
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. 859

1936 April 25

**New York City, NY - Address, Jefferson Day
Dinner**

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE THOMAS JEFFERSON DINNER
SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK, N. Y.
Saturday, April 25, 1936, 10.30 P.M.

Governor and Mrs. Lehman, President McMahon,
Judge Collins, and you who celebrate once more the birth-
day of Thomas Jefferson:

It is a very deep pleasure to be welcomed this way, to be welcomed back to my home state of New York.

(Applause)

Our State (it) has loyally supported those progressive policies of government in the making of which so many of (us) you who are here tonight have (had a) taken an honorable and successful part. New York State has (an unbroken) a long record of almost a generation of liberal government, each succeeding Administration of State affairs building for the future upon the best which the past has given us.

I want to take this occasion, this auspicious occasion, to compliment the State on its great, good fortune in the loyal, competent and unselfish service of its present Governor, Herbert Lehman. (Applause)

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.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President, and Mrs. Roosevelt

-With all your good standards with you, building schools

in every state, making it easier

and smoother for an economic way of life

...very well to start now to do good things and if we

(inaudible)

...very much better things tomorrow and the day after.

...we have to go back to our country to continue evidently

...that is not very difficult, and we can do (and) so much
as) and start very well. This afternoon has been good enough

to get the necessary documents up between myself (and) and the
committee over to make certain understandings done. Tomorrow

and long till today good and good sources and very influential

men have

...probably said... probably right about as true I

just now. There will be much more difficulty as problems

will be solved differently than the original, (and) not at once

(inaudible) ...and first, concerned primarily

He has continued to extend and strengthen the humane laws for which this State has been noted. History repeats itself. He has met the same type of opposition today which some of us as youngsters, and Bob Wagner was one of them (applause) -- some of us met in the State Legislature twenty-five years ago. (We won then and we are winning today.) The people of this State and the people of every state meet up with obstacles. For example, it has come to me all the way to Washington that the present Assembly of this State declines to meet the obvious requirements of the Constitution of this State when it declines to meet the sum necessary to meet the debt requirements of the State during the coming fiscal year, and that this Assembly is opposed when it comes to providing relief for those in need. But, my friends, twenty-five years ago and ten years ago and five years ago we won, and Herbert Lehman is going to win again. (Applause)

As a New Yorker, I am confident, and I think you are too, that a vast majority of our citizens this Autumn as in the past will invite Governor Lehman to (continue his splendid work for at least) serve at least two years more as our Chief.

(America) A century ago this country was regarded as an economic unity. But as time went on, things happened. The country, bit by bit, was cut up (bit by bit) into segments. We heard, more and more, about the problems of particular localities, (the problems) of particular groups. More and more people put on blinders; they could see only their own individual interests or the single community in which their business (was) happened to be located.

It is only in these comparatively recent days that we have been turning back to the broader vision of the founding fathers.

The cities of the Nation and the countrysides near them have come to realize each other's existence. The same idea now is spreading on a (truly) national scale.

So that is why while I may be breaking another precedent -- and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing at least one precedent -- (but) that is why I can come here to the City of New York and talk with you about the cotton problem of Georgia, the corn and hog problem of Iowa, (and) the wheat problem of the Dakotas, the dust storms of the West, the destructive tornadoes (of) in the South, and the floods (of) in the Northeast. And, in the same way I would not hesitate to discuss

the slum clearance problems or any other problems of the big cities of the East with (a) any farmer audience in Georgia or Iowa or the Dakotas or anywhere else, because we are becoming nationally-minded. (Applause)

The strong arm of the Nation is needed not in immediate relief alone -- we all grant that. It is needed also in taking measures of prevention before (natural) disasters occur. And it is needed equally (needed) in taking measures to prevent economic disasters which are not natural but (man made) are made by man.

During (the) these past three years I am quite convinced that the Hester Street and Park Avenue of this City have both come to understand that they belong (to) in the same economic pattern and indeed to the same Nation as the cotton, corn and hog belts, and the flood areas and (the) dust bowls. (Applause) Not (so) long ago it was the farm against the city and the city against the farm. But from now on if both are to (survive)prosper, it must be and shall be the farm with the city and the city with the farm. (Applause)

Some economists are still trying to find out what it was that hit us back in 1929. (Laughter) I am not a

professional economist but I think I know. (Laughter) What hit us was a decade of debauch, of group selfishness -- the sole objective expressed in the thought -- "every man for himself" -- as the Governor has said and I am going to copy it -- "and the devil take the hindmost." And the result was that about 98 per cent of the American population turned out to be "the hindmost".

Let me illustrate what happened by taking the case of the garment workers in the City of New York (City). They make about forty per cent of all the clothes of the Nation worn outside of New York (City). That is an amazing statement. Their work and wages in this City were dependent on the sales they made all over the country. The garment workers' depression here did not begin in 1929. It began back in 1921 when the depression began on the farms of the Nation. But back in the twenties people in power still thought of prosperity chiefly in industrial or financial terms. They overlooked the farm depression; and because it went unrelieved the troubles that started among the farmers in 1921 finally and inevitably reached the garment workers on Eighth Avenue.

Nebraska's corn and Eighth Avenue's clothing are

not different problems; they are the same national problems. (Applause) Before the War a Nebraska farmer could take a two hundred pound hog to market and buy a suit of clothes made in the City of New York. But in 1932, in order to get that same suit of clothes he had to take two and a half hogs to market. Back in the twenties a cotton farmer had to raise seven pounds of cotton to buy one pair of New York made overalls. By 1932, however, he had to raise fourteen pounds of cotton to get those (New York) overalls.

Let us get the common sense of it.

Obviously, the farmers stopped buying as many clothes and when the farm districts stopped buying, New York's garment districts (soon) started bread lines. That, however, was only half (of) the vicious circle. When the garment district's breadlines grew longer buying power in the cities as a whole grew less. Other breadlines formed. Every man on a new breadline meant one person who ate less and wore less. Because the garment worker ate less the farmer sold less and his income went down. And so the vicious strangling circle was complete. Today we have broken that throttlehold. The American electorate proposes that it shall not be renewed. (Applause)

And while I am talking of food consumption at the end of this grand dinner, here is a fact of equal interest to the city dweller and the farmer population. If all of the seven million people living in the City of New York (City) could afford to buy the bread and meat and vegetables and milk and fish and cotton and wool that their health and decent living call for, then we in this country would need crop production from three million more acres of good crop land than we are using today to feed and clothe the City of New York (City today). (I) My friends, we propose to continue the fight for more food and better homes.

I propose that the man who was forgotten in those
olden days shall not be forgotten again. (Applause) (But)
This tie-up between cities and farms is one of the chief reasons why in 1933 we sought a national solution for a national problem. We sought simultaneously to raise the farmer's cash income and to add to the working man's pay envelope. What our success has been you can prove by the simple process of putting the financial page(s) of any newspaper published in 1936 along side the financial pages of the same newspaper published in 1932. And by financial
pages, I do not mean, as some of you might think, merely

the stock market quotation pages, although you will agree that they too have at least passed panic prices. By financial pages I mean the published prices of farm products and raw materials and the many reports of increased industrial earnings. And, by the way, speaking of activity, speaking of progress and a greater prosperity, every time that I come back to the City of New York I keep looking, looking for that grass that was to grow in our city streets! (Laughter, prolonged applause) (By the way, every time I come to New York I look for that grass which was to grow in the city streets!)

(But) Some individuals are never satisfied. (Laughter) People complain to me about the current costs of rebuilding America, about the burden on future generations. I tell them that whereas the deficit of the Federal Government this year is about three billion dollars, the national income of the people of the United States has risen from thirty-five billion(s) dollars in the year 1932 to sixty-five billion(s) dollars in the year 1936. (Applause) And I tell them further that the only burden we need to fear is the burden that our children would have to bear if we failed to take these measures today. (Applause)

Building national income, distributing it more

widely means not only the bettering of conditions of life, but the end of, and insurance against, individual and national deficits (tomorrow) in the days to come.

Nationwide thinking, nationwide planning and nationwide action are the three great essentials to prevent nationwide crises for future generations to struggle through.

Yes, and other individuals are never satisfied -- one of (these) them, for example, that I read about the other day, belongs to a newly organized Brain Trust -- not mine.

(Laughter) He says that the only way to get (full) complete recovery -- and I wonder if he really admits (that) we have had any recovery at all -- the only way is to lower prices by cheapening the costs of production.

Let us reduce that to plain English. You can cheapen the costs of industrial production by two methods. One is by the development of new machinery and new technique and by increasing employee efficiency. We do not (discourage) forbid that. But do not dodge the fact that this means fewer men employed and more men unemployed. The other way to reduce the costs of industrial production is to establish longer hours for the same pay or to reduce the pay for the same number of hours. If you lengthen hours you will need

fewer workers for the same output. More men out of work. If you choose lower wages for the same number of hours you cut, and you do cut, the dollars in the pay envelope and automatically cut down the purchasing power of the worker himself, and equally we are against that.

Now, reduction of costs of manufacture by cutting wages or lengthening hours does not mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means (just) the exact opposite.

The history of (the) that period from 1929 to 1933 (period) shows that consumption of goods actually declines with a declining price level. And the reason is obvious. The reason is that in such periods the buying power of the Nation goes down faster than the prices go down.

On the other hand, if you increase buying power prices will go up but more goods will be bought. Wages ought to and must go up with prices. (This) It does not mean unsound inflation or skyrocketing prices; (this) those should be avoided just as we seek to avoid deflation and bankruptcy sale values. What we do seek are a greater purchasing power and a reasonably stable and constant price

level, and we are attaining that end. It is my belief (as) and I think it is yours as well that the industry and agriculture of America subscribe to that objective. Towards that end, representative government of every form is working. The objective cannot be obtained in a month or a year, we know that. But, my friends, results -- results proven by facts and figures show that we are on our way -- very definitely on our way. (Applause) Higher wages for workers, more income for farmers, they mean more goods produced, more and better food eaten, fewer unemployed and lower taxes. (Applause)

That is my economic and social philosophy, and, I might add, incidentally, (my) that it is my political philosophy as well. (Applause)

And finally I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the philosophy of the (1936) America of 1936. (Prolonged applause)

April 26, 1936

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This address of the President, to be delivered at Hotel Commodore, New York City, Saturday, April twenty-fifth, 1936, on the occasion of the Thomas Jefferson dinner sponsored by the National Democratic Club, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

NOTE: This address is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets HOT EARLIER than 10:30 o'clock, P. M., Eastern Standard Time, April 26, 1936.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EAILY
Assistant Secretary to the President.

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It is a pleasure to be welcomed this way to my home state of New York. It has loyally supported those progressive policies of government in the making of which so many of us have had a part. New York State has an unbroken record of almost a generation of liberal government, each succeeding Administration of state affairs building for the future upon the best which the past has given us.

I want to take this occasion to compliment the state on its good fortune in the loyal, competent and unselfish service of its present Governor, Herbert Lehman.

He has continued to strengthen the humane laws for which this state has been noted. History repeats itself. He has met the same type of opposition today which some of us as youngsters met in the state legislature twenty-five years ago. We won then and we are winning today.

As a New Yorker I am confident that a vast majority of our citizens this Autumn as in the past will invite Governor Lehman to continue his splendid work for at least two more years.

America a century ago was regarded as an economic unity. But as time went on the country was cut up bit by bit into segments. We heard about the problems of particular localities, the problems of particular groups. More and more people put on blinders; they could see only their own individual interests or the single community in which their business was located.

It is only in these comparatively recent days that we have been turning back to the broader vision of the founding fathers.

The cities of the Nation and the countrysides near them have come to realize each others existence. The same idea now is spreading on a truly national scale.

That is why while I may be breaking another precedent - and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing at least one precedent - but I can come here to the city of New York and talk with you about the cotton problem of Georgia, the corn and hog problem of Iowa and the wheat problem of the Dakotas, the dust storms of the West, the destructive tornadoes of the South, the floods of the Northeast. In the same way I would not hesitate to discuss the slum clearance problems or any other problems of the big cities of the East with a farmer audience in Georgia or Iowa or the Dakotas or anywhere else.

The strong arm of the Nation is needed not in immediate relief alone - we grant that. It is needed also in taking measures of prevention before natural disasters occur. It is equally needed in taking measures to prevent economic disasters which are not natural but man made.

During the past three years the Hester Street and Park Avenue of this city have both come to understand that they belong to the same economic pattern and indeed to the same Nation as the cotton, corn and hog belts, and the flood areas and the dust bowls. Not so long ago it was the farm against the city and the city against the farm. From now on if both are to survive, it must be the farm with the city and the city with the farm.

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Let me illustrate what happened by taking the case of the garment workers in New York City. They make 40 per cent of all the clothes of the Nation worn outside of New York City. Their work and wages in this city were dependent on the sales they made all over the country. The garment workers' depression did not begin in 1929. It began back in 1921 when the depression began on the farms of the Nation. But back in the twenties people in power still thought of prosperity chiefly in industrial terms. They overlooked the farm depression; and because it went unrelieved the troubles that started among the farmers in 1921 finally and inevitably reached the garment workers on Eighth Avenue.

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And while I am talking of food consumption here is a fact of equal interest to the city dweller and the farmer population. If all of the seven million people living in New York City could afford to buy the bread and meat and vegetables and milk and cotton and wool that their health and decent living call for then we would need crop production from three million more acres of good crop land than we are using to feed and clothe New York City today. I propose to continue the fight for more food and better homes.

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Reduction of costs of manufacture does not mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means just the opposite.

The history of the 1939 to 1933 period shows that consumption of goods actually declines with a declining price level. The reason is that in such periods the buying power goes down faster than the prices.

If you increase buying power prices will go up but more goods will be bought. This does not mean unsound inflation or skyrocketing prices; this should be avoided just as we seek to avoid deflation and bankruptcy sale values. What we do seek are a greater purchasing power and a reasonably stable and constant price level. It is my belief as I think it is yours that the industry and agriculture of America subscribe to that objective. Toward that end, representative government is working. The objective cannot be obtained in a month or a year. But results -- results proven by facts and figures show that we are on our way -- very definitely on our way. Higher wages for workers, more income for farmers mean more goods produced, more and better food eaten, fewer unemployed and lower taxes.

That is my economic and social philosophy, and, incidentally, my political philosophy as well. I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the philosophy of the 1936 America.

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1936

The Annual Dinner
of the
National Democratic Club
in celebration of the
One hundred and Ninety-third Birthday
of
Thomas Jefferson
Saturday evening, April twenty-fifth

Hotel Commodore
New York

M E N U

SEA FOOD COMMODORE

CONSONOME DOUBLE

HEARTS OF CELERY

MIXED NUTS

GREEN AND RIPE OLIVES

SEA BASS BONNE FEMME

PARISIENNE POTATOES

NEW ASPARAGUS JEFFERSON, HOLLANDAISE SAUCE

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 Lubarsky, Dr. Simon
 Lyden, Frederick F.
 McNamee, James J.
 McCausland, Frank M.
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 McCaffrey, John J.

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FOR THE PRESS

April 28, 1936

This address of the President, to be delivered at Hotel Commodore, New York City, Saturday, April twenty-fifth, 1936, on the occasion of the Thomas Jefferson-dinner sponsored by the National Democratic Club, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

NOTE: This address is for release in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NO^T EARLIER than 10:30 o'clock, P. M., Eastern Standard Time, April 28, 1936.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President.

STATEMENTS FILE
Short and By Kanner

It is a pleasure to be welcomed this way to my home state of New York. It has loyally supported those progressive policies of government in the making of which so many of us have had a part. New York State has an unbroken record of almost a generation of liberal government, each succeeding Administration of state affairs building for the future upon the best which the past has given us.

I want to take this occasion to compliment the state on its good fortune in the loyal, competent and unselfish service of its present Governor, Herbert Lehman.

He has continued to strengthen the humane laws for which this state has been noted. History repeats itself. He has met the same type of opposition today which some of us as youngsters met in the state legislature twenty-five years ago. We won then and we are winning today.

As a New Yorker I am confident that a vast majority of our citizens this Autumn as in the past will invite Governor Lehman to continue his splendid work for at least two more years.

A century ago was regarded as an economic unity. But as time went on the country was cut up bit by bit into segments. We heard about the problems of particular localities, the problems of particular groups. More and more people put on blinders; they could see only their own individual interests or the single community in which their business was located.

It is only in these comparatively recent days that we have been turning back to the broader vision of the founding fathers.

The cities of the Nation and the countrysides near them have come to realize each other's existence. The same idea now is spreading on a truly national scale.

That is why while I may be breaking another precedent - and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing at least one precedent - but that is why I can come here to the city of New York and talk with you about the cotton problem of Georgia, the corn and hog problem of Iowa and the wheat problem of the Dakotas, the dust storms of the West, the destructive tornadoes of the South, the floods of the Northeast. In the same way I would not hesitate to discuss the slum clearance problems or any other problems of the big cities of the East with a farmer audience in Georgia or Iowa or the Dakotas or anywhere else.

The strong arm of the Nation is needed not in immediate relief alone - we grant that. It is needed also in taking measures of prevention before natural disasters occur. It is equally needed in taking measures to prevent economic disasters which are not natural but man-made.

-2-

During the past three years the Hester Street and Park Avenue of this city have both come to understand that they belong to the same economic pattern and indeed to the same Nation as the cotton, corn and hog belts, and the flood areas and the dust bowls. Not so long ago it was the farm against the city and the city against the farms. From now on if both are to prosper, it must be the farm with the city and the city with the farm.

Economists are still trying to find out what it was that hit us back in 1929. I am not a professional economist but I think I know. What hit us was a decade of debauch, of group selfishness - the sole objective expressed in the thought - "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost". And the result was that about 98 per cent of the American population turned out to be "the hindmost".

End Cylde Let me illustrate what happened by taking the case of the garment workers ~~New York City~~. They make 40 per cent of all the clothes of the Nation work outside of New York ~~City~~. Their work and wages in this city were dependent on the sales they made all over the country. The garment workers' depression did not begin in 1929. It began back in 1921 when the depression began on the farms of the Nation. But back in the twenties people in power still thought of prosperity chiefly in industrial terms. They overlooked the farm depression; and because it went unrelieved the troubles that started among the farmers in 1921 finally and inevitably reached the garment workers on Eighth Avenue.

Nebraska's corn and Eighth Avenue's clothing are not different problems; they are the same problems. Before the War a Nebraska farmer could take two hundred pound hog to market and buy a suit of clothes made in New York. But in 1929 he got that same suit of clothes he had to take two and a half hogs to market. Back in the twenties a cotton farmer had to raise seven pounds of cotton to buy one pair of overalls. By 1932, however, he had to raise fourteen pounds of cotton to get those ~~New York~~ overalls.

Obviously, the farmers stopped buying as many clothes and when the farm districts stopped buying, New York's garment districts ~~soon~~ started bread lines. That, however, was only half of the vicious circle. Then the garment district's breadlines grew longer buying power in the cities ~~was~~ less. Other breadlines formed. Every man on a new breadline meant one person who ate less and more less. Because the garment worker ate less the farmer sold less and his income went down. The vicious strangling circle was complete. Today we have broken that stranglehold. The American electorate proposes that it shall not be renewed.

And while I am talking of food consumption here is a fact of equal interest to the city dweller and the farmer population. If all of the seven million people living in New York ~~City~~ could afford to buy the bread and meat and vegetables and milk and cotton and wool that their health and decent living call for then we would need crop production from three million acres of good crop land than we are using to feed and clothe New York ~~City~~ today. I propose to continue the fight for more food and better homes.

But this tie-up between cities and farms is one of the chief reasons why in 1935 we sought a national solution for a national problem. We sought simultaneously to raise the farmer's cash income and to add to the working man's pay envelope. That our success has been you can prove by the simple process of putting the financial pages of any newspaper published in 1935 along side the financial pages of the same newspaper published in 1932. By the way, every time I come to New York I look for that grass which used to grow in the city streets.

But some individuals are never satisfied. People complain to me about the current costs of rebuilding America, about the burden on future generations. I tell them that whereas the deficit of the Federal government this year is about three billion dollars, the national income of the people of the United States has risen from thirty-five billions in the year 1936 to sixty-five billions in the year 1938, and I tell them further that the only burden we need to fear is the burden our children would have to bear if we failed to take these measures today.

Building national income, distributing it more widely means not only the bettering of conditions of life but the end of, and insurance against, individual and national deficits ~~between~~.

Nationwide thinking, nationwide planning and nationwide action are the three great essentials to prevent nationwide crises for future generations to struggle through.

Other individuals are never satisfied - one of these, for example, "A. G." belongs to a newly organized Brain Trust - not mine. He says that the only way to get full recovery - I wonder if he means that we have had any recovery - is to lower prices by cheapening the costs of production.

Let us reduce that to plain English. You can cheapen the costs of industrial production by two methods. One is by the development of new machinery and new technique and by increasing employee efficiency. We do not ~~desecrate~~ that. But do not dodge the fact that this means fewer men employed and more men unemployed. The other way to reduce the costs of industrial production is to establish longer hours for the same pay or to reduce the pay for the same number of hours. If you lengthen hours you will need fewer workers. More men out of work. If you choose lower wages for the same number of hours you cut the dollars in the pay envelope and automatically cut down the purchasing power of the worker himself.

Reduction of costs of manufacture does not mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means just the opposite.

The history of the 1929 to 1933 period shows that consumption of goods actually declines with a declining price level. The reason is that in such periods the buying power goes down faster than the prices.

If you increase buying power prices will go up but more goods will be bought. This does not mean unsound inflation or skyrocketing prices; this should be avoided just as we seek to avoid deflation and bankruptcy sale values. What we do seek are a greater purchasing power and a reasonably stable and constant price level. It is my belief and I think it is yours that the industry and agriculture of America subscribe to that objective. Toward that end, representative government is working. The objective cannot be obtained in a month or a year. But results -- results proven by facts and figures show that we are on our way -- very definitely on our way. Higher wages for workers, more income for farmers, more goods produced, more food eaten, fewer unemployed and lower taxes.

That is my economic and social philosophy, and, incidentally, my political philosophy as well. I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the philosophy of the free America.

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has continued to strengthen the humane laws for which this

State has been noted. He has met the same type of opposition ^{Today} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~was~~ ^{exists} ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~confronted~~ ^{confronts} ~~State Senator Robert Wagner and Assemblyman~~

~~State Legislature 25 years ago. We were then -~~
~~Allied by Smith and myself in the sessions of 1911 and 1912,~~
~~and we were winning today.~~

~~when we were working together for adequate factory inspection
and workmen's compensation and one day of rest in seven and
protection of women in industry legislation.~~

In succeeding decades new ideals and new answers have been added from time to time. Today we discuss the care of the aged, the better education of the children, fair wages, shorter hours, slum clearance and soil conservation and the prevention of floods; and the interesting and obvious fact stands forth that Governor Lehman meets the same type of opposition today as we youngsters met in the State Legislature twenty-five years ago. We won then and we are winning today.

I want A.

Let me give you another instance of history repeating itself. Over a century ago another great Governor of New York, De Witt Clinton, became famous because he had a vision. Instead of thinking in local terms, whether they related to the City of New York or to what was generically called up-State New York, he conceived the idea of the Erie Canal with two broad objectives in mind; first, he wanted to

give an outlet to the repeatedly increasing population of the seaboard that they might distribute themselves in the western part of the State and then beyond in the newly opened lands of Ohio and Indiana and Illinois. The other was to bring from this great virgin territory, then called the West, the agricultural products that were needed for the food of the East and for our trade with foreign nations. The project was lampooned --- Clinton's ditch, Clinton's folly. But in spite of it the generation of De Witt Clinton planned ahead and thought, not only in State-wide terms but in national terms. The people of his day were following in the footsteps of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson in the opening up of the western country.

A Clinton age America ~~in those days~~ was regarded as an economic unity. But as time went on the country was cut up bit by bit into segments. We heard about the problems of particular

localities, the problems of particular groups. More and more

~~individual men and women~~ put on blinders; they could see only

their own particular interest or ~~business~~, the ~~particular~~ ^{individual} ~~the particular~~ ^{interest} in which their business was located,

community in which their business was located,

Many individual citizens had in mind only the purpose of climbing upward even though in so doing they pushed other citizens downward. The industry sought only its own advancement even though that advancement meant ruin for a sister industry. The city went in enthusiastically for booster organizations -- anything to grow, anything to attract more population, more industries, more skyscrapers, more commerce, even if the process meant the ruination of, or harm to, some sister city.

It is only in these comparatively recent days that we have been turning back to the broader vision of the Founding Fathers. History began to repeat itself in this part of the country when the States of New York and New Jersey, by solemn treaty, organized the Port Authority of the Port of New York. Instead of cut-throat rivalry between the two shores of the Hudson, they decided to work together for the good of both shores of the Hudson. The City of New York not so long ago began to take an active interest in the source of its milk supply and there again went beyond State lines, for they

realized that geographical logic called for a milk shed embracing not only our own State, but also large areas of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Vermont.

~~It is time that~~ the cities of the nation and
~~than~~ the countryside ~~in the~~ have come to realize
each other's existence; ~~now~~ the same idea ~~now~~
is spreading on a truly national scale.

That is why, while I may be breaking another precedent -- and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing ~~a~~ precedent --- I can come here to the City of New York and talk with you about the cotton problem of Georgia, the corn and hog problem of Iowa ~~and~~ the wheat problem of the Dakotas. In the same way I would ~~have~~, ^{AT least} ~~frankly~~, ~~no resistance~~ discuss ~~the~~ the slum clearance problems of the big cities of the East with a farmer audience in Georgia, Iowa ~~or~~ the Dakotas ^{anywhere else}. ~~or any other place~~ ^{in the state}

During the past three years the Hester Street and Park Avenue of this city have both come to understand that they belong to the same economic pattern and, indeed,

-6-

and the flood areas and the dust bowl

to the same nation as the cotton, corn and hog belts. Not so long ago it was the farm against the city and the city against the farm. From now on, if both are to survive, it must be the farm with the city and the city with the farm.

Economists are still trying to find out what it was that hit us back in 1929. I am not a professional economist but I think I know. What hit us was a decade of debauch, of group selfishness -- the sole objective expressed in the thought -- "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost," and the result was that about 98% of the American population turned out to be the "hindmost."

what happened

Let me illustrate by taking the case of the garment workers in New York City. They make 40% of all the clothes of the nation worn outside of New York City. Their work and wages in this city ~~are~~ dependent on the sales they make all over the country. *The garment workers* ~~the~~ depression did not begin in 1929, it began back in 1921 when the depression began on the farms of the nation. But back in the twenties people in power still thought of prosperity chiefly in industrial terms.

They overlooked the farm depression; and because it went unrelieved the troubles that started among the farmers in 1921 finally and inevitably reached the garment workers on Eighth Avenue.

Nebraska's 1932
~~female hogs~~ and Eighth Avenue's clothing are not different problems; they are the same problem. Before the war *& Nebraska*, farmer could take a two hundred pound hog to market and buy a suit of clothes made in New York. But in 1932, to get that same suit of clothes, he had to take two and a half hogs to market. Back in the twenties a cotton farmer had to raise seven pounds of cotton to buy one pair of overalls. By 1932, however, he had to raise fourteen pounds of cotton to get those New York overalls.

Obviously the farmers stopped buying as many clothes, and when the farm districts stopped buying, New York's garment districts soon started bread lines. That, however, was only half of the vicious circle. When the garment district's bread lines grew longer buying power in the cities grew less. Other bread lines formed. Every new man on a bread line meant one

-8-

person who ate less and wore less. Because the garment worker ate less the farmer sold less and his income went down. The vicious circle was complete. Today we have broken that circle. The American draft proposes that it shall not hold. The American draft proposes that it shall not hold. And while I am talking of food consumption, ~~it shall not~~ ^{to} give equal interest to the city dweller and the farm population.

If all of the seven million people living in New York City were fed as they ought to be fed, they would require the full harvests from 15,500,000 acres of the best crop land in the United States. If every family in this one city could afford to buy the bread and meat and vegetables and milk and cotton and wool ~~nothing~~ ^{on 1/3} that their health and decent living called for, ~~then~~ we would need ~~more~~ crop production from 3,000,000 acres ~~more~~ of good crop land than we are using today.

But this is but one illustration of the many reasons which impelled us in 1933 to seek a national solution for a national problem. We sought simultaneously to raise the farmer's cash income and to add to the working man's pay envelope.

What our success has been you can prove by the simple process of

~~putting~~ comparing the financial pages of any newspaper published in 1936

~~alongside~~

~~the~~ financial pages of the same newspaper published in 1932.

A ~~very~~ ^{time} I went to New York to look for that mass
By the way, in which year was it that ~~we were~~ growing in the ~~which~~

city streets?

J. S. T.

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not mine. He says that the only way to get full recovery -- I

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Let us reduce that to plain English. You can only
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lengthen hours you will need fewer workers. More men out of work.

If you choose lower wages for the same number of hours you cut the dollars in the pay envelope and automatically cut down the purchasing power of the worker himself.

If a man making \$20.00 a week wants to buy a \$20.00 suit of clothes, his economic position is not helped if you reduce the price of that suit to \$17.50 and, at the same time, cut his pay envelope to \$17.50. In other words, Reduction of cost of manufacture does not, as a matter of history, mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means just the opposite.

B 1 Most people -- the overwhelming majority -- whether they live in palaces or tenements, whether they live in cities or villages or on farms, are in general agreement that higher wages for the workers and more income for the farmers mean more goods produced, more food eaten, and that these two result in R fewer unemployed and lower taxes. That happens to be my economic and social philosophy, and, incidentally, my political philosophy as well. I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the

philosophy of the 1936 America.

People complain to me about the current cost of rebuilding America, about the burden on future generations. I tell them that whereas the deficit of the Federal Government this year is about three billion dollars, the national income of the people of the United States has risen from thirty-five billions in the year 1932 to sixty-five billions in the year 1936, and I tell them further that the only burden we need to

fear is the burden our children would have to bear if we — ~~failed~~
to take those measures today instead
~~including (something else)~~ of Nation-wide thinking, Nation-

wide planning and Nation-wide action are the three great essentials. They saved the nation in previous crises. It is only when we have forgotten them that we have approached disaster. The future of the Nation depends on their maintenance.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE THOMAS
JEFFERSON DINNER, NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC
CLUB, HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY,
APRIL 25, 1936.

Governor Lehman, Judge Tolson, President McAdoo,
My friends: It is a pleasure to be welcomed this way to my

home state of New York. It has loyally supported those progressive policies of government in the making of which so many of us have had a part. New York State has an unbroken record of almost a generation of liberal government, each succeeding Administration of state affairs building for the future upon the best which the past has given us.

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J.W.M. As a New Yorker I am confident that a vast majority of our citizens this Autumn as in the past will invite

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INSERT NOT TO BE PUT IN THE SPEECH

The people of this State and the people of every ^{present} _A State meet constant obstacles. For example, the Assembly of the State of New York flouts the obvious requirement of the Constitution of the State when it declines to appropriate the sum necessary to meet the debt requirements of the State during the coming fiscal year. ██████████
~~a minimum wage law within this State has been denied.~~

And the same Assembly balks when it comes to providing relief for those in need.

Governor Lehman to continue his splendid work for at least two more years.

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That is why, while I may be breaking another precedent - and they say in Washington that my day is not complete without smashing at least one precedent - *that is why* ~~but that's~~, I can come here to the city of New York and talk with you

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simple process of putting the financial pages of any newspaper
published in 1936 alongside the financial pages of the same
newspaper published in 1932. By the way, every time I come to
New York I look for that grass which was to grow in the city*

And, my friends, by "financial pages" I do not mean, as ~~you~~^{OLIVER} would have you think, merely the stock market ~~index~~^{greatest}, although even our Park Avenue friends will agree that they have ~~more~~^{at least} ~~at not at panic prices.~~
~~then kept aware of the same.~~ By "financial pages" I mean the published prices of farm products ~~and commodities~~ and raw materials ~~and~~ ^{and increased earnings} ~~decreases~~ and the many ~~indicates of~~ ^{indicates of} industrial activity. And, by the way, speaking of comparative industrial activity in 1932 and in 1936, every time I come to New York, I look for that (succulent) grass which was to grow in the city streets!

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Reduction of costs of manufacture does not mean ^{by cutting wages} more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means

just the opposite.

The history of the 1929 to 1933 period shows that consumption of goods actually declines with a declining price level. The reason is that in such periods the buying power goes down faster than the prices.

If you increase buying power prices will go up but Wages ought to and must go up with prices. more goods will be bought. This does not mean uncontrol inflation or skyrocketing prices; this should be avoided just as we seek to avoid deflation and bankruptcy sale values. What we do seek are a greater purchasing power and a reasonably stable and constant price level. It is my belief as I think it is yours, that the industry and agriculture of America subscribe to that objective. Toward that end, representative government is working. The objective cannot be obtained in a month or a year. But results -- results proven by facts and figures show that we are on our way -- very definitely on our way. Higher wages for workers, more income for farmers mean more goods produced, more food eaten, and better fewer unemployed and lower taxes.

That is my economic and social philosophy, and,

- 10 -

incidentally, my political philosophy as well. I believe from the bottom of my heart that it is the philosophy of the 1936 America.

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