
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 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 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.

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.

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 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 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

sectionalism which has no place in our National life.

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 ~~under~~ 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 a united people.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

May 30, 1934

Governor Pinchot, Mr. Chairman, my friends:

What a glorious day this is. I rejoice 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 splendidly 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 armies 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.

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.

What a glorious day this is. I rejoice 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 ably served the cause of progressive government and the cause of humanity. (Applause)

(The foregoing paragraph was extemporaneous and not included in the prepared reading copy text.)

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 glowing hope of a new Nation; and near to this battlefield and that valley stands that landmark fifty years the Declaration of Independence was born and the Constitution of the United States was written by the people. Surely, as Congressman Hays has said, (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, -- 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 sectional, 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 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, as we learn from our history books. The early building of railroads did not proceed on national lines.

Contrary to belief of some of us Northerners, 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.

In those days, 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.

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 farmers of the United States a long sought equality, 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 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 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 inside of their own narrow spheres and still represent the selfishness of sectionalism 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 lifetime. 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)

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MR. EARLY:

The President asks if you will check the following statement with Mr. 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 ~~and~~ to the North; not even one reached to the National Capitol itself."

D.J.

On page 4 of Address.

P.P.F.
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DRAFT OF PROPOSED ADDRESS AT GETTYSBURG, MAY 30, 1934.

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} ~~history~~, a ragged Continental army 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 Constⁱtution 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 continued his example and noble teaching, I am sure we would have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, ^{and} no Appomattox, ^A 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 in itself - capable and promising to be as prosperous and as happy as any the annals of history have ever brought to view." ^(n.) 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." ⁽⁵⁾

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 he to 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." ⁽⁶⁾ Like the Apostle Paul, he could cry out: " I am a citizen of no mean country." ⁽⁵⁾ 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 loyalty the citizen owed to it - he made three historic tours during his Presidency, one through New England 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 numbers of well informed persons who might give him useful advices on political subjects." ⁽⁶⁾

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 together by their common 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 our Brothers' War had their beginning in 1850. In the decade which followed there was an intense development of our country along many lines, conspicuously in railroads. But ~~it~~^{it} was a haphazard and local development. Only one statesman in that period had caught Washington'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 England man, he had, in early manhood, settled in Illinois, among a population drawn 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 Mississippi. This gave him a surer grasp of the problems of his day than any of his 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 Mobile. [?] Had these been built; had other North and South lines been built in the older States, connecting New York with Savannah, Philadelphia with Memphis, and Washington with New Orleans, could there have been a war between the North and the South?

Contrary to belief, the South was not a laggard in developing her internal resources by modernizing her transportation. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was built by Savannah merchants and sailed from that port. [?] In the decade ending with 1860 the fifteen Slave States constructed 8,547 miles of railroad, while the sixteen Free States were building 13,654 miles. On this development the South drew from her own banks ^{over four} ~~five~~ hundred million dollars. (10)

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." ⁽¹¹⁾ 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 unnecessary; 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 dairy farmers of the West. In our planning to lift Industry to normal prosperity, 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, East 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 Washington 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. xii, 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. Excursion in Southern History (Barbee). Letter of Senator Beveridge to author.
8. Several biographies of Douglas, notably Sheahan's.
9. Anniversary commemorated in Sunday papers, May 20, 1934.
10. Statistics of the Census of 1860. Eighth Census. Compiled by Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent.
11. L. Q. C. Lamar. Oration in House of Representatives over dead body of Charles Sumner.

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 ~~seeking freedom~~; 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 who laid down their lives here and to our generation and to the America of tomorrow. Perhaps if our fathers and grandfathers had ~~not~~ truly heeded those words ~~and continued his example~~ we should have had no family quarrel, no battle of Gettysburg, no Appomattox.

Wm
Washington wrote to Madison "We are all the

children of the same country -- a country great and rich in itself -- capable and promising to be as prosperous and as happy as any the annals of history have ever brought to view". 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."

As a Virginian, ^{Washington} 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."

Recognizing ^{the strength of} ~~(how strong)~~ local and state and sectional prejudices ~~were, and how strong they might grow to be,~~ ^{may his teacher} and how they ~~look~~ ^{look} from the National Government some of the loyalty the citizens owed to it, he made three historic tours during his Presidency. ^{One} ~~One~~ ^{was} through New England in 1789, one through the Northern States in 1790, and ~~one~~ through the Southern States in 1791. He did this "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 than travelling and mingling || with the people to stimulate their patriotism. 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 movements, and, ~~At the same time,~~ ^{At} He 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-communication. 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 ultra-montane country~~ ^{and} 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 transportation. The ^{early} ~~easy~~ 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.

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, ^{have} measurably allayed and softened the ancient passions. It has been left to us of this generation [?] to see the healing made ~~project~~. By our ~~common~~

permanent.

suffering, by our common knowledge of one another, by our intense devotion to the Nation itself, we have been enabled to present a united front to grapple with the common 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 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.

out. ?
A great foreign statesman said to me last year: "The fact ^{about} ~~that~~ America, which is more important to the world than any other, is that across a Continent larger in area than all of Europe outside of Russia, 125,000,000 people speak the same language, know each other, understand each other, work for each other. Would that Europe could work toward a similar end."

In our planning to ^{life} ~~life~~ Industry to normal prosperity, ^{the farmer supports} ~~Agriculture upholds~~ our hands in our effort to give the farmer a long sought equality the city worker, ~~understands and helps.~~ ~~to feel~~

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~~that~~ All of us ~~will~~ share in whatever good comes to the average man, ~~from these our efforts.~~ We know that we ^{all} have a stake, a partnership in the Government of our country.

Today, we have ^{new} the means of knowing each other -- ~~the~~ means that have sounded the doom of sectionalism, -- ~~the means to consolidate our Nation.~~ It is, I think, as I survey the picture from every angle, a simple fact that the chief ^{or} let and hindrance ? to our 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 elements 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 of their fellowmen 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 who dwell outside of their own narrow spheres, still represent the selfishness of sectionalism which has no place in our National life.

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 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 bombs of Time and the passions of peace are flowing in the hearts of a united people.

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorth and By Kannee

May 30, 1934

FOR THE PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, today, May 30, 1934, MUST BE HELD FOR RELEASE and no portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or given out until its delivery has actually begun.

CAUTION: Care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STERILIZED EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President

GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

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, ~~at~~ 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.

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"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 those 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 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 1850. 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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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.

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 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 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 sectionalism which has no place in our National life.

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 under the broad and resilient provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

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May 30, 1934

FOR THE PRESS

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CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, today, May 30, 1934, MUST BE HELD FOR RELEASE and no portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or given out until its delivery has actually begun.

CAUTION: Care must be exercised to avoid premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President

GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

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 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 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.

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.

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 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 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 sectionalism which has no place in our National life.

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 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 a united people.
