# Franklin D. Roosevelt - "The Great Communicator" The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945 

Series 2: "You have nothing to fear but fear itself:" FDR and the New Deal

File No. 706

1934 May 30

Gettysburg, PA - Address

## GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

May 30, 1934

My Friends:
On these hills of Gettysburg two brave armies of Americans once met in combat. Not far from here, in a valley likewise consecrated to American valor, a ragged Continental Army survived a bitter winter to keep alive the expiring hope of a new Nation; and near to this battlefield and that valley stands that invincible city where the Declaration of Independence was born and the Constitution of the United States was written by the fathers. Surely, all this is holy ground.

It was in Philadelphia, too, that Washington spoke his solemn, tender, wise words of farewell -a farewell not alone to his generation, but to the generation of those who laid down their lives here and to our generation and to the America of tomorrow. Perhaps if our fathers and grandfathers
had truly heeded those words we should have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Appomattox.

As a Virginian, President Washington had a natural pride in Virginia; but as an American, in his stately phrase, "the name of American, which belongs to you, in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimination."

Recognizing the strength of local and State and sectional prejudices and how strong they might grow to be, and how they might take from the National Government some of the loyalty the citizens owed to it, he made three historic tours during his Presidency. One was through New England in 1789, another through the Northern States in 1790, and still another through the Southern States in 1791. He did this, as he said, "In order to become better
acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well informed persons who might give him useful advices on political subjects."

But he did more to stimulate patriotism than merely to travel and mingle with the people. He knew that Nations grow as their commerce and manufactures and agriculture grow, and that all of these grow as the means of transportation are extended. He sought to knit the sections together by their common interest in these great enterprises; and he projected highways and canals as aids not to sectional, but to national development.

But the Nation expanded geographically after the death of Washing ton far more rapidly than the Nation's means of inter-communication. The small national area of 1789 grew to the great expanse of the Nation of 1860. Even in terms
of the crude transportation of that day, the thirteen states were but within "driving distance" of each other.

With the settling and the peopling of the Continent to the shores of the Pacific, there developed the problem of self-contained territories because the Nation's expansion exceeded its development of means of transportation. The early building of railroads did not proceed on national lines.

Contrary to belief, the South and the West were not laggard in developing this new form of transportation; but there, as in the East, most of the railroads were local and sectional. It was a chartless procedure: people were not thinking in terms of national transportation or national communication. In the days before the Brothers' War not a single line of railroad was projected from the South to the North; not even one from the South reached to the National Capital itself.

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It was an inspired Prophet of the South who said: "My brethren, if we know one another, we will love one another." The tragedy of the Nation was that the people did not know one another because they had not the necessary means of visiting one another.

Two subsequent wars, both with foreign Nations, measurably allayed and softened the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation to see the healing made permanent. He are all brothers now in a new understanding. The grain farmers of the West do not set themselves up for preference if we seek at the same time to help the cot ton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco growers complain of discrimination if, at the same time, we help the cattle men of the plains and mountains.

In our planning to lift Industry to normal prosperity, the farmer upholds our efforts. And as we give the farmer a long sought equality, the city worker understands and helps.

All of us share in whatever good comes to the average man. We know that we all have a stake -a partnership in the Government of our country. Today, we have many means of knowing each other -- means that have sounded the doom of sectionalism. It is, I think, as I survey the picture from every angle, a simple fact that the Chief hindrance to progress comes from three elements which, thank God, grow less in importance with the growth of a clearer understanding of our purposes on the part of the overwhelming majority. These groups are those who seek to stir up political animosity or to build political advantage by the distortion of facts; those who, by declining to follow the rules of the game, seek to gain an unfair advantage over those who live up to the rules; and those few who still, because they have never been willing to take an interest in their fellow Americans, dwell inside of their own narrow spheres and still represent the selfishness of s
sectionalism which has no place in our National 1ife.

Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson sought and worked for a consolidated Nation. You and I have it in our power to attain that great ideal. We can do this by following the peaceful methods prescribed umsx under the broad and resilient provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Here, in the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this ground, we give renewed assurance that the passions of war are mouldering in the tombs of Time and the purposes of peace are flowing in the hearts of anited people.

Governor Pinchot, Mr. Chairman, my friends:
What a elorious day this is. I refoice in it and I rejoice in this splendid celebration of it. I am especially happy to stand here on the field of Gettysburg at the side of a man, who, through all his life, has so solendidly served the cause of progressive government and the cause of humanity, Gifford Pinchot, Governor of Pennsylvania. (Applause)
(The foregoing paragraph was extemporaneous and not included in the printed release to the Press.)

On these hills of Gettysburg two brave amies of Americans once met in (combat) contest. Not far from here, in a valley likewise consecrated to American valor, a ragged Continental Army survived a bitter winter to keep alive the expiring hope of a new Nation; and near to this battlefield and that valley stands that invincible city where the Declaration of Independence was born and the Constitution of the United States was written by the fathers. Surely, as Congressman Haynes has said, (all) this is holy ground.

Frankin D. Roobevelt Library
This is a transeript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the tima 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 proviously propared reading copy text.

It was in Philadelphia, too, that Washington spoke his solemn, tender, wise words of farewell -- a farewell not alone to his generation, but to the generation of those who lald down their lives here and to our generation and to the America of tomorrow. Perhaps if our fathers and grandfathers had truly heeded those words we should have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Appomattox.

As a Virginian, President Washington had a natural pride in Virginia; but as an American, in his stately phrase, "the name of American, which belongs to you, in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimination."

Recognizing the strength of local and State and sectional prejudices and how strong they might grow to be, and how they might take from the National Government some of the loyalty the citizens owed to $1 t$, he made three historic tours during his Presidency. One was through New England in 1789 , another through the Northern States in 1790, and still another through the Southern States in 1791. He did this, as he said, -- and the words sound good nearly a century and a half later -- "In order to
become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well informed persons who might give him useful advices on political subjects."

But Washington (he) did more to stimulate patriotism than merely to travel and mingle with the people. He knew that Nations grow as their commerce and manufactures and agriculture grow, and that all of these grow as the means of transportation are extended. He sought to knit the sections together by their common interest in these great enterprises; and he projected highways and canals as aids not to sectionsl, but to national development.

But the Nation expanded geographically after the death of Washington far more rapidly than the Nation's means of inter-communication. The small national area of 1789 grew to the great expanse of the Nation of 1860 . Even in terms of the crude transportation of that day, the first thirteen states were still within "driving distancell of each other.

With the settling and the peopling of the Continent to the shores of the Pacific, there developed the
problem of self-contained territories because the Nation's expansion exceeded 1 ts development of means of transportation, as we learn from our history books. The early building of railroads did not proceed on national lines.

Contrary to bellef of some of us Northemers, the South and the West were not laggard in developing this new form of transportation; but (there), as in the East, most of the rallroads were local and sectional. It was a chartless procedure; people were not thinking in terms of national transportation or national communication. In the days before the Brothers' War not a single line of railroad was projected from the South to the North; not even one from the South reached to the National Capital itself.

In those days, it was an inspired Prophet of the South who said: "My brethren, if we know one another, we w1ll love one another." The tragedy of the Nation was that the people did not know one another because they had. not the necessary means of visiting one another.

## Since those days, two subsequent wars, both

 with foreign Nations, have measurably allayed and softened the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation to see the healing made permanent.We are all brothers now, brothers in a new
understanding. The grain farmers of the West and in the fertile fields of Pennsylvania do not set themselves up for preference if we seek at the same time to help the cotton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco growers complain of discrimination if, at the same time, we help the cattle men of the plains and mountains.

In our planning to lift industry to normal prosperity, the farmer upholds our efforts. And as we seek to give the fammers of the United States a long sought equal1ty, the city worker understands and helps. All of us, among all the States, share in whatever of good comes to the average man. We know that we all have a stake -- a partnership in this (the) Government of this, our country. Today, we have many means of knowing each other -means that at last have sounded the doom of sectionalism. It 1s, I think, as I survey the picture from every angle, a simple fact that the chlef hindrance to progress comes from three elements which, thank God, grow less in 1mportance with the growth of a clearer understanding of our purposes on the part of the overwhelming majority. These groups are those who seek to stir up political animosity or to build political advantage by the distortion of facts;
those who, by declining to follow the rules of the game, seek to gain an unfair advantage over those who are willIng to live up to the rules of the game, (applause) and those few who, (still) because they have never been willing to take an interest in their fellow Americans, dwell Inslde of their own narrow spheres and still represent the selfishness of sectionallsm which has no place in our National life. (Applause)

Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson (applause) sought and worked for a consolidated Nation. You and I have it in our power to attain that great ideal within our ilfetime. We can do this by following the peaceful methods prescribed under the broad and resilient provisions of the Constitution of the United States. (Applause)

Here, here at Gettysburg, here in the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this ground, we give renewed assurance that the passions of war are mouldering in the tombs of Time and the purposes of peace are flowing today in the hearts of a united people. (Applause)

- MR. EARLY:

The President asks if you will check the following statement with Mar. Barbee to see if the facts are correct:
"In the days before the Brothers war not a single line of railroad was projected from the South wask to the North; not even one reached to the National Capitol itself."


My Friends:
On these beautiful hills two great armies of brave, gallant and chivalrous Americans once met in bloody combat. Not far from here, in another vale consecrated to American valor, histexy, a ragged Continental arny starved through a terrible winter while keeping alive the expiring hopes of our ancestors in their ultimate freedom. And contiguous to this battlefield and that vale is the invincible city of Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was born and the Const_itution of our country was drafted. Surely all this is holy ground.

It was in Philadelphia, too, that Washington spoke his solemn, tender, wise words of farewell to his generation, to the generation who laid down their lives here, to our generation, and to the America of tomorrow. Had our fathers and grand-fathers, and their fathers, taken to heart his words of wisdom, and contimued his example and noble teaching, I am sure we mould have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Appom mattox, with their sorrows and hates.

As he neared the end of his first term, the great Virginian wrote James Madison: "We are all the children of the same country - a country great and rich ifi itself - capable and prom ising to be as prosperous and as happy as any the annals of history have ever brought to viev." And four years later, in his Farewell Address, he returned to this thought, when he said: "Every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives
for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole." ${ }^{\text {cs }}$ No man among us ever saw with as clear eye as he the trends of society that might one day threaten the structure of the Union; and no man ever planned as wisely and as far-sightedly as hefto turn those trends in the direction of preserving the Union. As a Virginian, he had a natural pride in Virginia; but, as an American, in his stately phrase, " the name of American, which belongs to you, in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discrimination." Like the Apostle Paul, he could cry out: "I am a citizen of no mean country." And recognizing how strong local, State and sectional prejudices were and might grow to be - and how they took from the National Government some of the loyality the citizen owed to it - he made three historic tours during his Presidency, one through New Mngland in 1789, one through the Northern States in 1790, and one through the Southern States in 1791, "in order to become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to mumbers of well informed persons who might give him useful advices on political subjects."

But he did something more than mingle with the people to stimulate their patriotism. He knew that Nations grow as their commerce and manufactures grow, that both of these grow as the means of transportation are extended, and that as they grew agriculture would flourish. He sought to knit the sections to gether by their cormon interest in these social movements, and he projected great enterprises, like the Potomac Canal, as aids to a carefully planned national development.

Historians seem to agree that the issues which caused owr Brothers' War had their beginning in 1850. In the decade which followed there was an intense development of our cointry along many lines, conspicuously in railroads. But itwas a haphazard. and local developnent. Only one statesman in that period had caught Mashington's vision of the future of America - Stephen A. Douglas. For years he devoted his genius to constructive planning along the lines mapped out by our first President. A New Bngland man, he had, in aarly manhood, settled in Illinois, emone a population dram from all the sections. By marriage with a daughter of North Carolina, he became the owner of plantations and slaves in that State and in Missigsippi. This gave him a surer grasp of the problems of his dest than any of hita competitors had. In order to develop the Mississippi Valley, and tie in the Northwest with the deep South, he projected a railroad from Chicago to New Orleans and another from Cairo to Nobile. Hed these been built; had other North and South lines been bilit in the older States, connecting New York with Savannak, Philadelphia with Memphis, and Washington with New Orleans, conid there have been a war between the North and the South?

Contrary to belief, the South we,s not a laggard in developing her internal resources by modernjzing her transportation. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was built by Savaniah merchants and seiled from that port. In the docade ondine with 1860 the fifteen slave States constructed $8,547 \mathrm{miles}$ of railroad, While the sixteen Free States were building $13,654 \mathrm{miles}$. On this over jom developent the South drew from her own benks fitw hondred mil110n dollars.

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This great achievement, too, was without chart. It was sectional. Not a single line was projected from the South to the North; not even one reached to the National Capital. It was an inspired Prophet of the South who said: "My brethren, if we know one another, we will love one another." The great tragedy of this country was that the people did not know each other. They had not the modern means of visiting each other.

All of this sectional development created a media in which the bacteria of social discord found a happy hunting ground. And then the war came, when it was wholly unecessary; and with it much angry passion, and hate, and economic waste. From the latter we probably have not yet recovered.

Two subsequent wars, both with foreign Nations, measurably allayed those angry passions and softened those ancient grievances. It has been left to us to see the healing completed. All sectional feeling has been submerged, by our common suffering, into an intense loyalty and devotion to the National Government. Without this united front and support we could not have so surely grappled with the depression and moved against it with careful national planning.

We are all brothers now. No longer do sectional complaints come to us in Washington, as in other years. The grain farmers of the West do not protest if we help the cotton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco farmers of the South complain of discrimination when we help the cattle and deary farmers of the West. In our planning to lift Industry to normal prospertty, Labor upholds our hands, knowing that it and all of us will share in
whatever good comes from our efforts. The poor man, North and South, Fast and West, now feels that he has a stake in his Government, and that it is something more than a grub-stake.

Such planning as this, my friends, would have consolidated our Nation in its infancy, and made it the happy, glorious Republic that Fashington wished it to be.

Here, in the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this ground baptized with their blood, we can assure ourselves that the passions of war are mouldering in the tombs of Time, and the passions of peace are flowing in the hearts of a united people.

## ANNOTATIONS.

1. Valley Forge.
2. Writings of Washington (Ford), vol. xi1, pp.127-128.
3. Ibid. Vol.xiii, pp. 287-288.
4. Ibid. Farewell Address.
5. Acts of Apostles, ch. 21, v.39.
6. Washington's Southern Tour (Henderson), p. 1.
7. Brcursion in Southern History (Barbee). Letter of Senator Beveridge to author.
8. Several biographies of Douglas, notably Sheahan's.
9. Anniversary commemorated in Sunday papers, Mey 20, 1934.
10. Statistics of the Census of 1860. Eighth Census. Compiled by Joseph C. G. Kennedy, superindendent.
11. L. Q. C. Lamar. Oration in House of Representatives over dead body of Charles Sumer.

## GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

MAY 30, 1934

## My Friends:

On these hills of Gettysburg two brave armies of Americans once met in combat. Not far from here, in a valley likewise consecrated to American valor, a ragged Continental army survived a bitter winter to keep alive the expiring hope of a new Nation and near to this battlefield and that valley stands that invincible city where the Declaration of Independence was born and the Constitution of the United States was written by the fathers. Surely, all this is holy ground. It was in liniladelphia, too, that Washington spoke his solemn, tender, wise words of farewell -a farewell not alone to his generation, but to the generation who laid down their lives here and to our generation and to the America of tomorrow. Perhaps if our fathers and grandfathers had truly heeded those words we should have had no fanily quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Apponat tox.
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But he did more than travelling and mingling il with the people to stimulate their patriotism. He knew that Nations grow as their contierce and manfactures and agriculture grow, and that all of these grow as the means of transportation are extended. He sought to knit the sections together by their common interest in these great movements. and, At the the projected highways and canals as aids not to sectional, but to national government.

In a very true sense the Nation expanded geographically after the death of Washington far more rapidly than the Nation's means of inter-comanicadion. It was a fare cry from the area of the Nation of 1789 to the area of the Nation of 1860. In terms of the day, the thirteen seaboard states were at | least within driving distance of each other. With $?$ the settling of the ultramontane country the peopling of the Western and Gulf States and in the end the crossing of the Continent to the shores of the pacific presented the problem of self-contained
territories largely cut off from easy communication with each other by the lack of means of transportatimon. The early building of railroads did not procoed on national lines.

Contrary to belief, the South and the West were not laggard in developing this new form of transportation; but there, as in the East, most of the railroads were local and sectional. It was a chartless procedure: people were not thinking in terns of national transportation or national communication. In the days before the Brothers' War? not a single line of railroad was projected from the South to the North; not even one pro the South reached to the National Capital itself.

It was an inspired prophet of the South who said: "My brethren, if we know one another, we will love one another." The tragedy of the Nation was that the people did not know one another; they had not the modern means of visiting each other.

Two subsequent wars, both with foreign Nations, measurably allayed and softened the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation ? to see the healing made project. By outman-
suffering, by our common knowledge of ope another, by our intense devotion to the Natigh itself, we have been enabled to present a united front to grapple with the dom problems of today.

We are all brothers now in a new understanding. The grain farmers of the west do not set themselves up for preference if we seek at the sane tine to help the cotton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco growers complain of discrimination if, at the same time, we help the cattle men of the plains and mountains. year: "The fact thad Anerigh, which is more imporcant to the world that any other, is that across a Continent larger in free than a/ of Europe outside of Russia, $125,000,000$ people speak the sane language, know each other, understand each other, work for each other. Noted that Europe could work ty ward a similar end."

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## STATEMENTS FILE

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STMFITK MRLY<br>Lssistint Secretary to the President

GETITYBURG ADDRISS
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CAUTION: This address of the President at Cettysburg, Pennsylvania, today, Way 30, 1234, MUST BL HML TOH ROLESS and no portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or Eiven out until its delivery has actually begun.
CA IIOE: Care must be exercised to avoid pronature publication.

STBPIM: BKPLY<br>Assistant Secretary to the President

GETTYSPURC ADDRESS
Wy Friends:
On these hills of Gettysburg two brave arries of Arperioans once met in combat. llot fai fiora here, in a valley likewise consecrated to Anerican valor, a racged Continental Ariy survived a bitter winter to keep alive the exjixing hope of a nev Nation; and near to this battlefield and that valley stinus that invincible city where the Declaration of Independence vas born anc the Constitutiou of the United States was written by the fathers. Suroly, all this is holy ground.

It was in Philadalphie, too, that "ashington spoke his solemn, tender, wise ords of farevell … a farewell not alone to his generation, but to the ceneration of ti.ose who laid down their lives hern and to our generation and to the America of tonorrow. Perhaps if our fisthers and grandfathers had truly heeded those rorts te sinould have had no fanily cuarrel, no battle of Gottysburg, no Appomattox.

As a Virginian, Tresidont Jashington had a natural pride in Virginia; but as American, in his stately phrase, "the name of American, which belongs to you, in your National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived froin local discrimination."

Recogrizing the strength of local and State and sectional prejudices and hov strong they might grov to be, and hov: they might take froin the ifetional Goverment so:e of the loyalty the citizens owed to it, he made three historic tours during his Presidency. One was through New England in 1789, another through the Northern Statos in 1790, and still another through the Southern States in 1791. He did this, as he said, "In order to become better acquainted with their principal characters and internal circumstances, as well as to be more accessible to numbers of well informed persons who might give him usaful advices on political subjects."

But he did more to stimulate patriotism than merely to travel nad mingle vith the people. He know that Nations grow as their commerce and manufactures and agriculture grow, and that all of these grow as the means of transportation are extended. He sought to lmit the sections to Bether by their comion interest in these great enterprises; and he projected highways and canals as aids not to sectional, but to national development.

But the Nation expanded geographically after the death of Washingt on far more rapidly than the Nation's means of inter-commication. The small national area of 1788 grent to the great expanse of the Nation of 1860. Even in terms of the crude transportation of that day, the thirteen states vere but within "driving distance" of each other.
"ith the settling and the peopling of the Continent to the shores of the Pacific, there developed the problem of self-contained territories because the Mation's expansion exceeded its development of means of transportation. The early building of railroads did not proceed on national lines.

Contrary to belief, the South and the Vest vere not laggard in devoloping this new form of iransportation; but there, as in the East, Host of the railroads vere local and sectional. It was a chartless procedure: people vere not thinking in termas of national transportation or national commuicabion. In the days before the Brothers' Flar not a sinsle line of railroad was projected from the South to the ITorth; not even one from the South reached to the l'ational Capital itself.

It was an inspired Prophot of the South who said: Mily brethren, if we know one nnothex, we will love one another," The traged; of the Nation was that the poople did not knor one another because they had not the necessary means of visiting one another.

Two subsequent wars, both with foreign Nations, measurably allayed and softenea the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation to see the healing made permanent.

Te are all brothers now in a new under tanding. The grain farmers of the 'fest do not set themselves up for preference if we seek at the same time to help the cotton farmers of the South; nor do the tobacco growers complain of discrimination 1f, at the same time, we help the cattle men of the plains und mountains.

In our planning to lift industry to normal prosperity, the far ier upholds our efforts. And as we give the carmer a long sought equality, the city worker understands and helps. All of us share in whatever good conses to the average man. le know that we all have a stake -- a partnership in the Governinent of our country.

Today, we have many means of knowing each other -- means that have sounded the doom of sectionalism. It is, I think, as I survey the picture from every angle, a simple faci that the chiof hindrance to progress comes from three elements which, thank God, grow less in importance $1 . i$ ith the erovith of a clearer undorstanding of our purposes on the part of the overvhelning majority. These groups are those who seek to stix up political animosity or to build political advantage by the distortion of facts; those who, by declining to follow the rules of the game, ceek to gein an unfair aivantage over those who live up to the rules; and those few who still, bucause they have never been willing to tale an interest in their fellow Nericans, dwell inside of their own narrov spheres and still represent the selfishness of sectionalism which has no place in our National life.

Washington and Jeferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt and Hoodrow Wilson sought and worked for a consolidated Nation. You and I have it in our power to attain that great iaenl. We can do this by following the poaceful nethods prescribed under the broad and resilient provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Here, in the presence of the spirits of those who fell on this ground, ne give reneved assurance that the passions of war are mouldering in the tombs of Tize and the purposes of peace are flowing in the hearts of a united people.

