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**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**

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**File No. 835**

**1936 January 8**

**Jackson Day Dinner Address**

READING COPY

JACKSON DAY SPEECH  
BY THE PRESIDENT

MAYFLOWER HOTEL  
JANUARY 8, 1936.

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MR. CHAIRMAN, MY FRIENDS:

This meeting tonight, in the City of Washington,  
is one of many hundreds being held throughout our forty-eight  
States and territorial possessions and even on board ships  
at sea, in honor of the memory of a great General and President,  
Andrew Jackson. To all of you I extend my most sincere and  
hearty greetings.

I am happy to stand here tonight and declare to  
you that the real issue before the United States is the  
right of the average man and woman to lead a finer, a better  
and a happier life. That was the same issue, more than one  
hundred years ago, that confronted Andrew Jackson.

I speak tonight to this Democratic meeting in  
the same language as if I were addressing a Republican  
gathering, a Progressive gathering, an Independent gathering,  
a gathering of businessmen or a gathering of workers or of  
farmers. There is nothing that I say here tonight that does  
not apply to every citizen in the country no matter what  
his or her political affiliations may be.

It is true that we Americans have found party  
organizations to be useful, ~~and indeed~~ necessary, in the  
crystallization of opinion and in the demarcation of issues.  
It is true that I have received many honors at the hands of  
one of our great parties. It is nevertheless true that in  
the grave questions that confront the United States today  
I, as President of the United States, must and will consider  
our common problems first, foremost and preeminently from  
the American point of view.

To most of us Andrew Jackson appropriately has  
become the symbol of certain great ideals. I like best to  
think of him as a man whom the average American deeply and  
fundamentally understood. To the masses of his countrymen  
his purposes and his character were an open book. They loved  
him well because they understood him well -- his passion  
for justice, his championship of the cause of the exploited  
and the downtrodden, his ardent and flaming patriotism.

~~in his day they did not use the phrase "sector justice"~~  
~~I have often used it, nevertheless, Jackson~~  
~~sought it and fought for it in his many battles to protect~~

Jackson sought social justice,<sup>A</sup> fought for human rights in his many battles to protect the people against autocratic or oligarchic aggression.

If at times his passionate devotion to this cause of the average citizen lent an amazing seal to his thoughts, his speech and his actions, the people loved him for it the more. They realized the intensity of the attacks by his enemies, by those who, thrust from power and position, pursued him with relentless hatred. The beneficiaries of the abuses to which he put an end pursued him with all the violence that political passions can generate. But the people of his day were not deceived. They loved him for the enemies he had made.

Backed not only by his party but by thousands who had belonged to other parties or belonged to no party at all, Andrew Jackson was compelled to fight every inch for the ideals and policies of the democratic Republic in which he believed. <sup>of the mass</sup> An overwhelming proportion of the material power of the country was arrayed against him. The great media for the dissemination of information and the moulding of public opinion fought him. Haughty and sterile intellectualism opposed him. Musty reaction disapproved him. Hollow and outworn traditionalism shook a trembling finger at him. It seemed that sometimes all were against him -- all but the people of the United States.

Because history so often repeats itself, let me analyze further. Andrew Jackson stands out as a great American, not merely because he was two-fisted and fought for the people's rights but because, through his career, he did as much as any man in our history to increase, on the part of the voters, knowledge of public problems and interest in their solution. Following the fundamentals of Jefferson he adhered to the broad philosophy that decisions made by the average of the voters would be more greatly enduring for ~~and~~, and helpful to, the nation than decisions made by small segments of the electorate representing small or special classes, endowed with great advantages of social or economic power.

He, like Jefferson, faced with the grave difficulty of disseminating facts to the electorate as a whole, was compelled to combat epithets, generalities, misrepresentation, and the suppression of facts by the process of asking his supporters, and indeed all citizens, to constitute themselves into informal committees for the purpose of obtaining the facts and of spreading them abroad among their friends, their associates and their fellow-workers.

I am aware that some wise-cracking columnist will probably say that good old Jackson no doubt realized that every red-blooded American citizen considered himself a committee of one anyway. Nevertheless, Jackson got his ideas and his ideals across, not through any luxurious propaganda but because the man on the street and the man on the farm believed in his ideas, his ideals and his honesty, went out and dug up the facts and spread them abroad throughout the land.

History repeats — I am becoming dimly conscious of the fact that this year we are to have a national election. Sometimes at the close of a day I say to myself that the last national election must have been held a dozen years ago — so much water has run under the bridge, so many great events in our history have occurred since then. And yet <sup>but</sup> <sub>A</sub> thirty-four months, less than three years, have gone by since March, 1933.

History repeats — in these crowded months, as in the days of Jackson, two great achievements stand forth — the rebirth of the interest and understanding of a great citizenry in the problems of the nation and an established government which by positive action has proved its devotion to the recovery and well-being of that citizenry.

Whatever may be the Platform, whoever may be the nominee of the Democratic Party -- and I am told that a Convention is to be held to decide these momentous questions -- <sup>inevitably</sup> the basic issue will be the retention of popular government -- A an issue fraught once more with the difficult problem of disseminating facts and yet more facts, in the face of an opposition bent on hiding and distorting facts.

*And* <sup>my friends</sup> That is why organization, not party organization alone -- important as that is -- but an organization among all those, regardless of party, who believe in retaining progress and ideals, is so essential.

That is why, in addition to organization, I make this specific recommendation -- that each and every one of you who are interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smokescreen of charges and countercharges of a national campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one. To do this you need no parchment certificate, to do this you need no title. To do this you need only your own conviction, your own intelligence and your own belief in the highest duty of the American citizen.

To act as such a committee of one you will need only your own appointment, an appointment which carries with it some effort, some obligation on your part to carry out the task you have assigned to yourself. You will have to run down statements made to you by others which you may believe to be false. You will need to analyze the motives of those who make assertions to you, to make an inventory in your own community, in order that you may check and re-check for yourself and thereby be in a position to answer those who have been misled or those who would mislead.

After my Annual Message to the Congress last Friday evening, I received many appreciative letters and telegrams from all over the country and I think it will interest you to know that within a few hours I received more of these than at any time since the critical days of the Spring of 1933. I have carefully read those letters and telegrams and found two facts which are worthy of repeating to you tonight. The first is that a very large number were sent to me by families who evidently heard my Message while grouped together in the family home. "My wife and I want you to know how much we appreciate" etc. -- or "The Jones family,

gathered tonight with our friends, sends you this message of confidence." In other words, as greatly and perhaps even more greatly than on any other occasion since I have been in the White House, I have the definite feeling that what I have said about the great problems that face us as a Nation received a responsive, an appreciative and an understanding answer in the homes of America. This means a lot to me.

The other interesting fact about these letters and telegrams is the very great number of them that come from business men, store keepers, bankers and manufacturers. The gist of their message to me is that they appreciate and are grateful for my statement that it is but a minority in business and finance that would "gang up" against the people's liberties. I reiterate that assertion tonight. By far the greater part of the business men, industrialists, and other employers of the Nation seek no special advantage; they seek only an equal opportunity to share in the benefits and the <sup>comrasen</sup> obligations of government.

I am naturally grateful for this support and for the understanding on their part that the government of

the United States seeks to give them a square deal and a  
better deal — seeks to protect them~~and~~ to save them from  
being plowed under by the small minority of business men  
and financiers, against whom I shall continue to wage war.

We can be thankful that people in all walks of life realize more and more that government is a living force in their lives. They understand that the value of their government depends on the interest which they display in it and the knowledge they have of its policies.

A government can be no better than the public opinion that sustains it.

I know you will not be surprised by lack of comment on my part tonight on the decision by the Supreme Court two days ago. I cannot render offhand judgment without studying, with the utmost care, two of the most momentous opinions ever rendered in a case before the Supreme Court of the United States. The ultimate results of the language of these opinions will profoundly affect the lives of Americans for years to come. It is enough to say that the attainment of justice and prosperity for American agriculture remains an immediate and constant objective of my Administration.

Just as Jackson roused the people to their fundamental duties as citizens, so must the leadership of this era do its utmost to encourage and sustain widespread interest in public affairs. There was something of the eternal youth in the spirit of Jackson. The destiny of youth became the destiny of America.

Tasks immediately before us are as arduous as the conquests of the frontier a hundred years ago. The nation is still young, still growing, still conscious of its high destiny. Enthusiasm and the intelligence of the youth of the land are necessary to the fulfilment of that destiny.

As I understand the temper of the people, particularly the temper of youth, no party of reaction, no candidates of reaction can fulfil the hope and faith of that spirit. It is the sacred duty of us who are vested with the responsibility of leadership to justify the expectations of the young men and women of America.

We are at peace with the world; but the fight goes on. Our frontiers of today are economic, not geographic. Our enemies are the forces of privilege and greed within our own borders.

May a double portion of Old Hickory's <sup>heroic</sup> spirit be

upon us tonight. May we be inspired by the power and the  
glory and the justice of his rugged and fearless life.

The people of America know the heart and the  
purpose of their government.

We will not retreat.

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General Secretary of the Party

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
DELIVERED AT THE JACKSON DAY DINNER  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
BROADCAST TO 3000 JACKSON DAY DINNERS THROUGHOUT THE NATION  
Wednesday, January 8, 1936

Mr. Chairman, my friends:

On our dinner cards tonight is a medallion portrait of a man who gave a memorable toast, "The Federal Union, it must be preserved."

This meeting tonight, in the City of Washington, is one of many hundreds being held throughout our forty-eight States and territorial possessions and even on board ships at sea, in honor of the memory of a great General, (and) a great President, Andrew Jackson. (Applause) To all of you I extend my most sincere and (hearty) heartfelt greetings.

I am happy to stand here tonight and declare to you that the real issue before the United States is the right of the average man and woman to lead a finer, a better and a happier life. (Applause) And that was the same issue more than (one) a hundred years ago, that confronted Andrew Jackson.

I speak tonight to this Democratic meeting, to these Democratic meetings throughout the Nation, in the

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 PREVIOUSLY HIT TO MEMORY 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.

... about us, married and  
were gathered at the Capital of our Republic and no  
President said "I am the head of the country and I am the  
representative of the people of the United States  
responsible to you all of what has been said  
which the foregoing had said about your wife and  
President no more has been done than has been done  
between myself and the woman who has come to me  
from (Russia) medical records (Russia) paper a (has)  
misunderstood (Russia) the records seem to indicate I say to the  
signifies  
of which has already been made of which we I  
say at about half past six o'clock last night said well now  
you're a fool of course have any evidence said to right  
now said and said (Russia) still believed a has not  
been informed said yes what happened is (the) man whom you  
mention mentioned  
as (Russia) mentioned said of which things I  
say at half past six o'clock produced evidence mentioned said

same language as if I were addressing a Republican gathering, a Progressive gathering, an Independent gathering, a Farmer Labor gathering, a gathering of businessmen or a gathering of workers or (or) farmers. There is nothing that I say here tonight that does not apply to every citizen in the country no matter what his or her political affiliations may be. (Applause)

It is true that we Americans have found party organizations to be useful, (if not) and indeed necessary, in the crystallization of opinion and in the demarcation of issues. It is true that I have received many honors at the hands of one of our great parties. It is nevertheless true that in the grave questions that confront the United States (today) at this hour, I, as President of the United States, must and will consider our common problems first, foremost and preeminently from the American point of view. (Applause)

To most of us Andrew Jackson appropriately has become the symbol of certain great ideals. I like best to think of him as a man whom the average American deeply and fundamentally understood. To the masses of his countrymen his purposes and his character were an open book. They

loved him well because they understood him well -- his passion for justice, his championship of the cause of the exploited and the downtrodden, his ardent and flaming patriotism.

Jackson sought social justice, (and) Jackson fought for human rights in his many battles to protect the people against autocratic or oligarchic aggression.

And, if at times his passionate devotion to this cause of the average citizen lent an amazing zeal to his thoughts, to his speech and to his actions, the people loved him for it the more. They realized the intensity of the attacks made by his enemies, by those who, thrust from power and position, pursued him with relentless hatred. The beneficiaries of the abuses to which he put an end pursued him with all the violence that political passions can generate. But the people of his day were not deceived. They loved him for the enemies he had made. (Applause)

Backed not only by his party but by thousands who had belonged to other parties or belonged to no party at all, Andrew Jackson was compelled to fight every inch of the way for the ideals and the policies of the Democratic

Republic (in which he believed) that was his ideal. An overwhelming proportion of the material power of the (country) Nation was arrayed against him. The great media for the dissemination of information and the moulding of public opinion fought him. Haughty, (and) sterile intellectualism opposed him. (Applause) And musty reaction disapproved him. (Applause) Hollow, (and) outworn traditionalism shook a trembling finger at him. (Applause) Yes, it seemed that sometimes all were against him -- all but the people of the United States. (Applause)

Because history so often repeats itself, (laughed) let me analyze further. Andrew Jackson stands out in the century and a half of our independent history, (as a great American) not merely because he was two-fisted, (and) not merely because he fought for the people's rights, but because, through his career, he did as much as any man in our history to increase, on the part of the voters, knowledge of public problems and an interest in their solution. Following the fundamentals of Jefferson he adhered to the broad philosophy that decisions made by the average of the voters would be more greatly enduring for, and helpful to, the Nation than decisions made by small segments of the

electorate representing small or special classes endowed with great advantages of social or economic power.

He, like Jefferson, faced with the grave difficulty of disseminating facts to the electorate, to the voters as a whole, was compelled to combat epithets, generalities, misrepresentation and the suppression of facts by the process of asking his supporters, and indeed all citizens, to constitute themselves into informal committees for the purpose of obtaining the facts and of spreading them abroad among their friends, their associates and their fellow-workers.

I am aware that some wise-cracking columnist (laughter) will probably say that good old Jackson no doubt realized that every red-blooded American citizen (considered) considers himself a committee of one anyway. (Laughter, applause) Nevertheless, Jackson got his ideas and his ideals across, not through any luxurious propaganda (laughter) but because the man on the street and the man on the farm believed in his ideas, believed in his ideals and his honesty, went out and dug up the facts and spread them abroad throughout the land.

History repeats -- and I am becoming dimly conscious of the fact that this year we are to have a national election. (Laughter) Yet, sometimes at the close of a day I say to myself that the last national election must have been held a dozen years ago -- so much water has run under the bridge, so many great events in our history have occurred since then. And yet but thirty-four months, less than three years, have gone by since March, 1933.

History repeats -- in (these) those crowded months, as in the days of Jackson, two great achievements stand forth -- the rebirth of the interest and understanding of a great citizenry in the problems of the Nation and an established government which by positive action has proved its devotion to the recovery and well-being of that citizenry. (Applause)

Whatever may be the Platform, whoever may be the nominee of the Democratic Party (laughter, applause) -- and I am told by the Chairman that a Convention is to be held to decide these momentous questions (laughter) -- the basic issue, my friends, will be inevitably the retention of popular government -- an issue fraught once

more with the difficult problems of disseminating facts and yet more facts, in the face of an opposition bent on hiding and distorting facts.

And that, my friends, is why organization, not party organization alone -- important as that is -- but (an) organization among all those, regardless of party, who believe in retaining progress and ideals, is (so) an essential.

That is why, in addition to organization, I make this specific recommendation -- that each and every one of you who are interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smokescreen of charges and countercharges of a national campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one. (Applause) To do this you need no parchment certificate, to do this you need no title. To do this you need only your own conviction, your own intelligence and your own belief in the highest duty of the American citizen.

To act as such a committee of one you will need only your own appointment, an appointment which carries

with it some effort, some obligation on your part to carry out the task you have assigned to yourself. You will have to run down statements made to you by others which you may believe to be false. You will need to analyze the motives of those who make assertions to you, you will need to make an inventory in your own community, in order that you may check and re-check for yourself and thereby be in a position to answer those who have been misled or those who would mislead.

After my Annual Message to the Congress last Friday evening, I received many appreciative letters and telegrams from all over the country and I think it will interest you to know that within a few hours I received more of these than at any time since the critical days of the Spring of 1933. (Applause) I have carefully read those letters and telegrams and I found two facts (which) that I think are worthy of repeating to you tonight. The first is that out of the many, many hundreds a very large number were sent to me by families, families who evidently heard my Message while grouped together in the family home. "My wife and I want you to know how much we appreciate", and so forth (et cetera) -- or "The Jones family, gathered to-

night with our friends, sends you this message of confidence." In other words, as greatly and perhaps even more greatly than on any other occasion since I have been in the White House, I have the definite feeling that what I have said about the great problems that face us as a Nation received a responsive, an appreciative and an understanding answer in the homes of America. (Cheers, applause)  
And I need not tell you that this means a lot to me.

The other interesting fact about these letters and telegrams is the very great number of them that come from businessmen, from storekeepers, from bankers and from manufacturers. The gist of their messages to me is that they (appreciate and) are grateful, (for) that they appreciate my statement that it is but a minority (in) of business and finance that would "gang up" against the people's liberties. (Applause) I reiterate that assertion tonight. By far the greater part of the businessmen, industrialists, and other employers of the Nation seek no special advantage; they seek only an equal opportunity to share in the common benefits, the common responsibilities and the common obligations of their government.

And I am naturally grateful for this support and

for the understanding on their part that the government of the United States seeks to give them a square deal and a better deal -- seeks to protect them, (and) yes, to save them from being plowed under by the small minority of businessmen and financiers, against whom you and I (shall) will continue to wage war. (Applause, cheers)

We can be thankful that (people) men and women in all walks of life realize more and more that government is still a living force in their lives. They understand that the value of their government depends on the interest which they display in it and the knowledge they have of its policies.

A government can be no better than the public opinion (that) which sustains it. (Applause)

I know that you will not be surprised by lack of comment on my part tonight on the recent decision (by) of the Supreme Court. (two days ago) I cannot and will not render offhand judgment without studying, with the utmost care, two of the most momentous opinions, the ma- jority opinion and the minority opinion, (applause) that have ever been rendered, (applause) that have ever been rendered in (a) any case before the Supreme Court of the

United States. The ultimate result(s) of the language of these opinions will profoundly affect the lives of Americans for many years to come. It is enough to say that the attainment of justice and the continuance of prosperity for American agriculture remains an immediate and constant objective of my Administration. (Applause, cheers)

Just as Jackson roused the people to their fundamental duties as citizens, so must the leadership of this era do its utmost to encourage and sustain widespread interest in public affairs. There was something of the eternal youth in the spirit of Andrew Jackson. The destiny of youth became the destiny of America.

Tasks immediately before us are as arduous as the conquest of the frontiers a (hundred years) century ago. The nation is still young, still growing, still conscious of its high destiny. Enthusiasm and the intelligence of the youth of the land are necessary to the fulfillment of that destiny. (Applause)

As I understand the temper of the people, particularly the temper of youth, no party of reaction, no candidates of reaction can fulfill the hope and the faith of that everlasting spirit. (Applause) It is the sacred

duty of us who are vested with the responsibility of leadership to justify the expectations of the young men and women of (America) the United States. (Applause)

We are at peace with the world; but the fight goes on. Our frontiers of today are economic, not geographic. Our enemies of today are the forces of privilege and greed within our own borders. (Applause)

And so I say to all of you, may a double portion of Old Hickory's heroic spirit be upon us tonight. (Applause) May we be inspired by the power and the glory and the justice of his rugged and fearless life.

The people of America know the heart and know the purpose of their government.

They and we will not retreat. (Prolonged applause)

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STATEMENTS FILE  
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## STATEMENTS FILE

FOR THE PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL

Shorthand by Kannan

January 8, 1936

HOLD FOR RELEASEHOLD FOR RELEASEHOLD FOR RELEASE

This address of the President, to be delivered at the Jackson Day Dinner, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., Wednesday, January 8, 1936, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 10:00 o'clock, P. M., Eastern Standard Time.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President

MR. CHAPMAN, MY FRIENDS:

This meeting tonight, in the City of Washington, is one of many hundreds being held throughout our forty-eight States and territorial possessions and even on board ships at sea, in honor of the memory of a great General and President, Andrew Jackson. To all of you I extend my most sincere and hearty greetings.

I am happy to stand here tonight and declare to you that the real issue before the United States is the right of the average man and woman to lead a finer, a better and a happier life. That was the same issue, more than one hundred years ago, that confronted Andrew Jackson.

I speak tonight to this Democratic meeting in the same language as if I were addressing a Republican gathering, a Progressive gathering, an Independent gathering, a gathering of businessmen or a gathering of workers or farmers. There is nothing that I say here tonight that does not apply to every citizen in the country no matter what his or her political affiliations may be.

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(T6) (M7) He, like Jefferson, faced with the grave difficulty of disseminating facts to the electorate as a whole, was compelled to combat epithets, generalities, misrepresentation and the suppression of facts by the process of asking his supporters, and indeed all citizens, to constitute themselves into informal committees for the purpose of obtaining the facts and of spreading them abroad among their friends, their associates and their fellow-workers.

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I know you will not be surprised by lack of comment on my part tonight on the decision by the Supreme Court ~~two days ago~~. I cannot render offhand judgment without studying, with the utmost care, two of the most momentous opinions ever rendered in a case before the Supreme Court of the United States. The ultimate result of the language of these opinions will profoundly affect the lives of Americans for years to come. It is enough to say that the attainment of justice and prosperity for American agriculture remains an immediate and constant objective of my Administration.

Just as Jackson roused the people to their fundamental duties as citizens, so must the leadership of this era do its utmost to encourage and sustain widespread interest in public affairs. There was something of the eternal youth in the spirit of Jackson. The destiny of youth became the destiny of America.

Tasks immediately before us are as arduous as the conquest of the frontier a hundred years ago. The nation is still young, still growing, still conscious of its high destiny. Enthusiasm and the intelligence of the youth of the land are necessary to the fulfillment of that destiny.

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January 8, 1936

MR. CHAIRMAN, MY FRIENDS:

This meeting tonight, in the City of Washington, is one of many hundreds being held throughout our forty-eight States and territorial possessions and even on board ships at sea, in honor of the memory of a great General and President, Andrew Jackson. To all of you I extend my most sincere and hearty greetings.

I am happy to stand here tonight and declare to you that the real issue before the United States is the right of the average man and woman to lead a finer, a better and a happier life. That was the same issue, more than one hundred years ago, that confronted Andrew Jackson.

I speak tonight to this Democratic meeting in the same language as if I were addressing a Republican gathering, a Progressive gathering, an Independent gathering, a gathering of businessmen or a gathering of workers or of farmers. There is nothing that I say here tonight that does not apply to every citizen in the country no matter what his or her political affiliations may be.

It is true that we Americans have found party organizations to be useful, if not necessary, in the crystallization of opinion and in the demarcation of issues. It is true that I have received many honors at the hands of one of our great parties. It is nevertheless true that in the grave questions that confront the United States today I, as President of the United States, must and will consider our common problems first, foremost and preeminently from the American point of view.

To most of us Andrew Jackson appropriately has become the symbol of certain great ideals. I like best to think of him as a man whom the average American deeply and fundamentally understood. To the masses of his countrymen his purposes and his character were an open book. They loved him well because they understood him well -- his passion for justice, his championship of the cause of the exploited and the down-trodden, his ardent and flaming patriotism.

Jackson sought social justice and fought for human rights in his many battles to protect the people against autocratic or oligarchic aggression.

If at times his passionate devotion to this cause of the average citizen lent an amazing zeal to his thoughts, his speech and his actions, the people loved him for it the more. They realized the intensity of the attacks by his enemies, by those who, thrust from power and position, pursued him with relentless hatred. The beneficiaries of the abuses to which he put an end pursued him with all the violence that political passions can generate. But the people of his day were not deceived. They loved him for the enemies he had made.

Backed not only by his party but by thousands who had belonged to other parties or belonged to no party at all, Andrew Jackson was compelled to fight every inch for the ideals and policies of the democratic Republic in which he believed. An overwhelming proportion of the material power of the country was arrayed against him. The great media for the dissemination of information and the moulding of public opinion fought him. Haughty and sterile intellectualism opposed him. Musty reaction disapproved him. Hollow and outworn traditionalism shook a trembling finger at him. It seemed that sometimes all were against him -- all but the people of the United States.

Because history so often repeats itself, let me analyze further. Andrew Jackson stands out as a great American, not merely because he was two-fisted and fought for the people's rights but because, through his career, he did as much as any man in our history to increase, on the part of the voters, knowledge of public problems and interest in their solution. Following the fundamentals of Jefferson he adhered to the broad philosophy that decisions made by the average of the voters would be more greatly enduring for, and helpful to, the nation than decisions made by small segments of the electorate representing small or special classes endowed with great advantages of social or economic power.

He, like Jefferson, faced with the grave difficulty of disseminating facts to the electorate as a whole, was compelled to combat epithets, generalities, misrepresentation and the suppression of facts by the process of asking his supporters, and indeed all citizens, to constitute themselves into informal committees for the purpose of obtaining the facts and of spreading them abroad among their friends, their associates and their fellow-workers.

I am aware that some wise-cracking columnist will probably say that good old Jackson no doubt realized that every red-blooded American citizen considered himself a committee of one anyway. Nevertheless, Jackson got his ideas and his ideals across, not through any luxurious propaganda but because the man on the street and the man on the farm believed in his ideas, his ideals and his honesty, went out and dug up the facts and spread them abroad throughout the land.

History repeats -- I am becoming dimly conscious of the fact that this year we are to have a national election. Sometimes at the close of a day I say to myself that the last national election must have been held a dozen years ago -- so much water has run under the bridge, so many great events in our history have occurred since then. And yet thirty-four months, less than three years, have gone by since March, 1933.

History repeats -- in these crowded months, as in the days of Jackson, two great achievements stand forth -- the rebirth of the interest and understanding of a great citizenry in the problems of the nation and an established government which by positive action has proved its devotion to the recovery and well-being of that citizenry.

Whatever may be the Platform, whoever may be the nominee of the Democratic Party -- and I am told that a Convention is to be held to decide these momentous questions -- the basic issue will be the retention of popular government -- an issue fraught once more with the difficult problem of disseminating facts and yet more facts, in the face of an opposition bent on hiding and distorting facts.

That is why organization, not party organization alone -- important as that is -- but an organization among all those, regardless of party, who believe in retaining progress and ideals, is so essential.

That is why, in addition to organization, I make this specific recommendation -- that each and every one of you who are interested in obtaining the facts and in spreading those facts abroad, each and every one of you interested in getting at the truth that lies somewhere behind the smokescreen of charges and countercharges of a national campaign, constitute yourself a committee of one. To do this you need no parchment certificate, to do this you need no title. To do this you need only your own conviction, your own intelligence and your own belief in the highest duty of the American citizen.

To act as such a committee of one you will need only your own appointment, an appointment which carries with it some effort, some obligation on your part to carry out the task you have assigned to yourself. You will have to run down statements made to you by others which you may believe to be false. You will need to analyze the motives of those who make assertions to you, to make an inventory in your own community, in order that you may check and re-check for yourself and thereby be in a position to answer those who have been misled or those who would mislead.

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