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**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”**

**The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945**

**Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension**

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**File No. 547**

**1932 October 1**

**Chicago, IL - Campaign Address at Hotel Stevens**

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Illinois  
October 1, 1932

Governor Horner, (applause) Senator Dietrich, (ap-  
plause) Mayor Cermak, and you, my friends of Chicago and of  
Illinois:

You have given me a wonderful tribute. The very  
moment my train arrived in Chicago last night up to now, and,  
as the Judge has suggested, even this afternoon out at the  
Ball Park. (Laughter)

It was a real Chicago reception, given after the  
manner that is peculiarly your own, and it certainly has ex-  
ceeded in enthusiasm and in generosity anything I have ever  
experienced in all my life. (Applause)

And I am certain that this wonderful enthusiasm is  
because you men and women of all parties are enthusiastic for  
the liberal, tolerant and moving principles of the great Dem-  
ocratic platform that was adopted here in your city the end  
of June, and because of your absolute confidence in the suc-  
cess of those principles. For that I am grateful, and I am  
filled with enthusiasm and with courage redoubled to carry  
on during the next five weeks. (Applause)

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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.

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Hotel Stevens, Chicago, October 1, 1932

Governor Horner, (Applause) Senator Diefendorf, (ap-

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Ball Park. (Laughter)

It was a real Chicago reception, given after the manner that is peculiarly your own, and it certainly has exceeded in enthusiasm and in generosity anything I have ever

experienced in all my life. (Applause)

And I am certain that this wonderful enthusiasm is because you men and women of all parties are enthusiastic for the liberal, tolerant and moving principles of the great Democratic platform that was adopted here in your city the end of June, and because of your absolute confidence in the success of those principles. For that I am grateful, and I am filled with enthusiasm and with courage resolved to carry

on during the next five years. (Applause)

There is a great deal connected with Chicago that I

remember over a good many years. Some of you very old people, like myself, (laughter) may go back forty years to the year before the World's Fair was opened. I was ten years old, and my father was the New York State Commissioner to the World's Fair. We came out in the autumn of 1892 to see about the arrangements, and I shall always remember one delightful episode of those days. When we stepped off the train at the Illinois Central Station, we were met at the platform by a delightful old gentleman with one of those flowing bell-shaped coats, and a whip in his left hand, and a shiny, black top hat on his head, and he stepped forward, and he said to my father, "How do you do, Cousin James?" Well, he was a Roosevelt, too, and he was the head of one of the great livery stables of those days (laughter) and was dressed accordingly. He had a concession for carrying, he and his hacks, the distinguished visitors to the city to and from the hotels and the Exposition and the depots, and in that way we were made welcome to Chicago forty years ago. (Applause)

He was a very good host, this old cousin of ours, and it was not until twenty-five years later that I was able, in some way, to repay the debt. When I was in the Navy Department, around 1916 or 1917, I think, we had decided to start a mine-base down on Chesapeake Bay, and the officers

of the Navy had selected a site near Yorktown. I went down in my official capacity to look it over, and when I landed and got into an old ramshackle Ford to see this property, I was told that in a fine old house up on a hill there lived some cousins of mine, and sure enough, there was the son of the old livery stable Roosevelt, he and his wife, and they were living there in fear that the Government of the United States would dispossess them. Luckily he happened to find a cousin in Washington, (laughter) and we allowed him to remain as custodian of the property from that time on until he died. (Applause)

After that experience -- after the Chicago of 1892 and 1893, you can be very certain that you can count on my presence out here on the first of June next. (Applause)

And then, a little more clear, I have memories of just three months ago today; three months, and it was just about this time of the day that I was sitting at the radio in Albany and found it necessary to engage a plane to start early the next morning. Well, I came. And I was able to take part in the last proceedings of that -- and it will always be, to me at least, the greatest of all conventions of modern times. (Applause)

The vigor and strength of your welcome, my friends,

is in part a symbol of the thing that has made this city great. It has strength, sheer unconquerable strength, and that is what your own poets have sung, and what people from other lands have noted. Young as you are, or until you become a centenarian next year, I must call you young -- that strength has translated itself into beauty and culture. To compliment you on that is simply to repeat what has been said many, many times before, and the most beautiful things that you have are those, it seems to me, that have been dedicated to the public good. Every time I come here I get a new thrill driving on that wonderful Lake Shore Drive, a thing of beauty, but more than that, a symbol of human usefulness, of service and of recreation.

I have spoken of your strength. It is the strength of diversity, a strength that comes from many points of view, many kinds of people, drawn, as the prayer book says, out of many kindreds and tongues. I have never been one of those who are disturbed with the fear that the assembling of many races would destroy the ideals of the founders. I have rather seen it as a means by which true American ideals may be strengthened and given a broader, a more vital significance in the life of the whole world. (Applause)

One hundred years ago this very spot was untouched

country. The city that has grown up since then is made up of many influences and elements, and I like to think there has been a common purpose in that building, the purpose of the pioneer. Some of it came from the pioneer of the old American stock on the Atlantic seaboard -- restless, courageous people who pushed out this way when the West grew up, but it is also made up in equal part of pioneers of other races who looked to this West from their homes and with courage that I envy and respect, pushed across the ocean itself and into a new land, strange in language, strange in habits, and there found a real home.

I don't believe there is any spot in the world that has this extraordinary combination of the new and the old pioneers. And it seems to me, my friends, that if we as a Nation can retain the spirit of the pioneers we shall conquer even the wilderness of depression. (Applause)

Out of the many elements of a single city that has grown proud of itself, one of the greatest elements is the sense of achievement, and the process by which these various elements submerged into this community is what we call Americanization, or, better yet, Americanism. The development of this Americanism out of these many groups is a matter of give and take, of fair and even exchange of ideas. It means that

the American greets the newcomer, and says to him, "We will welcome the enriching influence of your culture. We are not afraid of new ideas. We want you to give us the best you have of art, and science and industry, as well as the brawn of your arms." And it means, on the other side, that the new arrival gives to America loyalty in times of adversity, a sense of patience with slow-moving changes, intelligent sympathy and fair-minded cooperation in the process of self-government.

And when these two purposes meet we have a strong community. That is the way Chicago is built, and if that had not taken place there would be no city here, and in its place we would find a mass of divergent, conflicting and antagonistic groups. And so Americanism, expressed in this sense, spells out a fine spirit of give and take, of fairness and of justice. It spells out, if you will, a sacred word, "toleration", a word that means much more than mere aspirations, because it is the method of building true community life.

Yes, your city has not only been built on a grand and magnificent scale. It is meeting, like some other cities, a difficult problem of government, and not only just other cities, but other states, and the Federal Government in Washington itself. I have often said that I am more interested



in government than I am in politics. The task of governing a city of this size is enormous. You have felt the financial strain like everybody else. Your taxes have not yielded enough to supply the necessities of government.

Critical situations have arisen in which all interested people, high and low, have had to join hands in bringing the structure of government through the crisis without precipitating a wreck.

Your Mayor, my friends, backed by the enthusiastic and united democracy, and most of the other citizens of Chicago, (applause) has been meeting this situation as we in other parts of the Nation realize, in the right spirit. With hard, practical experience he has been cutting expenses, and, believe me, it takes courage to do that. (Applause)

He has been giving an example to the country which it sorely needs in these days. This country of ours, as I have often pointed out, is in the process of reducing itself to a commonsense basis of expenditure. Cities have been hit hard -- their credit is a thing, of course, that does not permit of deficits. They have had to cut and cut bravely, and one of the things that I think is more worthy of note than anything else is the fact that while Mayor Cermak has been compelled to reduce expenditures with an iron hand, he

has at the same time been getting, as regards the most important function of city government -- preservation of law and order -- getting better results. (Applause) And, indeed, you have done even more than that. You have been getting more and better law enforcement for less money, and that is an even greater achievement. (Applause)

Now, in speaking of law enforcement, my friends, here as in other great cities, it is only fair to say that a primary need is not only to do as you have been doing -- increase the efficiency of law enforcement and keep your costs down -- what we must do is to make the job easier to perform. And the way to do that is to recognize frankly that the power of a state to maintain order -- the power of a city to maintain order -- to enforce law -- depends not only on the power of law enforcement but upon the nature of the law itself. (Applause)

If a law is imposed upon law enforcement agencies that a vast proportion of the people do not regard as a moral obligation, the great orderly force of public opinion that must stand behind law enforcement is lost. And, on the contrary, this force runs counter to the process of law enforcement, and it must meet not only the problem of restraining the offender -- it must restrain the offender in spite of the

fact that the people in the community do not think the offender is an offender at all. (Applause)

That, my friends, is serious to our process of government because whenever we have admitted this kind of regulation we have met with extreme difficulty. For example, we have found after a long and bitter trial that we cannot in a city like Chicago enforce prohibition. (Prolonged applause)

Now, I am not going to discuss this at length; I have touched on it occasionally since the first day of July, and I notice that people are required to talk at length on it only when they have something to explain away. (Applause) The Democratic platform adopted here in Chicago leaves nothing to be explained. It is direct. It is simple. It is forthright. It is a promise of relief and I am going to let the Republican leaders try to explain their stand on prohibition. (Applause)

I take it that they are having sufficient trouble doing that about a great many things, but for myself, I stand on the Democratic platform, as I have said before, one hundred per cent. (Applause) I mean the proposed modification of the Volstead Act.

Now, when the tariff is out of the way as a national issue, and I am confident it will be so, those who are interested in public affairs can give redoubled effort to the larger and more fundamental, more far-reaching questions of economic readjustment and relief. I wish I had time tonight to outline to you once more

that portion of the program that I have elaborated since my nomination. I have spoken on a number of occasions of the major problems that confront our economic life in this country, of agriculture -- and may I say here, that you people in this city and in New York City and of the other great cities are coming more and more to realize that industrial prosperity is in very large part dependent upon the return of the purchasing power of those engaged in farming throughout the Nation. (Applause)

I have spoken of saving the railroads from receiver-ships; I have spoken of the tariff in words, I think, that laymen like myself can understand; and I talked about power, and you people in this city know something about power. (Laughter, applause)

I have stated my position, my friends, in simple terms. These terms have, in fact, been sufficiently clear, so that we have been receiving overwhelming response from people in every section of the country, from people in every walk of life, responses to my statements on these questions, and about the only people who say they don't understand are the Republican leaders themselves; and when, perchance, they do understand, they say, "It is good, very good; but it is taken from just what President Hoover said." (Laughter)

It is a strange thing, my friends, that this campaign comes down to a point where the only answer that they

have for a reasonably and carefully drawn up economic program for recovery is either that it cannot be understood or that it is taken from someone else. It sounds to me a little like this: The opposition this year has found itself confronted with an unscalable wall -- not a tariff but of solid fact (applause), as I have often made it clear in my economic policies and attitude towards economic life, the life of human beings. (Applause)

I tried to set forth what I conceived to be a re-ordered relationship among all the factors in the present economic scale. It is a general policy that recognizes that no man, no group of men or women, can be ignored in the restoration of economic life without leaving a danger spot that may destroy the entire prosperity, the entire order which we have created.

As I have said, we cannot endure half-boom and half-broke. That means the careful and intelligent readjustment of many relationships, and it means to a great degree a restoration of values.

What is true of the farmer that I have talked about is true of every other member of the economic community. I pointed out a week ago in San Francisco that our task is to meet the problem of under-consumption, of adjusting production

to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably. (Applause)

And, my friends, that means that the products of our factories, the products of our farms which essentially constitute our national wealth, must be permitted to flow in such a way as to supply and profit everyone. And not merely a small prosperous group. What we all need is customers, and we can have them only when purchasing power is more equitably distributed. Theoretically -- (applause) and some people hold that theory -- we could distribute purchasing power by confiscating everything within reach. And after confiscating it we could divide it up equally between everybody -- on Saturday night. (Laughter) But you and I, after all, are common-sense people and we know that wealth wouldn't stay distributed that way if we tried it at all. And so the way to distribute wealth -- the way to distribute products more equitably is, after all, to adjust our economic legislation so that no group is unduly favored at the expense of any other group or section. (Applause)

Where these laws of ours -- where the laws of the Federal Government, where the laws and processes of state government, and where the laws and administration of city government assist or permit any group to exploit other groups,

the exploited ones can no longer buy. Government of all kinds must systematically eliminate special advantages, eliminate special favors, eliminate special privileges wherever possible -- whether they come, my friends, from tariff subsidies, or credit-favoritism, or taxation, or anywhere else. (Prolonged applause)

I like the slogan that you have adopted here in Chicago -- the slogan, "I WILL". (Prolonged applause) It expresses to me the hopefulness needed in times like these. It expresses the idea that I have tried to put in the forefront of my own campaigning. It distinguishes it from what I believe to be the expression of Republican leadership in the last four years, "I would have -- but." (Laughter, prolonged applause)

And so, I don't cast in my lot with those who say, "I would have -- but." I cast it in with those who say, "I WILL." (Applause)

Let me appropriate that slogan of yours for the period of the campaign that is still to come. It expresses the determination that we shall not permit the depression to defeat us, (applause) hopeful and united, with a firm belief that our program is strong enough for the emergency to come. Join me in that watchword, "I WILL." (Prolonged applause, loud cheering)

In this undaunted spirit, my friends, you and I

will carry on until the people are lifted out of the pit of despond; until action is substituted for dormancy; until social justice is substituted for privilege; (applause) until prosperity is substituted for poverty. The principles of Democracy will rule again in our land. (Prolonged applause)



M. H. McINTYRE, Press Representative

SPEECH OF HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

HOTEL STEVENS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 1, 1932.

(Governor Roosevelt introduced by Judge Henry Horner.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: Governor Horner (applause), Senator Dietrich (ap plause), Mayor Cermak, and you, my friends of Chicago and of Illinois:

You have given me a wonderful tribute. The very moment my train arrived in Chicago last night up to now, and, as the Judge has suggested, even this afternoon out at the Ball Park. (Laughter)

It was a real Chicago reception, given after the manner that is peculiarly your own, and it certainly has exceeded in enthusiasm and in generosity anything I have ever experienced in all my life. (Applause).

And I am certain that this wonderful enthusiasm is because you men and women of all parties are enthusiastic for the liberal, tolerant and moving principles of the great Democratic platform that was adopted here in your City the end of June and because of your absolute confidence in the

success of those principles. For that I am grateful, and I am filled with enthusiasm and with courage redoubled to carry on during the next five weeks (applause).

There is a great deal connected with Chicago that I remember over a good many years. Some of you very old people, like myself, (laughter) may go back forty years to the year before the World's Fair was opened. I was 10 years old, and my father was the New York State Commissioner to the World's Fair. We came out in the autumn of 1893 to see about the arrangements, and I shall always remember one delightful episode of those days. When we stepped off the train at the Illinois Central station, we were met at the platform by a delightful old gentleman with one of those flowering bell-shaped coats, and a whip in his left hand, and a shiny black-top hat on his head, and he stepped forward, and he said to my father, "How do you do, cousin James?" Well, he was a Roosevelt too. And he was the head of one of the great livery stables of those days (laughter) and was dressed accordingly. He had a concession for carrying, he and his hacks, the distinguished visitors to the city to and from the hotels and the exposition and the depots, and in that way we were made welcome to Chicago 40 years ago (applause).

Introduction - 3

He was a very good host, this old cousin of ours, and it was not until 25 years later that I was able, in some way to repay the debt. When I was in the Navy Department around 1916 or 1917, I think, we had decided to start a mine-base down on Chesapeake Bay, and the officers of the navy had selected a sight near Yorktown. I went down in my official capacity to look it over, and when I landed and got into an old ramshackle ford to see this property, I was told that in a fine old house, up on a hill, there lived some cousins of mine, and sure enough, there was the son of the old livery stable Roosevelt, he and his wife, and they were living there in fear that the Government of the United States would dispossess them. Luckily he happened to find a cousin in Washington (laughter) and we allowed him to remain in custodiam of the property from that time on until he died. (applause)

After that experience -- after the Chicago of 1892 and 1893, you can be very certain that you can count on my present out here on the first of June next (applause).

And then, a little more clear, I have memories of just three months ago today; three months, and it was just about this time of the day that I was sitting at the radio in Albany and found it necessary to engage a plane to start

Introduction - 4

early the next morning. Well, I came. And I was able to take part in the last proceedings of that -- and it will always be to me at least, the greatest of all conventions of modern times. (applause).

The vigor and strength of your welcome my friends, is in part a symbol of the thing that has made this city great. It has strength, sheer unconquerable strength, and that is what your own poets have sung, and what people from other lands have noted. Young as you are, or until you become a centenarian next year I must call you young, -- that strength has translated itself into beauty and culture. To compliment you on that is simply to repeat what has been said many, many times before, and the most beautiful thing that you have are those, it seems to me, that have been dedicated to the public good. Every time I come here I get a new thrill driving on that wonderful Lake Shore Drive, a thing of beauty, but more than that, a symbol of human usefulness of service and of recreation.

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## Introduction & 5

be strengthened and given a broader, a more vital significance in the life of the whole world. (applause)

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Introduction - 6

elements submerged into this community is what we call Americanization, or, better yet, Americanism. The development of this Americanism out of these many groups is a matter of give and take, of fair and even exchange of ideas. It means that the American greets the newcomer, and says to him, "We will welcome the enriching influence of your culture. We are not afraid of new ideas. We want you to give us the best you have of art, and science and industry, as well as the brawn of your arms." And it means on the other side, that the new arrival gives to America loyalty in times of adversity, a sense of patience with slow moving changes, intelligent sympathy and fair-minded cooperation in the process of self-government.

And when these two purposes meet we have a strong community. That is the way Chicago is built, and if that had not taken place there would be no city here, and in its place we would find a mass of divergent, conflicting and antagonistic groups. And so Americanism, expressed in this sense, spells out a fine spirit of give and take, of fairness and of justice. It spells out, if you will, a sacred word, "toleration," a word that means much more than mere aspirations, because it is the method of building true community life.

(Follow with A)

A

Yes, your City has not only been built on a grand and magnificent scale. It is meeting, like some other cities, a difficult problem of government, and not only just other cities but other states, and the Federal Government in Washington itself. I have often said that I am more interested in government than I am in politics. The task of governing a city of this size is enormous. You have felt the financial strain like everybody else. Your taxes have not yielded enough to supply the necessities of government.

Critical situations have arisen in which all interested people, high and low, have had to join hands in bringing the structure of government through the crisis without precipitating a wreck.

Your Mayor, my friends, backed by the enthusiastic and united democracy, and most of the other citizens of Chicago, (applause) -- has been meeting this situation as we in other parts of the nation realize, in the right spirit. With hard, practical experience he has been cutting expenses, and, believe me, it takes courage to do that. (Applause)

He has been giving an example to the country which it sorely needs in these days. This country of ours, as I have often pointed out, is in the process of reducing itself to a commonsense basis of expenditure. Cities have been hit hard -- their credit is a thing of course that does not permit of deficits. They have had to cut and cut

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Now, in speaking of law enforcement my friends, here as in other great cities, it is only fair to say that a primary need is not only to do as you have been doing -- increase the efficiency of law enforcement and keep your costs down -- what we must do is to make the job easier to perform. And the way to do that is to recognize frankly that the power of a state to maintain order -- the power of a city to maintain order -- to enforce law -- depends not only on the power of law enforcement but upon the nature of the law itself. (Applause)

If a law is imposed upon law enforcement agencies that a vast proportion of the people do not regard as a moral obligation, the great orderly force of public opinion that must stand behind law enforcement is lost. And, on the contrary, this force runs counter to the process of law enforcement, and it must meet not only the problem of restraint



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That, my friends, is serious to our process of government because whenever we have admitted this kind of regulation we have met with extreme difficulty. For example, we have found after a long and bitter trial that we cannot in a city like Chicago enforce prohibition. (Applause -- prolonged).

Now, I am not going to discuss this at length. I have touched on it occasionally since the first day of July, and I notice that people are required to talk at length on it only when they have something to explain away. (Applause). The Democratic platform adopted here in Chicago leaves nothing to be explained. It is direct. It is simple. It is forthright. It is a promise of relief and I am going to let the Republican leaders try to explain their stand on Prohibition. (Applause)

(Continue with

"Second take - 1")

Second Take - 1

I take it that they are having sufficient trouble doing that about a great many things, but for myself, I stand on the Democratic Platform, as I have said before, one hundred percent. (applause) I mean the proposed modification of the Volstead Act.

Now, when the tariff is out of the way as a national issue, and I am confident it will be so, those who are interested in public affairs can give redoubled effort to the larger and more fundamental, more far-reaching questions of economic readjustment and relief. I wish I had time tonight to outline to you once more that portion of the program that I have elaborated since my nomination. I have spoken on a number of occasions of the major problems that confront our economic life in this country, of agriculture -- and may I say here, that you people in this city and in New York city and of the other great cities are coming more and more to realize that industrial prosperity is in very large part dependent upon the return of the purchasing power of those engaged in farming throughout the nation (applause).

I have spoken of saving the railroads from receiver-ships; I have spoken of the tariff in words I think that laymen like myself can understand; and I talked about power, and you people in this city know something about power (laughter and applause).

Second Take - 2

I have stated my position, my friends, in simple terms. These terms have in fact been sufficiently clear, so that we have been receiving overwhelming response from people in every section of the country, from people in every walk of life, responses to my statements on these questions, and about the only people who say they don't understand are the Republican leaders themselves; and when, perchance, they do understand, they say, "It is good, very good, but it is taken from just what President Hoover said." (laughter)

It is a strange thing, my friends, that this campaign comes down to a point where the only answer that they have for a reasonably and carefully drawn up economic program for recovery can be answered only by saying that it either cannot be understood or that it is taken from someone else. It sounds to me a little like this: The opposition this year has found itself confronted with an unscalable wall -- not a tariff, but of ~~xxx~~ solid fact, (applause), as I have often made it clear in my economic policies and attitude towards economic life, the life of human beings (applause).

I tried to set forth what I conceived to be a reordered relationship among all the factors in the present economic scale. It is a general policy that recognizes that no man, that no group of men or women, can be ignored

Second Take - 3

in the restoration of economic life without leaving a danger spot that may destroy the entire prosperity, the entire order which we have created.

As I have said, we cannot endure half-boom and half-broke. That means the careful and intelligent readjustment of many relationships, and it means to a great degree a restoration of values.

What is true of the farmer that I have talked about is true of every other member of the economic community. I pointed out a week ago in San Francisco that our task is to meet the problem of under-consumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably (applause)

(End of Second Take)

(Third Take Follows)  
(on next page)

Third Take - 1

And my friends, that means that the products of our factories, the products of our farms which essentially constitute our national wealth must be permitted to flow in such a way as to supply and profit everyone. And not merely a mere small prosperous group. What we all need is customers, and we can have them only when purchasing power is more equitably distributed. Theoretically -- (applause) -- and some people hold that theory -- we could distribute purchasing power by confiscating everything within reach. And after confiscating it we could divide it up equally between everybody -- on Saturday night. (laughter) But you and I after all are common sense people and we know that wealth wouldn't stay distributed that way if we tried it at all. And so the way to distribute wealth -- the way to distribute products more equitably is after all to adjust our economic legislation so that no group is unduly favored at the expense of any other group or section. (applause)

Where these laws of ours -- where the laws of the Federal Government, where the laws and processes of State Government, and where the laws and administration of City Government assist or permit any group to exploit other groups, the exploited ones can no longer buy. Government of all kinds must systematically eliminate special advantages, eliminate special favors, eliminate special privileges wherever possible,-- whether they come

third take - 2

my friends from tariff subsidies, or credit-favoritism, or taxation, or anywhere else. (applause-prolonged)

I like the slogan that you have adopted here in Chicago, -- the slogan, "I WILL". (applause-prolonged.) It expresses to me the hopefulness needed in times like these. It expresses the idea that I have tried to put in the fore-front of my own campaigning. It distinguishes it from what I believe to be the expression of Republican leadership in the last four years, "I would have -- but". (laughter-applause-prolonged).

And so, I don't cast in my lot with those who say, "I would have--but". I cast it in with those who say, "I WILL". (applause-prolonged)

Let me appropriate that slogan of yours for the period of the campaign that is still to come. It expresses the determination that we shall not permit the depression to defeat us. (applause); hopeful and united with a firm belief that our program is strong enough for the emergency to come. Join me in that watch-word, "I WILL".(applause-prolonged -- loud cheering)

In this undaunted spirit my friends you and I will carry on until the people are lifted out of the pit of despond; until action is substituted for dormancy, until social justice is substituted for privilege; (applause) -- until prosperity is substituted for poverty, The principles of Democracy will rule again in our land. (applause-prolonged)

END

Dec. 6, 1932  
Mayor C. - Gov. Homer - Senator Dietrich.

It will be a long time before I forget the reception that you gave me last night. It was a real Chicago reception, given after the manner that is peculiarly your own. However, I have reason to believe that it even out-Chicagoed Chicago! It certainly exceeded in enthusiasm and generosity any <sup>thing I have ever</sup> ~~of my previous experiences.~~

I am certain that this wonderful enthusiasm is because you are enthusiastic over the liberal, tolerant and moving principles of the great democratic platform adopted in your City and because your absolute confidence in the success of those principles ~~through the election of the Democratic~~ <sup>city ticket.</sup>

For this I am grateful. I am filled with enthusiasm and <sup>with</sup> courage redoubled.

There is so much connected with Chicago that I remember with vividness. <sup>Old M. R. - back - 1893 - New World - 1933</sup> Three months ago today in the City of Chicago, I <sup>June 1</sup> received the nomination. A day later I came here and made my acceptance <sup>33</sup> speech. I felt the warmth of your friendship then. I feel it still more now.

Then and now I have seen the great generous spirit of Chicago going out, not to me as an individual, but to what seems to me is the common aspiration on the part of the American people at this time, and it is my privilege to share some of the enthusiasm that goes to that purpose.

The vigor and strength of your welcome is in part a symbol of the thing that has made this City great. It has strength

sheer, unconquerable strength. This is what your own poets have sung and what foreign observers have noted. Strength -- the strength of scores of great railroads, of unbelievable great manufactories, of vast financial agencies and resources.

*for until you get to be a 100 yrs old you are young*  
Young as you are, this strength has translated itself into beauty and culture. To compliment you on this is simply to repeat what has been said many times before. The most beautiful things that you have are those that are dedicated to the public good -- the lake front, kept by a far-sighted leadership from private exploitation, stands not only as a symbol of beauty -- it is a symbol of human enjoyment and service and recreation.

I have spoken of your strength. It is the strength of diversity, a strength that comes from many points of view -- many kinds of people, drawn from many races and <sup>nations</sup> ~~nationalities~~.

I have never been one of those who are disturbed for fear the assembling of many races would destroy American ideals. I have rather seen it as a means by which true American ideals may be strengthened and given a broad and vital significance in the life of the world.

*unhindered country*  
A hundred years ago this spot was ~~a barren waste~~. The City that has grown up since then is made of many influences and



elements. I like to think that there has been a common purpose in this building -- the purpose of the pioneer. Some of this came from the pioneering spirit of our older Americans in the East -- restless, courageous people who pushed out this way when the West grew up. But it is also made up of pioneers of other races, who looked to the west from their homes and with courage that I envy and respect pushed across the ocean and into a new land, strange in language and strange in habits, and found a home.

I suppose that no spot in the world has this extraordinary combination of the new and the old pioneers. *If we as a nation can retain the spirit of the pioneers we shall conquer the world.*  
Out of many elements a single city has grown that is proud of itself - that is quick with the sense of achievement. The process by which these various elements have merged in a community is what we call Americanization.

The development of Americanism out of many groups is a matter of give and take - - of fair and even exchange of ideas. It means that the American greets the new comers and says to him - "we welcome the enriching influence of your culture. We are not afraid of new ideas. We want you to

give us the best that you have of art, science, industry, as well as the brawn of your arms." And it means, on the other side, that the new arrival gives to America loyalty in time of adversity, a sense of patience with slow moving changes, intelligent sympathy and fair-minded cooperation in the process of self-government.

When these two purposes meet we have a strong community. That is the way Chicago was built. If that had not taken place there would be no city here. It would be a mass of divergent, conflicting and antagonistic groups.

Thus Americanism, expressed in this sense, spells out a fine spirit of give and take -- of fairness and of justice. It spells out, if you will, a sacred word, "toleration", a word which means much more than a mere aspiration. It is a method of building community life.

Your city, moreover, has not only been built on a grand and magnificent scale. It is meeting, like some other cities, a difficult problem of government. I have often said that I am more interested in Government than in politics. The task of governing a city of this size, is, ~~showing of power, difficult of comprehension.~~ showing

You have felt the financial strain. Your taxes have not yielded enough to supply the necessities of government. Critical situations have arisen in which all interested people, high and low, have had to join hands in bringing the structure of government through without precipitating a wreck.

Your Mayor, backed by the enthusiastic and united Democracy of Chicago, has been meeting this situation in the right spirit. With hard, practical experience he has been cutting expenses. He has been giving an example to the country which it sorely needs in these days.

The country, as I pointed out before, is in the process of reducing itself to a commonsense basis of expenditure. Cities have been hit very hard. Their credit is a thing that does not permit of deficits. They have had to cut and cut bravely. *Park Boards - Schools - Tax Payers -*

One of the things that I think is most extraordinary is the fact that while Mayor Cermak has been compelled to reduce expenditures with an iron hand, he has at the same time been getting as regards the most important function of city government -- preservation of law and order -- better results. In truth, you have been getting more and better law enforcement for less money, and that is an achievement. In spite of the difficulties in the way, he has met the problem that all cities meet, namely the preservation of order, in a manner that has been increasingly successful. ~~Every month~~

~~shows improvement~~

In speaking of law enforcement here, as in other great cities, it is only fair to say that a primary need is not only to do as you have been doing -- increase the efficiency of law enforcement and keep your costs down -- what we must do is to make the job easier to perform. The way to do this is to recognize frankly that the power of a state to maintain order, to enforce the law, depends not only upon the power of the law enforcement, but upon the nature of the law itself. If a law is imposed upon law enforcement agents that a vast proportion of the people do not regard as a moral obligation -- the great orderly force of public opinion that must stand behind law enforcement is lost. On the contrary, this force runs counter to the process of law enforcement. It must meet not only the problem of restraining the offender, it must restrain the offender in spite of the fact that the people in the community do not think the offender is an offender.

This is serious because whenever we have attempted this

<sup>to break processes of government</sup>  
Kind of regulation, we have met with extreme difficulty.

*For example* We have found after a long and bitter trial that we cannot in a city like Chicago enforce prohibition.

I am not going to discuss this at length. I have touched upon it only occasionally in this campaign. People are required to talk at length only when they have something to explain away.

The Democratic Platform leaves nothing to be explained. It is direct. It is simple. It is forthright. It has the promise of relief. I am going to let the Republicans try to explain their stand on prohibition. The Republican leaders are having sufficient trouble doing that about many things. For myself I stand for the Democratic Platform, as I said before, one hundred percent. *in that I include modification of the*

When Prohibition is out of the way as a national *substantial* issue -- and I ~~hope~~ *am confident* it will be soon -- those who are interested in public affairs can give redoubled effort to the larger, more fundamental and far-reaching question of economic readjustment and relief. *Ant.* I wish I had time tonight to outline to you once more that portion of the program which I have elaborated since my nomination. I have spoken on a number of occasions of major problems that confront our economic life in this country - on agriculture, on the tariff, on power and on the railroads. I have stated my position in simple terms. These terms have, in fact, been sufficiently clear so that I have received an overwhelming response from people in all walks of life to my statements on those questions. *And* about the only people who say they do not understand are the Republican leaders, and, when perchance they do understand, they say, "It is good, but it is taken from President Hoover."

It is a strange thing that this campaign comes down to the point where the only answer that they have for a reasonable and carefully drawn up economic program for a recovery can be answered only by saying that it either cannot be understood or it is taken from a Republican leadership. It sounds to me like this: the opposition this year has found itself confronted with an unscaleable wall of solid fact.

As I have ~~farther explained~~ <sup>after making clear</sup>, underneath my economic policies is an attitude toward economic life. I have tried to set forth what I conceive to be a re-ordered relationship among all the factors in the economic scale. It is a general policy that recognizes that no man or group of men or women can be ignored in the restoration of economic life without leaving a danger spot which may destroy the entire prosperity that we have created. As I have said, we cannot endure half "boom" and half "broke". This means the careful and intelligent readjustment of relationships and it means to some degree a restoration of values.

What is true of the farmer is true of every other member of the economic community. I pointed out in San Francisco that our task is to meet the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably.

*And my friends,*

This means that the products of our factories and farms which essentially constitute our national wealth, must be permitted to flow in such a way as to supply and profit everyone -- not merely a small prosperous group. What we all need is customers, and we can have them only when purchasing power is <sup>more</sup> equitably distributed. Theoretically we could distribute purchasing power by confiscating everything and dividing equally, but you and I know that wealth would not stay distributed if we tried it in this way.

The way to distribute wealth and products <sup>more</sup> equitably is to adjust our economic legislation so that no group is unduly favored at the expense of any other group or section. Where our laws assist or permit any group to exploit other groups the exploited ones can no longer buy. Government must systematically eliminate special advantages, <sup>special favors, special</sup> wherever possible, whether they come from tariff subsidies, credit <sup>privileges</sup> favoritism, taxation or otherwise.

I like the slogan you have adopted here in Chicago --  
"I WILL". It expresses the hopefulness needed in times  
like these. It expresses the idea that I have tried to  
put in the forefront of my own campaign. It distinguishes  
it from what I conceive to be the expression of Republican  
leadership in the last four years -- "I would have, but---".

Let me appropriate your slogan for the period  
of my campaign. It expresses the determination that we  
shall not permit depression to defeat us.

Hopeful and united, with a firm belief that our  
program is strong enough for the emergency to come, join  
me in the watchword, "I WILL".

In this undaunted spirit we will carry on  
until the people are lifted out of the pit of dispond;  
action is substituted for dormancy; <sup>until social justice is substituted</sup> prosperity for  
poverty, ~~and~~ <sup>will</sup> the principles of Democracy again rule <sup>for principle</sup>  
in our land.

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