulate foreign trade in 1928 was to lend money to backward nations, (and) to crippled countries, so as to enable them to buy goods from us with our money. (Laughter, applause) Well, that is one way to carry on business transactions. Another way (is) would be just to give things away! (Laughter) I am not sure (but the) that this latter way of giving things away is not better than the first, because at least when we give things away we save the cost of keeping books! (Laughter) And, moreover, when we give things away we at least have no disappointment in failing to receive payment from our debtors. (Applause)

And another method that the present Republican leaders conjured up to provide for our prosperity was the Hawley-Smoot, (or) otherwise known as the Grundy Tariff. I am going to tell you a little confidential family story. Three days ago I was in Salt Lake City and I had a call from a very good old friend of mine, Senator Reed Smoot himself. It was mighty nice of him to come, and because we had known each other a great many years I started the

conversation this way. I said, "Senator Smoot, you ought to be very grateful to me. You ought really to write me a letter of congratulation and thanks." And the Senator said, "Why, Governor?" And I said, "Well, Senator, I have tried to be nice to you and I think that I have done you a real service." And he said, "How is that?" And I said, "I have come across the continent now for several days and almost every place that I have gone to I have been talking about a perfectly terrible, horrible tariff bill, but I saved your feelings, Senator. I haven't once referred to it as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff. I have referred to it on every occasion as the Grundy Tariff." (Laughter) And, do you know, strange to say, Senator Smoot didn't seem a bit grateful to me. (Laughter) So now I am referring to it both ways, as long as he doesn't care. I am referring to it as the Smoot-Hawley Tariff and the Grundy Tariff.

President Hoover probably should have known that this tariff would raise havoc with any plans that he might have had to stimulate foreign markets. But he did not, I am afraid, sufficiently understand how insistent are the demands of certain types of Republicans for special high tariff protection. When (this) that tariff bill was passed, with its outrageous rates, (he) the President (weakly) yielded to

the demand of (these) those leaders and started us (on) down the road to the place where we now find ourselves. And, my friends, it is the road to ruin, (my friends) if we keep on it! That tariff, as you in the State of Washington well know, had the inevitable result of bringing about retaliations by the other nations of the world. (Applause) Forty of them set up, just as you and I would have done, their own tariff defenses against us. (Applause)

For example, our next-door neighbor, Canada, imposed retaliatory tariffs on your peaches, so that (the) their tariff is now higher than the freight rates to Canada. And there is a retaliatory tariff on asparagus, (and) on other vegetables and other fruits, (which is) so high that practically none of your agricultural product can be sold to a logical customer, your neighbor(s) across the (border) line. The market for your surplus is destroyed and thereby fair prices for your whole crop are made impossible, as you and I know.

Embargoes by France, (and) embargoes by other European (countries) nations on apples and other products of the Pacific Coast, make it impossible to ship (your) these surplus apples (by) abroad through the Panama Canal.

Yes, retaliatory tariffs on condensed milk have closed milk condensaries on the Northern Pacific Coast. Companies have sold their cows. Let us see the effect of that: As you and I know, that cuts off the market for the hay crops (of) raised by the farmers. That is a good example of the fact, the undeniable, undisputed fact of the interdependence of industry and agriculture. I am told that one great company has gone to Holland, Germany and other European (countries) nations and built (condensaries) condensers there. And at this time I am told that the people of Washington (you) are appealing to the Secretary of State to use his good offices with Germany to prevent the placing of canned salmon on a quota basis. In short, because we have built unjust tariff walls ourselves, other countries are now using our own poison against us. That is the fact. (Applause)

To remedy (this) that kind of fact I have advocated and continue to advocate a tariff policy based on reason, on good old-fashioned horse sense, (applause, a tariff policy based on the same horse sense that you and I would use in dealing in our own business with our own neighbor. It is a tariff policy based in large part upon the simple principle of profitable exchange, arrived at through negotiated tariff, with benefit to each nation.

If I am any judge of conditions in this country today and of thought in this country today, (this) that policy will be initiated on March 4, (next) 1933. (Applause)

This principle of tariff by negotiation means to deal with each country concerned, on a basis of fair barter; if they have something we need, and we have something they need, a tariff agreement can and should be made that is satisfactory to both countries. (This) That, of course, avoids a violent and a general shake-up (of) in business. It is a just method (in) of dealing with our foreign customers. It keeps the general structure of international trade, keeps it stable and sound. And, my friends, it makes for world peace. It is practical, it is American! Let us lead the way! (Applause)

Out here on the (Pacific) Coast, another factor has had a destructive effect upon our foreign trade, as all of you know. Trade with the Orient has suffered to (some) a great extent on account of tariff(s), but it has also suffered because of the abnormal depreciation of the buying power of the (Oriental) countries of the far east.

It is widely recognized by conservative, liberal and enlightened financial leaders, that to remedy this we shall have to look to international action. And in line

with the plan suggested by the Democratic Platform I shall advocate immediate action by our Government in cooperation with other governments of the world.

There are many ways of producing the results desired without disturbing the currency of the United States.

In this (whole) matter of restoration of export trade with all countries, east and west, through the methods that I have outlined and shall continue to speak of, I am absolutely determined that our (country) Nation shall take the initiative and the leadership. (Applause)

(This) That constitutes again the application of the rules of common sense. It constitutes what I conceive to be a new deal in the restoration of foreign trade -- and with that goes a partial restoration of prosperity in our own country. It is the way to economic peace and stability and the way to a reasonable and sound prosperity.

My friends, it is the way of fairness and justice too -- fairness to our customers abroad, (and) justice to our own citizens who have suffered so bitterly because of the loss of this export trade. This measure of justice can come only through a revival of industry (and) -- a revival of employment itself. Not charity, but a chance for us to earn (a) our own living. (Applause) (This) That is the

hope, (and) that is the demand of the man and the woman forgotten in the policies of the present Republican leadership. (Applause)

All my life I have been a doer, not a phrase-maker. And I ask your help -- I ask it in the spirit of liberal views and liberal actions. I ask it in the name of a stricken America and a stricken world. I ask you to give me your help. (Prolonged applause)

29

FOR RELEASE ALL MORNING PAPERS SEPTEMBER 21st, NOT
APPEARING ON STREET BEFORE 9 P.M. except PACIFIC
COAST PAPERS WHICH HAVE A FLAT RELEASE OF 8 P.M.

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M. H. Mc INTYRE

Delivered at SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Sept. 20, 1932.

8:30 P.M.

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Inserts

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extend my heartfelt respects to the great progressive
Senator, ^{IN 1932} ~~from a great progressive State, Senator Dill~~

To Clarence Martin, the next Governor of the
State of Washington, and to Homer Bone, who is to be
Junior Senator from this State.

~~To Mr. Bone~~ I want to express the feeling again
that I set forth in my Acceptance Speech, that this
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not against the rank and file of the Republican party.

Mr. Bone has paid me the great compliment of respond-
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I am glad to visit once more this beautiful city and great seaport, on the one hand facing the Orient with its great significance in the life of the world today, and on the other, Alaska, our own Alaska, with its needs and its possibilities. (I have often visited this city and always with pleasure; while I was in the Navy Department, the line of my duty led me here, now under the pleasant auspices that have brought me here today, I am glad to renew old associations.

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transactions. Another ~~is~~ just to give things away! ^{is - 100% - 100%} (A)
I am not sure but ~~the latter is better than the first,~~
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Embargoes by France, and other European countries on apples, make it impossible to ship your surplus apples by the Panama Canal.

Retaliatory tariffs on condensed milk have closed milk condensaries on the Northern Pacific Coast. Companies have sold their cows. That cuts off the market for the hay crops of the farmers. That is a good example of the interdependence of industry and agriculture. One great company has gone to Holland, Germany and other European countries and built condensaries there. And at this time you are appealing to the Secretary of State to use his good offices with Germany to prevent the placing of canned salmon on a quota basis. In short, because we have built unjust tariff walls ourselves, other countries are using our own poison against us.

To remedy this, I have advocated and continue to advocate a tariff policy based in large part upon the simple principle of profitable exchange arrived at through negotiated tariffs with benefit to each nation.

If I am any judge of conditions, this policy will be initiated on March 4th next.

Handwritten notes and initials on the right margin, including "V.M. 6/5", "2/11", "2/12", "2/13", "2/14", "2/15", "2/16", "2/17", "2/18", "2/19", "2/20", "2/21", "2/22", "2/23", "2/24", "2/25", "2/26", "2/27", "2/28", "2/29", "2/30", "3/1", "3/2", "3/3", "3/4", "3/5", "3/6", "3/7", "3/8", "3/9", "3/10", "3/11", "3/12", "3/13", "3/14", "3/15", "3/16", "3/17", "3/18", "3/19", "3/20", "3/21", "3/22", "3/23", "3/24", "3/25", "3/26", "3/27", "3/28", "3/29", "3/30", "3/31", "4/1", "4/2", "4/3", "4/4", "4/5", "4/6", "4/7", "4/8", "4/9", "4/10", "4/11", "4/12", "4/13", "4/14", "4/15", "4/16", "4/17", "4/18", "4/19", "4/20", "4/21", "4/22", "4/23", "4/24", "4/25", "4/26", "4/27", "4/28", "4/29", "4/30", "5/1", "5/2", "5/3", "5/4", "5/5", "5/6", "5/7", "5/8", "5/9", "5/10", "5/11", "5/12", "5/13", "5/14", "5/15", "5/16", "5/17", "5/18", "5/19", "5/20", "5/21", "5/22", "5/23", "5/24", "5/25", "5/26", "5/27", "5/28", "5/29", "5/30", "5/31", "6/1", "6/2", "6/3", "6/4", "6/5", "6/6", "6/7", "6/8", "6/9", "6/10", "6/11", "6/12", "6/13", "6/14", "6/15", "6/16", "6/17", "6/18", "6/19", "6/20", "6/21", "6/22", "6/23", "6/24", "6/25", "6/26", "6/27", "6/28", "6/29", "6/30", "7/1", "7/2", "7/3", "7/4", "7/5", "7/6", "7/7", "7/8", "7/9", "7/10", "7/11", "7/12", "7/13", "7/14", "7/15", "7/16", "7/17", "7/18", "7/19", "7/20", "7/21", "7/22", "7/23", "7/24", "7/25", "7/26", "7/27", "7/28", "7/29", "7/30", "7/31", "8/1", "8/2", "8/3", "8/4", "8/5", "8/6", "8/7", "8/8", "8/9", "8/10", "8/11", "8/12", "8/13", "8/14", "8/15", "8/16", "8/17", "8/18", "8/19", "8/20", "8/21", "8/22", "8/23", "8/24", "8/25", "8/26", "8/27", "8/28", "8/29", "8/30", "8/31", "9/1", "9/2", "9/3", "9/4", "9/5", "9/6", "9/7", "9/8", "9/9", "9/10", "9/11", "9/12", "9/13", "9/14", "9/15", "9/16", "9/17", "9/18", "9/19", "9/20", "9/21", "9/22", "9/23", "9/24", "9/25", "9/26", "9/27", "9/28", "9/29", "9/30", "10/1", "10/2", "10/3", "10/4", "10/5", "10/6", "10/7", "10/8", "10/9", "10/10", "10/11", "10/12", "10/13", "10/14", "10/15", "10/16", "10/17", "10/18", "10/19", "10/20", "10/21", "10/22", "10/23", "10/24", "10/25", "10/26", "10/27", "10/28", "10/29", "10/30", "10/31", "11/1", "11/2", "11/3", "11/4", "11/5", "11/6", "11/7", "11/8", "11/9", "11/10", "11/11", "11/12", "11/13", "11/14", "11/15", "11/16", "11/17", "11/18", "11/19", "11/20", "11/21", "11/22", "11/23", "11/24", "11/25", "11/26", "11/27", "11/28", "11/29", "11/30", "12/1", "12/2", "12/3", "12/4", "12/5", "12/6", "12/7", "12/8", "12/9", "12/10", "12/11", "12/12", "12/13", "12/14", "12/15", "12/16", "12/17", "12/18", "12/19", "12/20", "12/21", "12/22", "12/23", "12/24", "12/25", "12/26", "12/27", "12/28", "12/29", "12/30", "12/31".

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Not charity, but a chance to earn a living. ^(C)
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