
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. 733

1934 August 9

Green Bay, WI - Informal remarks

*For John - from father - my reading copy of
speech at GREEN BAY - Wisconsin*

Aug. 9 - 1934

I am glad to take part in this commemoration of the
landing in Green Bay of the man who can truly be called
the first white pioneer of Wisconsin.

Over all the years the purposes of the men and women
who established civilization in Wisconsin and in the North-
west were the same as those that stimulated the earlier
settlers of the Atlantic Seaboard. Men everywhere throughout
Europe had suffered from the imperfect and often unjust
governments of their home land, and were driven by deep
desire to find security and enlarged opportunity for them-
selves and their children. The new population flowing into
our new lands of opportunity was a mixed population,
differing often in language, in external customs and in habits
of thought. But in one thing they were alike -- they shared
a deep purpose to rid themselves forever of the jealousies,
the prejudices, the intrigues and the violence, whether
internal or external, that disturbed their lives abroad.

They sought a life less fettered by the exploitations
that selfish men set up in governments that are not free.
They sought a wider opportunity for the average man.

Having achieved the initial adventure of migration to new homes, they moved forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of government and methods of operating these forms of government that might assure them the things that they sought. They believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-discipline could create and use forms of government that would not enslave the human spirit, but free it and nourish it. They did not fear government, because they knew that government in the new world was their own.

They built here in Wisconsin a state destined for extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to enforce law and order, to care for the unfortunate, to promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built a university and school system as enlightened as any that the world affords. They set up against all selfish private interests the organized authority of the people themselves through the state. They transformed utilities into public servants instead of private means of exploitation.

The average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights. Here, and in the nation at large, this battle has been two-fold.

He has had to fight nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land until now, he has been compelled to assert the power of his brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. He paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell him that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and his mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, he has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of our continent, I have been so moved by the distressing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the many mistakes men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them.

We are but carrying forward the pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use as trustees not only for ourselves

but for future generations.

But man is fighting also against those forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking that kind of individual profit which is gained at the expense of his fellows.

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow.

In the great national movement that culminated in 1932, people joined with enthusiasm. They lent hand and voice to the common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land.

As the humble instruments of their vision and power, those of us who were chosen to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road.

But action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody elses.

The other type to which I refer is the individual who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence." When I hear this I cannot help but remember the pleas made by government and certain types of so called "big business" all through the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence.

Before I left on my trip, I received two letters from important men, both of them pleading that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" From one of them I have received no reply at all six weeks later. I take it that he is still wondering how to answer. The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to declare that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith

abolished.

In other words, he was frank enough to imply that he would repeal all laws, state or national, which regulate business - that a utility could henceforth charge any rate reasonable or otherwise; that the railroads could go back to rebates and other secret agreements; that the processors of food stuffs could disregard all rules of health and of good faith; that the unregulated wild-cat banking of a century ago could be restored; that fraudulent securities and watered stock could be palmed off on the public; that stock manipulation which caused panics and enriched insiders could go unchecked. In fact, if we were to listen to him, the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign once more.

My friends, the people of the United States will not restore that ancient order. There is no lack of confidence on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic improvement comes from the improved conditions of the whole population and not a small fraction thereof.

Those who would measure confidence in this country in the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning to our agricultural population who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable

drought in a large area is giving understanding cooperation to practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering and sectional thinking of the past. Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today with the red ink of many years gone by; to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration, rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; to the men and women whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business man, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their savings are secure.

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This Government intends no injury to honest

business. The processes we follow in seeking social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. We are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with the multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share.

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn in setting up the permanent and temporary agencies of the Government.

Your two senators, both old friends of mine, and many others, worked with me in maintaining excellent cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them.

Not only in Washington but in the states there has been cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, for his patriotic

cooperation with the National Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness of a free society. I like its definition by a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is new as the Declaration of Independence was new, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper, insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

- 10 -

"It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

Keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts: it can and will be attained.

-End-

Franklin D. Roosevelt

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN
Thursday, August 9, 1934

Governor Schmedeman, Mr. Mayor, my friends:

This is an inspiration to be here today. This
is a wonderful setting on the shores of the Bay and I am
glad to take part in this commemoration of the landing
in Green Bay of the man who can truly be called the first
white pioneer of (Wisconsin) this part of the United States.

Over all the years, as your distinguished Representative in Congress has suggested, the purposes of the
men and women who established civilization in Wisconsin
and in the Northwest were the same as those that stimulated
the earlier settlers of the Atlantic Seaboard. Men every-
where throughout Europe -- your ancestors and mine -- had
suffered from the imperfect and often unjust governments of
their home land, and they were driven by deep desire to
find not alone security, but also enlarged opportunity for
themselves and their children. It is true that the new
population flowing into our new lands (of opportunity) was
a mixed population, differing often in language, in external
customs and in habits of thought. But in one thing they
were alike -- they shared a deep purpose to rid themselves

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.

This is an invitation to be here today.
is a wonderful setting on the shores of the Bay and I am
glad to take part in this commemoration of the landing
in Green Bay of the man who can truly be called the first
white pioneer of Wisconsin (this part of the United States
Over all the years, as you distinguished
representative in Congress has suggested the purpose of the
men and women who established civilization in Wisconsin
and in the Northwest were the same as those that stimulated
the earlier settlers of the Atlantic seaboard. Men every-
where throughout Europe -- your ancestors and mine -- had
suffered from the imperfect and often unjust governments of
their home land, and they were driven by deep desire to
find not alone security, but also enlarged opportunity for
themselves and their children. It is true that the new
population flowing into our new lands (of opportunity) was
a mixed population, differing often in language, in external
customs and in habits of thought. But in one thing they
were alike -- they shared a deep purpose to rid themselves

forever of the jealousies, the prejudices, the intrigues and the violence, whether internal or external, that disturbed their lives (abroad) on the other side of the ocean.

Yes, they sought a life that was less fettered by the exploitations (that) of selfish men set up in governments that (are) were not free. They sought a wider opportunity for the average man. Having achieved (the) that initial adventure of migrating into (migration to) new homes, they moved forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of government and methods of operating these forms of government that might assure them the things they sought. They believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-discipline, could create and use forms of government that would not enslave the human spirit, but free it and nourish it throughout the generation. They did not fear government, because they knew that government in the new world was their own.

I do not need to tell you that here in Wisconsin, they built (here in Wisconsin) a state destined for extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to enforce law and order, to care for the unfortunate, to promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built

a university and school system as enlightened as any that the world affords. They set up against all selfish private interests the organized authority of the people themselves through the state. They transformed utilities into public servants instead of private means of exploitation.
(Applause)

People know also that the average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights. Here, and in the Nation as a whole, in the Nation at large, this battle has been two-fold.

(He has had to fight) It has been a fight against nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land until now, (he has been) they have been compelled to assert the power of (his) their brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. But they have (he) paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell them (him) that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and (his) mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, (he) man has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of (our) this Continent, I have been so moved by the dis-

treassing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the (many) mistakes that men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them. (Applause)

Yes, we are but carrying forward the fundamentals behind the pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use as trustees not only for ourselves but for future generations.

But man (is) has been fighting also against those forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking that kind of individual profit which is gained at the expense of his fellows. (Applause)

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow. (Applause)

In (the) a great national movement that culminated

(in 1932) over a year ago, people joined with enthusiasm. They lent hand and voice to (the) a common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land. (Applause)

As the humble instrument(s) of their vision and their power, those of us who were chosen to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road. (Applause)

But, my friends, action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody else's. (Applause)

The other type to which I refer is the kind of individual who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence".

(Laughter, applause) When I hear this I cannot help but remember the pleas that were made by government and certain types of so-called "big business" all through the years 1930, 1931 and 1932, that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence. (Applause)

Before I left on my trip on the first of July, I received two letters from important men, both of them pleading that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" (Laughter, applause) From one of them I have received no reply at all in six weeks (later). (Laughter) I take it that he is still wondering how to answer. (Laughter) The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to tell the people of the United States (declare) that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith abolished. (Laughter)

Now, my friends, in other words, that man (he) was frank enough to imply that he would repeal all laws, state or national, which regulate business -- that a utility could henceforth charge any rate, unreasonable or

otherwise; that the railroads could go back to rebates and (other) secret agreements; that the processors of food stuffs could disregard all rules of health and of good faith; that the unregulated wild-cat banking of a century ago could be restored; that fraudulent securities and watered stock could be palmed off on the public; that stock manipulation that (which) caused panics and enriched insiders could go unchecked. In fact, my friends, if we were to listen to him and his type, the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign in our Nation once more. (Applause)

(My friends) The people of the United States will not restore that ancient order. (Applause) There is no lack of confidence on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic improvement comes from the improved conditions of the whole population and not a small fraction thereof. (Applause)

Those who would measure confidence in this country in the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning to our agricultural population who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable

drought in a large area of the Nation, is giving understanding cooperation to practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering and sectional thinking of the past. Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today with the red ink of many years gone by; (applause) to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; (applause) to the men and women whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government work and Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their savings are secure. (Applause)

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This Government intends no injury to honest

business. The processes we follow in seeking social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. (Applause) In other words, we are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with (the) multiplication also -- multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share. (Applause)

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn in setting up the permanent and temporary agencies of the (Government) national Administration. (Applause)

Your two Senators, Bob LaFollette and Ryan Duffy, (applause) both old friends of mine, (applause) -- they and many others, worked with me in maintaining excellent cooperation, the kind I have been talking about, between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them. (Applause)

Not only in Washington but also in the states (there) it has been necessary, of course, for us to have cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the great purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, (applause) I thank him for his patriotic cooperation with the national Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal (applause) and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness (of) in a free society such as ours. I like its definition by a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is as old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is new as the Declaration of Independence was new, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power

to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper, insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

"It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

May you keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts; it can (and), it will be attained. (Applause)

This advance copy of the President's address at Green Bay, Wisconsin, Thursday, August 9, 1934, is given to you in the STRICTEST CONFIDENCE and must be held for release until delivery actually has begun, expected about 9.30 A.M.

366

I am glad to take part in this commemoration of the landing in Green Bay of the man who can truly be called the first white pioneer of Wisconsin.

Over all the years the purposes of the men and women who established civilization in Wisconsin and in the Northwest were the same as those that stimulated the earlier settlers of the Atlantic Seaboard. Men everywhere throughout Europe had suffered from the imperfect and often unjust governments of their home lands, and were driven by deep desire to find security and enlarged opportunity for themselves and their children. The new population flowing into our new lands of opportunity was a mixed population, differing often in language, in external customs and in habits of thought. But in one thing they were alike -- they shared a deep purpose to rid themselves forever of the jealousies, the prejudices, the intrigues and the violence, whether internal or external, that disturbed their lives abroad.

They sought a life less fettered by the exploitations that selfish men set up in governments that are not free. They sought a wider opportunity for the average man.

Having achieved the initial adventure of migration to new homes, they moved forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of government and methods of operating these forms of government that might assure them the things that they sought. They believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-discipline could create and use forms of government that would not enslave the human spirit, but free it and nourish it. They did not fear government, because they knew that government in the new world was their own.

They built here in Wisconsin a state destined for extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to enforce law and order, to care for the unfortunate, to promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built a university and school system as enlightened as any that the world affords. They set up against all selfish private interests the organized authority of the people themselves through the state. They transformed utilities into public servants instead of private means of exploitation.

The average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights. Here, and in the nation at large, this battle has been two-fold.

He has had to fight nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land until now, he has been compelled to assert the power of his brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. He paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell him that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and his mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, he has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of our continent, I have been so moved by the distressing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the many mistakes men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them.

We are but carrying forward the pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use as trustees not only for ourselves but for future generations.

But man is fighting also those forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking that kind of individual profit which is gained at the expense of his fellows.

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow.

In the great national movement that culminated in 1932, people joined with enthusiasm. They lent hand and voice to the common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land.

As the humble instruments of their vision and power, those of us who were chosen to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road.

But action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody else's.

The other type to which I refer is the individual who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence." When I hear this I cannot help but remember the pleas made by government and certain types of so-called "big business" all through the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence.

Before I left on my trip, I received two letters from important men, both of them pleading that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" From one of them I have received no reply at all six weeks later. I take it that he is still wondering how to answer. The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to declare that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith abolished.

In other words, he was frank enough to imply that he would repeal all laws, state or national, which regulate business -- that a utility could henceforth charge any rate, reasonable or otherwise; that the railroads could go back to rebates and other secret agreements; that the processors of food stuffs could disregard all rules of health and of good faith; that the unregulated wild-cat banking of a century ago could be restored; that fraudulent securities and watered stock could be palmed off on the public; that stock manipulation which caused panics and enriched insiders could go unchecked. In fact, if we were to listen to him, the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign once more.

My friends, the people of the United States will not restore that ancient order. There is no lack of confidence on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic improvement comes from the improved conditions of the whole population and not a small fraction thereof.

Those who would measure confidence in this country in the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning to our agricultural population who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable drought in a large area is giving understanding cooperation to practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering and sectional thinking of the past. Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today with the red ink of many years gone by; to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; to the men and women whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their savings are secure.

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This government intends no injury to honest business. The processes we follow in seeking social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. We are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with the multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share.

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn in setting up the permanent and temporary agencies of government.

Your two senators, both old friends of mine, and many others have worked with me in maintaining excellent cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them.

Not only in Washington but in the states there has been cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, for his patriotic cooperation with the National Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness of a free society. I like its definition by a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is new as the Declaration of Independence was new, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper, insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

"It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

Keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts: it can and will be attained.

- E n d -

Speech material
file
draft

GREEN BAY

omitted
were
The things that moved men over the years in the establishment of the agencies of civilization here in Wisconsin and in the Northwest were identical with those that stimulated the early settlement of the Atlantic Seaboard. Men everywhere throughout Europe had ~~been~~ touched ~~on the one hand~~, by the bitter necessity arising from ~~their confused life under~~ the imperfect and often unjust governments of their home lands, and ~~on the other hand by their~~ deep desire to find security and enlarged opportunity for themselves and their children. ~~and as in the states of the Eastern Seaboard,~~ ^{our new lands} the new population flowing into ~~this newland~~ of opportunity was a mixed population, differing often ~~from one family to another~~ in language, in external customs and in habits of thought. But in one thing they were alike -- they shared a deep purpose to rid themselves forever of the jealousies, the prejudices, the intrigues and the violence, whether internal or external, that disturbed their lives abroad.

They sought a life ~~not only free from intrigue and violence and warfare, but a life~~ less fettered by the exploitations that selfish men set up in governments that are not free. They sought a wider opportunity for the average man.

~~The profound aspirations of these pioneers grew with the~~
~~idea of democracy in the new world.~~ Having achieved the
initial adventure of migration to new homes, they moved
forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of
government and methods of operating these forms of government
that might assure them the things that they sought. They
believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-
discipline ~~and their capacity for cooperation with each other,~~
could create ^{and use} forms of government that would not enslave the
human spirit, but ^{use} ~~liberate~~ it and nourish it. They did not
fear government, because they knew that government in the new
world was their own.

They built here in Wisconsin a state destined for
extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to en-
force law and order, to care for the unfortunate, ~~and~~ to
promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built a
university and school system as enlightened as any that the
world affords. They set up against all selfish private
interests the organized authority of the people themselves
through the state. They transformed utilities into public
servants instead of private means of exploitation.

The average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights, but his victories have heartened many another state to march forward confidently along the lines of progress that Wisconsin has marked out.

Here, and in the nation at large, ^{the} battle of the ~~average man~~ has been two-fold. In the first ^{place}, ~~place~~, he has had to fight nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land ~~around their dwellings~~, until now, he has been compelled ~~every day~~ to assert the power of his brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. He paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell him that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and his mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, he has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of our continent, I have been so moved by the distressing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the many mistakes men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them.

We are but ^{carrying forward} ~~resurrecting~~ the pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use not only for ourselves but for future generations ^{as trustees} ~~as trustees~~.

But ~~the average~~ man has fought and is fighting another battle. He strove not only against nature but against ^{those} ~~social~~ forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking the kind of individual profit gained ^{which is} at the expense of ^{his fellow} ~~the average~~ citizen.

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into ^{unselfish and practical cooperation} ~~large human purposes~~ can civilization grow.

In the great national movement that culminated in 1932, ^{people} ~~the average man and woman~~ joined with enthusiasm.

They lent hand and voice to the common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land.

As the humble instruments of their vision and power, those of us who were ^{Chosen} ~~elected~~ to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road.

But action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: I am told that a distinguished son of Wisconsin advocates, irrespective of the problem of a drought year, that we should encourage the growing of and unlimited production of wheat in the United States. He is said to justify it by the remark that China and Russia can take all of the surplus wheat that the United States could possibly produce for the next forty years. I hope that gentleman will come down to Washington and tell me how China and Russia, in such event, are going to pay the farmers of the United States for that wheat. I am wondering if he advocates the free

Insert
A.

INSERT A:

First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody else's.

donation by the people of the United States of that surplus wheat to China and to Russia. I cite this as an example of people who don't or who won't think things through.

The other type to which I refer is the individual ~~generally a major Captain of industry~~ who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence." ^{When I hear this} ~~Somewhere in the back of my head~~ I cannot help but remember the pleas made by government and business^{certain types of capitalist} all through the years 1920, 1930, 1931 and 1932 that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence.

Before I left on my trip, I received two letters from ^{important men} ~~prominent business men~~, both of them ^{begging} ~~begging~~ that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" From one of them I have received no reply six weeks later. I take it that he is still ^{pondering how to answer} ~~tapping his forehead~~. The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to declare that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith abolished.

In other words, he was frank enough to ^{imply} ~~suggest~~ that ^{would be bad all} ~~he didn't like any~~ laws, state or national, which ~~told a~~

regulate business

that in *henceforth charge any rate*
utility that it could ~~only~~ *charge* a reasonable ~~rate~~, which
~~told~~ *that* the railroads ~~that they could not~~ go back to rebates
and other secret agreements; ~~which told~~ *that* the processors of
food stuffs ~~that they could not~~ *all* disregard ~~the~~ rules of health
and of good faith, ~~which prevented~~ *that* the resumption of the wild-
cat banking of a century ago, ~~which prevented~~ *could be restored* the palming off
on the public of fraudulent securities and watered stock,
~~which did not allow~~ *that* stock manipulation which caused panics and
enriched insiders, ~~in fact~~, *could go unbroken* if we were to listen to him,
the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign once more.

My friends, the people of the United States will not
restore that ancient order. There is no lack of confidence
on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who
clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic
improvement comes ~~not~~ *from the action of the 5% at the top,*
~~but it arises from~~ *but it arises from* the improved conditions of the ~~65%~~ *95% The whole*
~~population and not a small fraction thereof.~~
Those who would measure confidence in this country in
the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning to our agricultural population
who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable drought
in a large area is giving understanding cooperation to
practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering
and sectional thinking of the past.

Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today ^{with} the red ink of many years gone by; to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration, rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; to the ^{men} ~~men~~ and ^{women} ~~women~~ whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business men, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government co-operating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their ^{savings are secure} ~~insecurity is past~~.

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This Government intends no injury to honest business. This Government intends no injury to the American dollar. I repeat what I have said on many occasions, that the purchasing power of our currency and its ability to liquidate the debt structure must be returned to the average of the

level at which these debts were incurred; we have moved definitely toward that goal -- when it is reached it should be the purpose of the Nation to maintain the value of the dollar in terms of the use of the dollar with fluctuations up or down as slight as human wisdom can make them.

(704) The processes we ~~are~~ following ^{seeking} in the restoration of social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. We are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with the multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share. -- ~~the kind of wealth in which there is some for everyone.~~

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn to ^{in getting up the} ~~implement the necessary personnel of the~~ permanent and temporary agencies of government.

^{Both old friends of mine, worked with me in maintaining}
Your two senators and many others have ~~furthering~~ excellent cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them.

Not only in Washington but in the states there has been cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the ~~same~~ purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, for his patriotic cooperation with the National Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness of a free society. I like its definition by ~~a good friend of the Administration~~, a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is new as the Declaration of Independence was new, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper,

insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

~~"The new deal is the square deal. It would take from no man what is rightfully his; no more would it permit any man to take from another what is rightfully his. It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freemen, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."~~ ~~And it seeks this end under the institutions of American democracy, wherein the individual citizens, not the state their agent, are sovereigns.~~

"We who support this new deal do so because it is just and righteous. We support it, too, in the earnest conviction that it is essential to the preservation of order and security and happiness in a free society."

- End -

Keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts: it can and will be attained. (End)

Having achieved the initial adventure of migration to new homes, they moved forward to the further adventure of establishing forms of government and methods of operating these forms of government that might assure them the things ~~that~~ they sought. They believed that men, out of their intelligence and their self-discipline could create and use forms of government that would not enslave the human spirit, but free it and nourish it. They did not fear government, because they knew that government in the new world was their own.

They built here in Wisconsin a state destined for extraordinary achievements. They set up institutions to enforce law and order, to care for the unfortunate, to promote the arts of industry and agriculture. They built a university and school system as enlightened as any that the world affords. They set up against all selfish private interests the organized authority of the people themselves through the state. They transformed utilities into public servants instead of private means of exploitation.

The average man in Wisconsin waged a long and bitter fight for his rights. Here, and in the nation at large, this battle has been two-fold.

~~He has had to fight~~ nature. From the time that the settlers started to clear the land until now, ~~he has~~ ^{he} been compelled to assert the power of his brains and courage over the blind powers of the wind and the sun and the soil. ^{He} ~~he~~ paid no heed to the reactionaries who would tell ~~him~~ that mankind must stand impotent before the forces of nature. Year after year, as science progressed and ~~the~~ mastery of the mysteries of the physical universe increased, ~~he~~ has been turning nature, once his hard master, into useful servitude.

That is why, on this trip across the northern part of ~~our~~ continent, I have been so moved by the distressing effects of a widespread drought and at the same time so strengthened in my belief that science and cooperation can do much from now on to undo the ~~many~~ ^{many} mistakes men have made in the past and to aid the good forces of nature and the good impulses of men instead of fighting against them.

We are but carrying forward the ^{by G. E.} pioneering spirit of the fathers when we apply the pioneering methods to the better use of vast land and water resources -- what God has given us to use as trustees not only for ourselves

but for future generations.

But man is fighting also against those forces which disregard human cooperation and human rights in seeking that kind of individual profit which is gained at the expense of his fellows.

It is just as hard to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings as it is to conquer the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow.

In ~~the~~ great national movement that culminated ~~in 1932~~, people joined with enthusiasm. They lent hand and voice to ~~the~~ common cause, irrespective of many older political traditions. They saw the dawn of a new day. They were on the march; they were coming back into the possession of their own home land.

As the humble instruments of their vision and power, those of us who were chosen to serve them in 1932 turned to the great task.

In one year and five months, the people of the United States have received at least a partial answer to their demands for action and neither the demand nor the action has reached the end of the road.

But action may be delayed by two types of individuals. Let me cite examples: First, there is the man whose objectives are wholly right and wholly progressive but who declines to cooperate or even to discuss methods of arriving at the objectives because he insists on his own methods and nobody else's.

The other type to which I refer is the individual who demands some message to the people of the United States that will restore what he calls "confidence." When I hear this I cannot help but remember the pleas made by government and certain types of so called "big business" all through the years 1930, 1931 and 1932 that the only thing lacking in the United States was confidence.

Before I left on my trip, I received two letters from important men, both of them pleading that I say something to restore confidence. To both of them I wrote identical answers: "What would you like to have me say?" From one of them I have received no reply at all six weeks later. I take it that he is still wondering how to answer. The other man wrote me frankly that in his judgment the way to restore confidence was for me to declare that all supervision by all forms of government, Federal and state, over all forms of human activity called business should be forthwith

abolished.

In other words, ~~he~~^{he} was frank enough to imply that he would repeal all laws, state or national, which regulate business - that a utility could henceforth charge any rate reasonable or otherwise; that the railroads could go back to rebates and ~~other~~ secret agreements; that the processors of food stuffs could disregard all rules of health and of good faith; that the unregulated wild-cat banking of a century ago could be restored; that fraudulent securities and watered stock could be palmed off on the public; that stock manipulation ~~which~~ caused panics and enriched insiders could go unchecked. In fact, if we were to listen to him, the old law of the tooth and the claw would reign ^{once} more.

~~My friends~~, the people of the United States will not restore that ancient order. There is no lack of confidence on the part of those business men, farmers and workers who clearly read the signs of the times. Sound economic improvement comes from the improved conditions of the whole population and not a small fraction thereof.

Those who would measure confidence in this country in the future must look first to the average citizen.

Confidence is returning ^{to} to our agricultural population who, in spite of unpredictable and uncontrollable

drought in a large area, is giving understanding cooperation to practical planning and the ending of the useless bickering and sectional thinking of the past. Confidence is returning to the manufacturers who, in overwhelming numbers, are comparing the black ink of today with the red ink of many years gone by; to the workers who have achieved under the National Recovery Administration, rights for which they fought unsuccessfully for a generation; to the men and women whose willing hands found no work and who have been saved from starvation by Government relief; to the youngsters whose childhood has been saved to them by the abolition of child labor; to the fair and sincere bankers and financiers and business man, big and little, who now, for the first time, find Government cooperating with them in new attempts to put the golden rule into the temples of finance; to the home owners who have been saved from the stark threat of foreclosure and to the small investors and savers of the Nation who, for the first time, rightly believe that their savings are secure.

These are the elements that make for confidence in the future. This Government intends no injury to honest

business. The processes we follow in seeking social justice do not in adding to general prosperity take from one and give to another. In this modern world, the spreading out of opportunity ought not to consist of robbing Peter to pay Paul. We are concerned with more than mere subtraction and addition. We are concerned with ~~the~~ multiplication of wealth through cooperative action; wealth in which all can share.

These high purposes must be accompanied by cooperation among those charged by the people with the duties of government. I am glad to be in a State from which I have greatly drawn in setting up the permanent and temporary agencies of the ~~Government~~.

Your two senators, both old friends of mine, and many others, worked with me in maintaining excellent cooperation between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to them.

Not only in Washington but in the states there has been cooperation by public officials in the achievement of the purposes we seek. I thank Governor Schmedeman, another old friend of mine, for his patriotic

cooperation with the National Administration.

We who support this new deal do so because it is a square deal and because it is essential to the preservation of security and happiness of a free society.

884 I like its definition by a member of the Congress. He said:

"The new deal is an old deal -- as old as the earliest aspirations of humanity for liberty and justice and the good life. It is ^{as} old as Christian ethics, for basically its ethics are the same. It is ^{as} new as the Declaration of Independence ~~was new~~, and the Constitution of the United States; its motives are the same. It voices the deathless cry of good men and good women for the opportunity to live and work in freedom, the right to be secure in their homes and in the fruits of their labor, the power to protect themselves against the ruthless and the cunning. It recognizes that man is indeed his brother's keeper, insists that the laborer is worthy of his hire, demands that justice shall rule the mighty as well as the weak.

"It seeks to cement our society, rich and poor, manual worker and brain worker, into a voluntary brotherhood of freeman, standing together, striving together, for the common good of all."

Keep that vision before your eyes and in your hearts: it can ~~and~~ will be attained. (C)

-End-