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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. 862**

**1936 June 10**

**Little Rock, AR - Address**

READING COPY

*Reading Copy*

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT  
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1936

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For me this has been a glorious day. While I have been in the State of Arkansas before this, my visits have been too much like those of a bird of passage and this is the first chance I have had to see the state at closer range, and especially to enjoy the generosity, the kindness and the courtesy of true Arkansas hospitality.

I have seen your parks - I have seen the beauty of your mountains and rivers. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Arkansas can claim every warrant for the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ name ~~XXXXXX~~ "wonder state." It is doubly a privilege to meet you face to face and to join with you in the one celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the admission of this great state into the Union.

Possibly ~~most~~ our citizens who live in the original Thirteen States along the Atlantic Seaboard may have the natural idea that white men first became acquainted

with their part of the country, and that the territory lying west of the Mississippi is all very new. I am certain that it is not generally realized that Hernando De Soto, the tireless Spanish explorer, set foot in what is now Arkansas, as early as 1541, more than half a century before the founding of Jamestown and New Amsterdam and Plymouth; nor ~~is~~ the fact that the French explorers, Marquette and Joliet, coming southward from Canada, saw this country when the civilization of the Atlantic Seaboard was still in its infancy. Nor have they sufficiently been told that the first settlement under the flag of France was made under the direction of De Tonti at Arkansas Post as far back as 1686.

First, under the flag of France, the young settlement passed to the flag of Spain, to be recovered by Napoleon for France in 1800, and finally brought under ~~the~~ <sup>our own</sup> American flag by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

That Louisiana Purchase has always had a special significance for me. I am interested in it for family reasons because Robert R. Livingston, our Minister to France, negotiated the purchase by direction of President Thomas

Jefferson -- and I must admit that he drove a very shrewd bargain.

I am also interested because President Jefferson, seeing the complexities which the Emperor Napoleon faced in a coalition of hostile European powers, had the courage to act for the benefit of the United States without the full and unanimous approval of every member of the legal profession. He was told by some of his closest advisors and friends that the Constitution of the United States contained no clause authorizing him to purchase or acquire additional territory; and that because specific authority did not exist under that great Charter of government, none could be exercised. Jefferson replied that there were certain inherent qualities of sovereignty which could not be separated from a Federal Government, if such a Federal Government was permanently to endure; furthermore, if he delayed the Emperor of the French might change his mind and the great territory west of the Mississippi be lost forever to American expansion. He and Robert R. Livingston put the treaty through; the next Congress appropriated the money; nobody carried the case to the Supreme Court; and, as a result, Louisiana

and Arkansas and Missouri and Iowa and Minnesota and Kansas and Montana and North Dakota and South Dakota and the larger portions of Wyoming and Colorado and Nebraska and Oklahoma fly the Stars and Stripes today.

The hardy pioneers, who peopled Arkansas and laid the foundations for statehood here and throughout the vast new domain west of the Alleghanies, brought about a veritable renaissance of the principle of free government upon which this republic was founded.

I have not the time nor is it necessary to follow the fascinating story in detail down to the admission of Arkansas into the Union only a few days less than one hundred years ago. That year of attainment of statehood by Arkansas is an important one in American history, not so much because it was marked by a Presidential election but because 1836 was the last full year of the Presidency of Andrew Jackson.

It is not without the greatest historical significance that Arkansas was received into the Union in 1836. Jackson's great work for the country was approaching completion.

He was in the full tide of his remarkable powers and in the exercise of an extraordinary influence upon the minds and opinions of the mass of his countrymen.

When Arkansas became a state our national government was not quite fifty years old. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had been dead only four years. But six years had passed since Webster had delivered the reply to Hayne. Men who had followed Washington through the Revolution were to be found in every community and the manners and mode of the pioneer period were the order of American life. Andrew Jackson, the contemporary and counsellor of the Arkansas pioneers of 1836, made his home across the Mississippi in the neighboring state of Tennessee, and was known to the Arkansans of that day as a fellow frontiersman who had carried into the Presidency those neighborly instincts of the frontier which made possible the first truly democratic administration in our history.

The older I grow and the more I read history, the more I reflect upon the influence of the men and events of one generation upon the life and thought of the generations that follow. A hundred years have passed since Arkansas attained

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statehood in that last year of Jackson's Presidency, but throughout this century our American political life has flowed with the vigor of a living stream because the sturdy hand of Andrew Jackson deflected its course from the stagnant marshes of a seaboard oligarchy into the channels of pure American democracy.

Prior to Jackson's day it may be said, without danger of exaggeration, that the leadership of the Nation was, with rare exceptions, in the hands of men who, by birth or education, belonged to a comparatively small group - for the reason we have not far to seek. Universal education was not yet fully established; ~~communication~~ difficulties prevented the dissemination of news except in the larger communities and along the main avenues of transportation; the very ballot was, in many states, limited to those with special property qualifications.

The wave of popular acclaim that swept Andrew Jackson into his high office was the result of the recognition by the people of the United States that the era of a truer democracy in their national life was at hand. I need not describe the dismay that the election of Jackson excited --

and honestly excited — in the hearts of the hitherto elect; or the widespread apprehension that it aroused among the "guardian groups" of the republic.

Groups such as these have never wholly disappeared from American political life, but it will never be possible for any length of time for any group of the American people, either by reason of wealth or learning or inheritance or economic power, to retain any mandate, any permanent authority to arrogate to itself the political control of American public life.

This heritage we owe to Jacksonian democracy — the American doctrine that entrusts the general welfare to no one group or class, but dedicates itself to the end that the American people shall not be thwarted in their high purpose to remain the custodians of their own destiny.

The frontier spirit which brought men into the Arkansas wilderness, and later was to carry them ever further in their conquest of the West, inspired in the hearts and minds and souls of those men a new ideal of our national democracy. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that the frontier spirit caused a rebirth of the earlier ideal of free government.

To this changed ideal the neighborly contacts of the frontier contributed in liberal measure. The rugged pioneers helped to fashion the new national spirit. The men who tamed the wilderness hereabouts were part of a new movement in our American life.

It was indeed a critical moment in American history when in our early national period the dauntless and intrepid pioneers strode across the Alleghanies to establish new commonwealths like Arkansas. In that hard life of the frontier, where the personal qualities of the men and not the inheritance of caste or of property were the measure of worth, true democratic government was given its greatest impetus. ~~The new ideal of~~  
~~democracy came to full realization when a true frontiersman~~  
~~named Andrew Jackson arrived in Washington to administer the~~  
~~government of the United States in the interests of all the people.~~  
~~The frontier had infused a new spirit in our national life, a~~  
~~spirit which despite temporary eclipses and all the changes and~~  
~~vicissitudes of a hundred years, we still recognize as Jacksonian~~  
~~democracy.~~

In the early days of the republic -- those days when Arkansas became a state -- our life was simple. There was

little need of formal arrangements, or of government interest, or action, to insure the social and economic well-being of the American people. In the life of the pioneer, sympathy and kindly help, ready cooperation in the accidents and emergencies of the frontier life, were the spontaneous manifestation of the American spirit. Without them the conquest of a continent could never have been made. ~~but there was ever present the implicit assumption~~ of a universal and personal self-reliance. The one was the necessary complement of the other; such were the conditions of existence.

Today that life is gone. Its simplicity has vanished and we are each and all of us parts of a social ~~organization~~ which ever tends to greater complexity. Latterly, the imperiled well-being, the very existence of large numbers of our people, have called for measures of organized government assistance which the more spontaneous and personal promptings of a pioneer generosity could never alone have obtained. Our country is indeed passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent ~~messengers~~ protectors of the rights of the common man. Mechanization of industry have and mass production/put unparalleled power in the hands of the few.

No small part of our problem today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization to the whole people.

The measure of the need has been the measure of the organization necessary to meet it. The human sympathy of our people would have tolerated nothing less. Common sense will tolerate nothing more.

Self-government we must and shall maintain. Let me put it thus, in a way which every man and woman can understand; local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters which are primarily of local concern; county government must retain the functions which logically belong to the county unit; state governments must and shall retain state sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively and efficiently can be met by the states.

Let us analyze a little further, however -- Why was a state government set up in Arkansas? The answer is that the colonization of this area had reached the point where individual settlements needed a uniformity of ordinances and laws. They needed a central body to govern in respect to those things which had grown beyond the scope of town government or county government.

In the same way the Federal Union itself was organized under an Constitution / because in the days following the Revolution it was discovered that a mere Federation of States was such a loose organization, with constant conflicts between the Thirteen States themselves, that ~~and~~ a Constitution and a national organization to take care of ~~and~~ government beyond ~~the~~ State lines was a necessity.

The Constitution provided the best instrument ever devised for the continuation of these fundamental principles. Under its broad purposes we can and intend to march forward, believing as the overwhelming majority of Americans meet and believe, that it is intended to fit the amazing physical, economic and social requirements that confront us in this generation.

Beneath one of the symbolical figures which guards the entrance to our great new Archives Building in Washington is inscribed this quotation from Shakespeare's Tempest -- "What is past is prologue." ~~that is the lesson which history~~ Times change but man's basic problems remain the same. He must seek a new approach to their

solution when old approaches fail him. The roar of the airplane has replaced the rumble of the covered wagon and the frontiers of a continent are spanned in less time than it took to cross an Arkansas county in those century old days ~~when some~~ ~~the~~ ~~frontiersmen~~ ~~and~~ ~~settlers~~ ~~this~~ ~~country~~. It is as idle for us now, as it was for the flatterers of King Canute to ignore the facts of physics or the economic and social consequences of applied science. ~~therefore~~ ~~the~~ ~~changes~~ ~~in~~ ~~our~~ ~~economics~~ ~~and~~ ~~social~~ ~~conditions~~ ~~are~~ ~~now~~ ~~so~~ ~~great~~ ~~that~~ ~~they~~ ~~threaten~~ ~~to~~ ~~overshadow~~ ~~all~~ ~~other~~ ~~problems~~ ~~and~~ ~~have~~ ~~strength~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~irreducible~~ ~~questions~~

These problems, with growing intensity, now flow past all sectional limitations and extend over the vast breadth of our whole domain. Prices, wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, social security, in short the enjoyment by all men of their constitutional guaranties of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness -- these questions, ~~are~~ so delicate in their economic balance that any change in their status is reflected with the speed of light from Maine to California -- are commencing to ~~we~~ ~~will~~ solve. The new approach to these problems may not be immediately discernible; but organization to meet human suffering can never be predicated on the relaxation of human effort.

Whether it be in the crowded tenements of the great cities or on many of the farm lands of the nation, we know that there dwell ~~themselves~~ millions of our fellow human beings who suffer from the kind of poverty that spells undernourishment and under-privilege. If local government, if State government, after exerting <sup>reasonable</sup> every/effort, is unable to better their conditions, to raise or restore their purchasing power, then surely it would take a foolish and short-sighted man to say that it is no concern of the national government itself.

We know that equality of individual ability has never existed and never will, but we insist that equality of opportunity <sup>must</sup> ~~exist~~ still/be sought. We know that equality of local justice is, alas, not yet an established fact; this also is a goal we must and do seek.

If we seek to know what human effort can do in the face of adversity, we shall ever find inspiration and guidance in the achievements of the American pioneers, not merely those who founded the Nation but those who extended its boundaries from ocean to ocean, of whom the first Arkansans were the prototype.

Arkansas has given many distinguished men to the nation; but, my friends, I want to tell you very simply and from the heart, that in the meeting of our difficult problems of today, no man deserves greater credit for loyal devotion to a great cause than my old friend and associate, Senator Robinson of Arkansas.

May I repeat the historical maxim: "What is past is prologue." Its meaning is not obscure. Out of the story of mankind's long struggle to govern himself, we should learn lessons which will guide us in solving the problems which beset us today.

The frontier, as we have been recalling it in this rapid survey of the planting of new states, has forever passed; but it has left a permanent imprint upon our political life and our social outlook. The Western Frontier from Jackson's time and the admission of Arkansas a hundred years ago, down to the admission of the last states within recent memory, produced a constant renaissance of the principle of free government. The liberal tendencies of those, who for nearly a century we have called our Western statesmen, have been sometimes too little understood in the older, more conservative East. It was the

frontier and its spirit of self-reliance which ever kept alive the principles of democracy and countered the opposing tendency to set up a social caste, based upon wealth, or education, or family, or financial power.

We still find inspiration for the work before us in the old spirit which meant achievement through self-reliance; a willingness to lend a hand to the fellow down in his luck through no fault of his own. Upon those principles our democracy was reborn a century ago; upon those principles alone will it endure.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS  
June 10, 1936

Governor Futrell, my friends of Arkansas:

For me this has been a glorious day and this is a splendid climax. (Applause) While, as some of you know, I have been in the State of Arkansas before this, my visits hitherto have been too much like those of a bird of passage and this is the first chance that I have had to see the State at closer range, and especially to enjoy the generosity, the kindness and the courtesy of true Arkansas hospitality.

I have seen your parks -- I have seen the (beauty) beauties of your mountains and rivers. Yes, Arkansas can claim every warrant for the name "wonder state". (Applause) It is doubly a privilege to meet you face to face and to join with you in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of this great State into the Union.

(Possibly) It is possible that some of our citizens who live in the original Thirteen States along the Atlantic Seaboard may have the natural idea that white men first became acquainted with their part of the country, and

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.

... about the job opportunity a need and still another  
way you're going to have to take (assuming) certain difficulties  
which go with trying to stretch out at one end &  
concentrate to hold it to about half distance need over immediate  
and the other end over I just consider yourself as about two  
thirds off yours or immediate but you've got to start  
and concentrate over to your two ends because with immediate  
immediate (closed) off does over I -- when that goes over I  
can concentrate, say, moving one entrapment right to self-passed  
(assuming) "total release" and not having to move which  
kind of has sort of got you free of objective is closed at the  
concentrations difficult are off to self-passed off at one side  
which will work much better and to self-passed off to  
which you're going to do (assuming) all the (assuming)  
in out goals before necessarily beginning off at first one does  
and other task right from the off over the procedure often  
is, continue off to find their own methods around certain

that the territory lying west of the Mississippi is all very new. I am certain that it is not generally realized back there in the East that Hernando De Soto, the tireless Spanish explorer, set foot in what is now Arkansas, as early as the year 1541, more than half a century before the founding of Jamestown and New Amsterdam and Plymouth; nor the fact that the French explorers, Marquette and Joliet, coming southward from Canada, saw this country when the civilization of the Atlantic Seaboard was still in its infancy. Nor have they sufficiently been told that the first settlement under the flag of France was made under the direction of De Tonti at Arkansas Post as far back as 1686.

First under the flag of France, the young settlement as we know passed to the flag of Spain, to be recovered by Napoleon for France in 1800, and finally brought under our own American flag by the Louisiana Purchase (in 1803) three years later.

That Louisiana Purchase has always had a special significance for me. I am interested in it for family reasons because Robert R. Livingston, our Minister to France, negotiated the purchase by direction of President Thomas

Jefferson -- and I must admit that (he) Livingston, who was of Scotch descent, drove a very shrewd bargain. (Laughter and applause)

I am also interested because President Jefferson, seeing the complexities which the Emperor Napoleon faced in a coalition of hostile European powers, had the courage, the backbone, to act for the benefit of the United States without the full and unanimous approval of every member of the legal profession. (Laughter and applause) Indeed, he was told by some of his closest advisers and friends that the Constitution of the United States contained no clause specifically authorizing him to purchase or acquire additional territory; and he was told that because specific authority did not exist under that great Charter of government, none could be exercised. Jefferson replied that there were certain inherent qualities of sovereignty which could not be separated from (a) the Federal Government, if such a Federal Government was permanently to endure; and furthermore, he told them that if he delayed, the Emperor of the French might change his mind and the great territory west of the Mississippi River would be lost forever to American expansion. He and Robert R. Livingston and James Madison put

the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana through; and the  
next Congress appropriated the money to pay for it; and,  
my friends, nobody carried the case to the Supreme Court;  
(applause, laughter) and, as a result, Louisiana and Ar-  
kansas and Missouri and Iowa and Minnesota and Kansas and  
Montana and North Dakota and South Dakota and the larger  
portions of Wyoming and Colorado and Nebraska and Okla-  
homa, because of that, they fly the Stars and Stripes  
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It is not without the greatest historical significance that Arkansas was received into the Union in 1836. Jackson's great work for the country was approaching completion. He was in the full tide of his remarkable powers and in the exercise of an extraordinary influence upon the minds and opinions of the mass of his countrymen.

When Arkansas became a State we must remember that our national government was not quite fifty years old. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had been dead only four years. (But) Only six years had passed since Webster had delivered (the) his reply to Hayne. Men who had followed Washington through the Revolution were to be found in every community and the manners and mode of the pioneer (period) were the order of American life. Andrew Jackson, the contemporary and counsellor of the Arkansas pioneers of 1836, made his home across the Mississippi in the neighboring State of Tennessee, and was known to the Arkansans of that day as a fellow frontiersman who had carried into the Presidency those neighborly instincts of the frontier which made possible the first truly democratic administration in our history.

The older I grow and the more I read history, the more I reflect upon the influence of the men and events of one generation upon the life and thought of the generations that follow. A hundred years have passed since Arkansas attained statehood in that last year of Jackson's Presidency, but throughout this century our American political life has flowed with the vigor of a living stream because the sturdy hand of Andrew Jackson deflected its course from the stagnant marshes of a seaboard oligarchy into the channels of pure American democracy. (Applause)

Prior to Jackson's day it may be said, without danger of exaggeration, that the leadership of the Nation was, with rare exceptions, in the hands of men who, by birth or education, belonged to a comparatively small group -- (for) and the reason (we have) is not far to seek. Universal education was not yet fully established in those days; communication difficulties prevented the dissemination of news except in the larger communities and along the main avenues of transportation; the very ballot was, in many states, limited to those (with) who had special property qualifications.

The wave of popular acclaim that swept Andrew Jackson into his high office was the result of the recognition

by the people of the United States that the era of a truer democracy in their national life was at hand. I need not describe the dismay that the election of Jackson excited -- and honestly excited -- in the hearts of the hitherto elect, or the widespread apprehension that it aroused among the so-called "guardian groups" of the Republic.

Groups such as (these) those have never (wholly) fully disappeared from American political life, but it will never be possible for any length of time for any group of the American people, either by reason of wealth or learning or inheritance or economic power, to retain any mandate, any permanent authority to arrogate to itself the political control of American public life. (Applause)

(This) And that heritage, my friends, we owe to Jacksonian democracy -- the American doctrine that entrusts the general welfare to no one group or class, but dedicates itself to the end that the American people shall not be thwarted in their high purpose to remain the custodians of their own destiny.

The frontier spirit (which) that brought men into the Arkansas wilderness, and later was to carry them even further in their conquest of the West, inspired in the hearts

and minds and souls of those men a new ideal of our national democracy. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that the frontier spirit caused a rebirth of the earlier ideal of free government. To (this) that changed ideal the neighborly contacts of the frontier contributed in liberal measure. (The rugged pioneers helped to fashion the new national spirit.) The men who tamed the wilderness hereabouts were part of a new movement in our American life.

It was indeed a critical moment in (American) our history when (in our early national period) the dauntless and intrepid pioneers strode across the Alleghenies to establish new commonwealths like Arkansas. In that hard life of the frontier, where the personal qualities of the men and not the inheritance of caste or of property were the measure of worth, true democratic government was given its greatest impetus.

In (the) those early days of the Republic -- those days when Arkansas became a state -- (our) you and I know that life was simple. There was little need of formal arrangements, or of government interest, or action, to insure the social and the economic well-being of the American people. In the life of the pioneer, sympathy and kindly help, ready

cooperation in the accidents and the emergencies of (the) frontier life, were the spontaneous manifestation of (the) our American spirit. Without them the conquest of a continent could never have been made.

Today that life is gone. Its simplicity has vanished and we are each and all of us, whether we like it or not, parts of a social civilization which ever tends to greater complexity. (Latterly) And in these later days, the imperiled well-being, the very existence of large numbers of our people, have called for measures of organized government assistance which the more spontaneous and personal promptings of a pioneer generosity could never alone have obtained. Our country is indeed passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent protectors of the rights of the common man. Mechanization -- the mechanics of industry and mass production have put unparalleled power in the hands of the few. No small part of our problem today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization and mass production to the (whole) people as a whole.

The measure of the need has been the measure of the organization necessary to meet it. The human sympathy of our people would have tolerated nothing less. Common sense will tolerate nothing more. (Applause)

Self-government we must and shall maintain. Let me put it thus, in a way which every man and woman can understand: Local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters which are primarily of local concern; county government must retain the functions which logically belong to the county unit; state governments must and shall retain state sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively and efficiently can be met by the states.

Let (us) me analyze a little further: (however) Why was a state government set up here in Arkansas? Why, the answer is that the colonization of this area had reached the point where individual settlements needed a uniformity of ordinances and laws. They needed a central body to govern in respect to those things which had grown beyond the scope of town government or county government.

In the same way the Federal (Union) Government itself was organized under a Constitution because in the days following the Revolution it was discovered that a mere loose Federation of independent States was (such a) so loose that it created (organization, with) constant conflict between the Thirteen States themselves, and that a

Constitution and a national organization was needed to take care of government beyond and across State lines (was a necessity).

The Constitution provided the best instrument ever devised for the continuation of these fundamental principles. Under its broad purposes we (can and) intend to and we can march forward, believing, as the overwhelming majority of Americans believe, that (it) the Constitution is intended to meet and to fit the amazing physical, economic and social requirements that confront us in this modern generation. (Applause)

If you have been in Washington recently you will have seen beneath one of the symbolical figures which guards the entrance to our great new Archives Building (in Washington is inscribed) this quotation from Shakespeare's Tempest -- "What is past is prologue." Times change but man's basic problems remain the same. He must seek a new approach to their solution when old approaches fail him. The roar of the airplane has replaced the rumble of the covered wagon and the frontiers of (a) the American continent are spanned in less time today than it took to cross (an Arkansas county in those century old days) a single county of Arkansas a

century ago. It is idle for us now, as it was for the flat-  
terers of King Canute, to ignore the facts of physics or the  
economic and social consequences of applied science.

These problems, with growing intensity, now flow  
past all sectional limitations. (and) They extend over the  
vast breadth of our whole domain. Prices, wages, hours of  
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their economic balance that any change in their status is  
reflected with the speed of light from Maine to California --  
we are commencing to solve) reflected with the speed of light  
from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian Border to  
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to solve. It is true that the new approach to these problems  
may not be immediately discernible; but organization to meet  
human suffering can never be predicated on the relaxation of  
human effort. (Applause)

Whether it be in the crowded tenements of the great  
cities or on many of the farm lands of the Nation, (we) you  
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beings who suffer from the kind of poverty that spells undernourishment and under-privilege. If local government, if State government, after exerting every reasonable effort, is unable to better their conditions, to raise or restore their purchasing power, then surely it would take a foolish and short-sighted man to say that it is no concern of the national government itself. (Applause)

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Arkansas has given many distinguished men to the Nation; but, my friends, I want to tell you very simply and from the heart, that in the meeting of our difficult problems of today, no man deserves greater credit for loyal

devotion to a great cause of humanity than my old friend and associate, Senator Joseph T. Robinson (of Arkansas).  
(Applause)

May I, in closing, repeat (the) that historical maxim: "What is past is prologue." Its meaning is not obscure. Out of the story of mankind's long struggle to govern (himself) itself, we should learn lessons which will guide us in solving the problems which beset us today.

The frontier, as we have been recalling it in this rapid survey of the planting of new states, the frontier has forever passed; but it has left a permanent imprint upon our political life and upon our social outlook. The Western Frontier from Jackson's time (and) from the admission of Arkansas a hundred years ago, down to the admission of the last states within recent memory, produced a constant renaissance of the principles of free government. The liberal tendencies of those, who for nearly a century we have called our Western statesmen, have been sometimes too little understood in the older, more conservative East. It was the frontier and its spirit of the frontier, the spirit of its self-reliance which ever kept alive the principles of democracy and countered the opposing tendency to

set up a social caste, based upon wealth, based upon (or) education, based upon (or) family, or based upon financial power.

You and I, we still find inspiration for the work before us, inspiration in the old spirit which meant achievement through self-reliance; a willingness to lend a hand to the fellow down in his luck through no fault of his own. Upon those principles our democracy was reborn a century ago; upon those principles alone will it endure today and in the days to come. (Prolonged applause)

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STATEMENTS FILE

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

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LITTLE ROCK, ARK.CONFIDENTIALJune 10, 1936

**CAUTION:** The following address of the President must be held in confidence until released. Release only when delivery actually has commenced.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Assistant Secretary to the President.

For me this has been a glorious day. While I have been in the State of Arkansas before this, my visits have been too much like those of a bird of passage and this is the first chance I have had to see the state at closer range, and especially to enjoy the generosity, the kindness and the courtesy of true Arkansas hospitality.

I have seen your parks - I have seen the beauty of your mountains and rivers. Arkansas can claim every warrant for the name "wonder state." It is doubly a privilege to meet you face to face and to join with you in the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of this great state into the Union.

Possibly our citizens who live in the original Thirteen States along the Atlantic Seaboard may have the natural idea that white men first became acquainted with their part of the country, and that the territory lying west of the Mississippi is all very new. I am certain that it is not generally realized that Hernando De Soto, the tireless Spanish explorer, set foot in what is now Arkansas, as early as 1541, more than half a century before the founding of Jamestown and New Amsterdam and Plymouth; nor the fact that the French explorers, Marquette and Joliet, coming southward from Canada, saw this country when the civilization of the Atlantic Seaboard was still in its infancy. Nor have they sufficiently been told that the first settlement under the flag of France was made under the direction of De Tonti at Arkansas Post as far back as 1686.

First under the flag of France, the young settlement passed to the flag of Spain, to be recovered by Napoleon for France in 1800, and finally brought under our own American flag by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

That Louisiana Purchase has always had a special significance for me. I am interested in it for family reasons because Robert R. Livingston, our Minister to France, negotiated the purchase by direction of President Thomas Jefferson -- and I must admit that he drove a very shrewd bargain.

I am also interested because President Jefferson, seeing the complexities which the Emperor Napoleon faced in a coalition of hostile European powers, had the courage to act for the benefit of the United States without the full and unanimous approval of every member of the legal profession. He was told by some of his closest advisors and friends that the Constitution of the United States contained no clause authorizing him to purchase or acquire additional territory; and, that because specific authority did not exist under that great Charter of government, none could be exercised. Jefferson replied that there were certain inherent qualities of sovereignty which could not be separated from a Federal Government, if such a Federal Government was permanently to endure; furthermore, if he delayed the Emperor of the French might change his mind and the great territory west of the Mississippi be lost forever to American expansion. He and Robert R. Livingston put the treaty through; the next Congress appropriated the money; nobody carried the case to the Supreme Court; and, as a result, Louisiana and Arkansas and Missouri and Iowa and Minnesota and Kansas and Montana and North Dakota and South Dakota and the larger portions of Wyoming and Colorado and Nebraska and Oklahoma fly the Stars and Stripes today.

The hardy pioneers, who peopled Arkansas and laid the foundations for statehood here and throughout the vast new domain west of the Alleghanies, brought about a veritable renaissance of the principle of free government upon which this Republic was founded.

I have not the time nor is it necessary to follow the fascinating story in detail down to the admission of Arkansas into the Union only a few days less than one hundred years ago. That year of attainment of statehood by Arkansas is an important one in American history, not so much because it was marked by a Presidential election but because 1836 was the last full year of the Presidency of Andrew Jackson.

It is not without the greatest historical significance that Arkansas was received into the Union in 1836. Jackson's great work for the country was approaching completion. He was in the full tide of his remarkable powers and in the exercise of an extraordinary influence upon the minds and opinions of the mass of his countrymen.

When Arkansas became a state our national government was not quite fifty years old. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had been dead only four years. But six years had passed since Webster had delivered the reply to Hayne. Men who had followed Washington through the Revolution were to be found in every community and the manners and mode of the pioneer passed were the order of American life. Andrew Jackson, the contemporary and counsellor of the Arkansas pioneers of 1836, made his home across the Mississippi in the neighboring state of Tennessee, and was known to the Arkansans of that day as a fellow frontiersman who had carried into the Presidency those neighborly instincts of the frontier which made possible the first truly democratic administration in our history.

The older I grow and the more I read history, the more I reflect upon the influence of the men and events of one generation upon the life and thought of the generations that follow. A hundred years have passed since Arkansas attained statehood in that last year of Jackson's Presidency, but throughout this century our American political life has flowed with the vigor of a living stream because the sturdy hand of Andrew Jackson deflected its course from the stagnant marshes of a seaboard oligarchy into the channels of pure American democracy.

Prior to Jackson's day it may be said, without danger of exaggeration, that the leadership of the Nation was, with rare exceptions, in the hands of men who, by birth or education, belonged to a comparatively small group -- for the reason we have not far to seek. Universal education was not yet fully established; communication difficulties prevented the dissemination of news except in the larger communities and along the main avenues of transportation; the very ballot was, in many states, limited to those with special property qualifications.

The wave of popular acclaim that swept Andrew Jackson into his high office was the result of the recognition by the people of the United States that the era of a true democracy in their national life was at hand. I need not describe the dismay that the election of Jackson excited -- and honestly excited -- in the hearts of the hitherto elect, or the widespread apprehension that it aroused among the so-called "guardian groups" of the Republic.

Groups such as these have never wholly disappeared from American political life, but it will never be possible for any length of time for any group of the American people, either by reason of wealth or learning or inheritance or economic power, to retain any mandate, any permanent authority to arrogate to itself the political control of American public life.

States heritage we owe to Jacksonian democracy -- the American doctrine that entrusts the general welfare to no one group or class, but dedicates itself to the end that the American people shall not be thwarted in their high purpose to remain the custodians of their own destiny.

The frontier spirit which brought men into the Arkansas wilderness, and later was to carry them even further in their conquest of the West, inspired in the hearts and minds and souls of those men a new ideal of our national democracy. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that the frontier spirit caused a rebirth of the earlier ideal of free government. To this changed ideal the neighborly contacts of the frontier contributed in liberal measure. The rugged pioneers helped to fashion the new national spirit. The men who tamed the wilderness hereabouts were part of a new movement in our American life.

It was indeed a critical moment in American history when in our early national period the dauntless and intrepid pioneers strode across the Alleghanies to establish new commonwealths like Arkansas. In that hard life of the frontier, where the personal qualities of the men and not the inheritance of caste or of property were the measure of worth, true democratic government was given its greatest impetus.

In the early days of the Republic -- those days when Arkansas became a state -- our life was simple. There was little need of formal arrangements, or of government interest, or action, to insure the social and economic well-being of the American people. In the life of the pioneer, sympathy and kindly help, ready cooperation in the accidents and emergencies of the frontier life, were the spontaneous manifestation of the American spirit. Without them the conquest of a continent could never have been made.

Today that life is gone. Its simplicity has vanished and we are each and all of us parts of a social civilization which ever tends to greater complexity. ~~Intemperately~~, the imperiled well-being, the very existence of large numbers of our people, have called for measures of organized government assistance which the more spontaneous and personal promptings of a pioneer generosity could never alone have obtained. Our country is indeed passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent protectors of the rights of the common man. Mechanization of industry and mass production have put unparalleled power in the hands of the few. No small part of our problem today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization to the whole people.

The measure of the need has been the measure of the organization necessary to meet it. The human sympathy of our people would have tolerated nothing less. Common sense will tolerate nothing more.

Self-government we must and shall maintain. Let me put it thus, in a way which every man and woman can understand: local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters which are primarily of local concern; county government must retain the functions which logically belong to the county unit; state governments must and shall retain state sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively and efficiently can be met by the states.

Let us analyze a little further, however -- Why was a state government set up in Arkansas? The answer is that the colonization of this area had reached the point where individual settlements needed a uniformity of ordinances and laws. They needed a central body to govern in respect to those things which had grown beyond the scope of town government or county government.

In the same way the Federal ~~Union~~ itself was organized under a Constitution because in the days following the Revolution it was discovered that a mere Federation of States was such a loose organization, with constant conflicts between the Thirteen States themselves, that a Constitution and a national organization to take care of government beyond State lines was a necessity.

The Constitution provided the best instrument ever devised for the continuation of these fundamental principles. Under its broad purposes we ~~can and~~ intend to march forward, believing, as the overwhelming majority of Americans believe, that it is intended to meet and fit the amazing physical, economic and social requirements that confront us in this generation.

Beneath one of the symbolical figures which guards the entrance to our great new Archives Building in Washington is inscribed this quotation from Shakespeare's Tempest -- "What is past is prologue." Times change but man's basic problems remain the same. He must seek a new approach to their solution when old approaches fail him. The roar of the airplane has replaced the rumble of the covered wagon and the frontiers of a continent are spanned in less time than it took to cross ~~the Arkansas country in those century old days~~. It is idle for us now, as it was for the flatterers of King Canute, to ignore the facts of physics or the economic and social consequences of applied science.

These problems, with growing intensity, now flow past all sectional limitations and extend over the vast breadth of our whole domain. Prices, wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, social security, in short the enjoyment by all men of their constitutional guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness -- these questions, ~~so delicate in their economic balance that any change in their status is reflected with the speed of light from Maine to California -- we are commencing to solve~~, The new approach to these problems may not be immediately discernible; but organization to meet human suffering can never be predicated on the relaxation of human effort.

Whether it be in the crowded tenements of the great cities or on many of the farm lands of the nation, ~~(we)~~ know that there dwell millions of our fellow human beings who suffer from the kind of poverty that spells undernourishment and under-privilege. If local government, if State government, after exerting every reasonable effort, is unable to better their conditions, to raise or restore their purchasing power, then surely it would take a foolish and short-sighted man to say that it is no concern of the national government itself.

We know that equality of individual ability has never existed and never will, but we insist that equality of opportunity still must be sought. We know that equality of local justice is, alas, not yet an established fact; this also is a goal we must and do seek.

If we seek to know what human effort can do in the face of adversity, we shall ever find inspiration and guidance in the achievements of the American pioneers, not merely those who founded the Nation but those who extended its boundaries

from ocean to ocean, of whom the first Arkansuns were the prototype.

Arkansas has given many distinguished men to the nation; but, my friends, I want to tell you very simply and from the heart, that in the meeting of our difficult problems of today, no man deserves greater credit for loyal devotion to a great cause than my old friend and associate, Senator Robinson of Arkansas.

May I repeat the historical maxim: "What is past is prologue." Its meaning is not obscure. Out of the story of mankind's long struggle to govern himself, we should learn lessons which will guide us in solving the problems which beset us today..

*Stop 41.3*

The frontier, as we have been recalling it in this rapid survey of the planting of new states, has forever passed; but it has left a permanent imprint upon our political life and our social outlook. The Western Frontier from Jackson's time and the admission of Arkansas a hundred years ago, down to the admission of the last states within recent memory, produced a constant renaissance of the principle of free government. The liberal tendencies of those, who for nearly a century we have called our Western statesmen, have been sometimes too little understood in the older, more conservative East. It was the frontier and its spirit of self-reliance which ever kept alive the principles of democracy and countered the opposing tendency to set up a social caste, based upon wealth, or education, or family, or financial power.

We still find inspiration for the work before us in the old spirit which meant achievement through self-reliance; a willingness to lend a hand to the fellow down in his luck through no fault of his own. Upon those principles our democracy was reborn a century ago; upon those principles alone will it endure. (M)

(End)

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT  
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS  
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1936

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For me this has been a glorious day. While I have been in the State of Arkansas before this, my visits have been too much like those of a bird of passage and this is the first chance I have had to see the state at closer range, and especially to enjoy the generosity, the kindness and the courtesy of true Arkansas hospitality.

I have seen your parks - I have seen the beauty of your mountains and rivers. ~~Arkansas can claim only~~  
~~as yet~~ ~~the wonder that Arkansas~~  
~~has become~~ ~~name above~~ "wonder state." It is doubly a privilege to meet you face to face and to join with you in the celebration of the <sup>one</sup> hundredth anniversary of the admission of this great state into the Union.

~~it is~~ ~~possible~~ ~~that~~ our citizens who live in the original Thirteen States along the Atlantic Seaboard may have the natural idea that white men first became acquainted

with their part of the country, and that the territory lying west of the Mississippi is all very new. I am certain that it is not generally realized that Hernando De Soto, the tireless Spanish explorer, set foot in what is now Arkansas, as early as 1541, more than half a century before the founding of Jamestown and New Amsterdam and Plymouth; nor ~~was~~ the fact that the French explorers, Marquette and Joliet, coming southward from Canada, saw this country when the civilization of the Atlantic Seaboard was still in its infancy. Nor have they sufficiently been told that the first settlement under the flag of France was made under the direction of De Tonti at Arkansas Post as far back as 1686.

First, under the flag of France, the young settlement passed to the flag of Spain, to be recovered by Napoleon for France in 1800, and finally brought under the ~~the~~ American flag by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

That Louisiana Purchase has always had a special significance for me. I am interested in it for family reasons because Robert R. Livingston, our Minister to France, negotiated the purchase by direction of President Thomas

Jefferson — and I must admit that he drove a very shrewd bargain.

I am also interested because President Jefferson, seeing the complexities which the Emperor Napoleon faced in a coalition of hostile European powers, had the courage to act for the benefit of the United States without the full and unanimous approval of every member of the legal profession. He was told by some of his closest advisors and friends that the Constitution of the United States contained no clause authorizing him to purchase or acquire additional territory; and that because specific authority did not exist under that great Charter of government, none could be exercised. Jefferson replied that there were certain inherent qualities of sovereignty which could not be separated from a Federal Government, if such a Federal Government was permanently to endure; furthermore, if he delayed the Emperor of the French might change his mind and the great territory west of the Mississippi be lost forever to American expansion. He and Robert R. Livingston put the treaty through; the next Congress appropriated the money; nobody carried the case to the Supreme Court; and, as a result, Louisiana

and Arkansas and Missouri and Iowa and Minnesota and Kansas and Montana and North Dakota and South Dakota and the larger portions of Wyoming and Colorado and Nebraska and Oklahoma fly the Stars and Stripes today.

The hardy pioneers, who peopled Arkansas and laid the foundations for statehood here and throughout the vast new domain west of the Alleghanies, brought about a veritable renaissance of the principle of free government upon which this republic was founded.

I have not the time nor is it necessary to follow the fascinating story in detail down to the admission of Arkansas into the Union only a few days less than one hundred years ago. That year of attainment of statehood by Arkansas is an important one in American history, not so much because it was marked by a Presidential election but because 1836 was the last full year of the Presidency of Andrew Jackson.

It is not without the greatest historical significance that Arkansas was received into the Union in 1836. Jackson's great work for the country was approaching completion.

He was in the full tide of his remarkable powers and in the exercise of an extraordinary influence upon the minds and opinions of the mass of his countrymen.

When Arkansas became a state our national government was not quite fifty years old. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, had been dead only four years. But six years had passed since Webster had delivered the reply to Hayne. Men who had followed Washington through the Revolution were to be found in every community and the manners and mode of the pioneer period were the order of American life. Andrew Jackson, the contemporary and counsellor of the Arkansas pioneers of 1836, made his home across the Mississippi in the neighboring state of Tennessee, and was known to the Arkansans of that day as a fellow frontiersman who had carried into the Presidency those neighborly instincts of the frontier which made possible the first truly democratic administration in our history.

The older I grow and the more I read history, the more I reflect upon the influence of the men and events of one generation upon the life and thought of the generations that follow. A hundred years have passed since Arkansas attained

statehood in that last year of Jackson's Presidency, but throughout this century our American political life has flowed with the vigor of a living stream because the sturdy hand of Andrew Jackson deflected its course from the stagnant marshes of a seaboard oligarchy into the channels of pure American democracy.

Prior to Jackson's day it may be said, without danger of exaggeration, that the leadership of the Nation was, with rare exceptions, in the hands of men who, by birth or education, belonged to a comparatively small group - for the reason we have not far to seek. Universal education was not yet fully established; ~~transportation~~ difficulties prevented the dissemination of news except in the larger communities and along the main avenues of transportation; the very ballot was, in many states, limited to those with special property qualifications.

The wave of popular acclaim that swept Andrew Jackson into his high office was the result of the recognition by the people of the United States that the era of a truer democracy in their national life was at hand. I need not describe the dismay that the election of Jackson excited --

and honestly excited -- in the hearts of the hitherto elect~~or~~ :  
or the widespread apprehension that it aroused among the "guardian  
groups" of the republic.

Groups such as these have never wholly disappeared from American political life, but it will never be possible for any length of time for any group of the American people, either by reason of wealth or learning or inheritance or economic power, to retain any mandate, any permanent authority to arrogate to itself the political control of American public life.

This heritage we owe to Jacksonian democracy -- the American doctrine that entrusts the general welfare to no one group or class but dedicates itself to the end that the American people shall not be thwarted in their high purpose to remain the custodians of their own destiny.

The frontier spirit which brought men into the Arkansas wilderness, and later was to carry them ever further in their conquest of the West, inspired in the hearts and minds and souls of those men a new ideal of our national democracy. Perhaps it would be more exact to say that the frontier spirit caused a rebirth of the earlier ideal of free government. 70

To this changed ideal the neighborly contacts of the frontier contributed in liberal measure. The rugged pioneers helped to fashion the new national spirit. The men who tamed the wilderness hereabouts were part of a new movement in our American life.

It was indeed a critical moment in American history when in our early national period the dauntless and intrepid pioneers strode across the Alleghanies to establish new commonwealths like Arkansas. In that hard life of the frontier, where the personal qualities of the men and not the inheritance of caste or of property were the measure of worth, true democratic government was given its greatest impetus. ~~The new ideal of democracy came to full realisation when a true frontiersman named Andrew Jackson arrived in Washington to administer the government of the United States in the interests of all the people. The frontier had infused a new spirit in our national life, a spirit which despite temporary eclipses and all the changes and vicissitudes of a hundred years, we still recognise as Jacksonian democracy.~~

In the early days of the republic -- those days when Arkansas became a state -- our life was simple. There was

little need of formal arrangements, or of government interest, or action, to insure the social and economic well-being of the American people. In the life of the pioneer, sympathy and kindly help, ready cooperation in the accidents and emergencies of the frontier life, were the spontaneous manifestation of the American spirit. Without them the conquest of a continent could never have been made. ~~But there was ever present the implicit assumption of a universal and personal self-reliance. The one was the necessary complement of the other; such were the conditions of existence.~~

Today that life is gone. Its simplicity has vanished and we are each and all of us parts of a social ~~expansion~~ <sup>Civilization</sup> which ever tends to greater complexity. Latterly, the imperiled well-being, the very existence of large numbers of our people, have called for measures of organised government assistance which the more spontaneous and personal promptings of a pioneer generosity could never alone have obtained. Our country is indeed passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent <sup>protecting</sup> ~~advocates~~ of the rights of the common man. Mechanisation of industry and mass production put unparalleled power in the hands of the few.

*unparallel*

No small part of our problem today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization to the whole people.

The measure of the need has been the measure of the organization necessary to meet it. The human sympathy of our people would have tolerated nothing less. Common sense will tolerate nothing more.

Self-government we must and shall maintain. Let us put it thus, in a way which every man and woman can understand; local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters which are primarily of local concern; county government must retain the functions which logically belong to the county unit; state governments must and shall retain state sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively and efficiently can be met by the states.

Let us analyze a little further, however -- Why was a state government set up in Arkansas? The answer is that the colonization of this area had reached the point where individual settlements needed a uniformity of ordinances and laws. They needed a central body to govern in respect to those things which had grown beyond the scope of town government or county government.

In the same way the Federal Union itself was organized  
~~under a limitation~~  
because in the days following the Revolution it was discovered  
that a mere Federation of States was such a loose organization,  
with constant conflicts between the Thirteen States themselves,  
~~That~~  
~~provided for~~ a Constitution and a national organization to take  
care of ~~problems~~ of government beyond ~~the~~ individual ~~people~~.  
*State Union never in Minority.*

The Constitution provided the best instrument  
~~Washington~~ devised for the continuation of these fundamental  
principles. Under its broad purposes we can and intend to march  
forward, believing as the overwhelming majority of Americans  
~~believe~~ ~~intended~~ ~~met and~~  
believe, that it is intended to fit the amazing physical, ~~and~~  
economic and social ~~problems~~ ~~before us~~ ~~problems~~ that ~~have been~~ ~~been~~ ~~existing~~ in  
this generation.

Beneath one of the symbolical figures which guards  
the entrance to our great new Archives Building in Washington  
is inscribed this quotation from Shakespeare's Tempest -- "What  
is past is prologue." ~~That is the real lesson which history~~  
~~would teach us if we could but learn from so great a teacher the~~  
~~message which she has for us.~~ Times change but man's basic  
~~problems remain the same.~~ He must seek a new approach to their  
*start*

These problems, with growing intensity, now flow past all sectional limitations and extend over the vast breadth of our whole domain. Prices, wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, social security, in short the enjoyment by all men of their constitutional guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness -- these questions, ~~are~~ so delicate in their economic balance that any change in their status is reflected with the speed of light from Maine to California --

Insert A.

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If We know that equality of individual ability has never existed and never will, but we insist that equality of opportunity <sup>must</sup> still be sought. We know that equality of local justice is, alas, not yet an established fact; this also is a goal we must and do seek.

INSERT B - Page 13

Arkansas has given many distinguished men to the nation; but, my friends, I want to tell you very simply and from the heart, that in the meeting of our difficult problems of today, no man deserves a greater credit for loyal devotion to a great cause than my old friend and associate, Senator Robinson of Arkansas.

90  
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B) May I repeat the historical maxim: "What is past is prologue." Its meaning is not obscure. Out of the story of mankind's long struggle to govern himself, we should learn lessons which will guide us in solving the problems which beset us today. We bear much about the philosophy of history; but after-all the philosophy of history means nothing but the thoughtful consideration of history.

The frontier, as we have been recalling it in this rapid survey of the planting of new states, has forever passed; but it has left a permanent imprint upon our political life and our social outlook. As state after state has been admitted in our march to the Pacific Ocean, we have found that each has come into the Union with a more liberal Constitution. than the Eastern states. The Western Frontier from Jackson's time and the admission of Arkansas a hundred years ago, down to

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While we have no frontiers in the old sense,

*H* We may still find inspiration for the work before us in the old frontier spirit which meant achievement through self-reliance, ~~with equal opportunity to all, special divisions to none, but~~ ~~where~~ a willingness to lend a hand to the fellow down in his luck through no fault of his own. Upon those principles our democracy was reborn a century ago; upon those principles alone will it endure.

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