

June 12, 1936

[Texas Centennial - Dallas, Texas]

FDR Speech File

DALLAS SPEECH

I have come here to bear the tribute of the Nation to you on your hundredth birthday: you are a hundred years' young!

I am here also because I conceive it to be one of the duties and the privileges of the Presidency to visit, from time to time, every part of the ~~greater Empire of the~~ United States.

When I was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President Wilson in 1913, I had visited, as I recall, only about twenty states, but during the next few years I had the fortunate opportunity of going into all the others.

Seeing things at first hand is a good habit. I have been fortunate indeed, for as a result of personal contacts with every part of the United States during many years past, I ^{tried} have/honestly ~~tried~~ to visualize the problems of every part of the land in their relationships to every other part, and to the unity of the whole.

This great Centennial Exposition is not for Texans alone - it is for the people of all the other forty-seven ~~States~~ as well States, ~~and~~ I hope that they will take full advantage of it.

During the past three years, with the return of confidence and the great increase in prosperity, the excellent custom of getting acquainted with the United States has asserted itself, ~~and~~ We see a great tide of travel by rail, by plane, by ship and by automobile. We are indeed seeing things at first hand - may the habit spread.

Coincident with the return of better days, we have witnessed three great Expositions - the Century of Progress in Chicago, so popular that it was kept open for a second year; the California International Exposition in San Diego which is open today in its second successful year; and the third is this fine Exposition commemorating the Centenary of the Independence of Texas. May you have all the ^{good} luck you ^{so well} ~~and your state~~ deserve.

It is not, ~~and~~, mere acres that count in this world - it is, rather, the character of the people who dwell upon them. You, the people of Texas, have been tried by fire in these hundred years. You have commenced a War for Independence. You have ^{apparently} ~~been/defeated;~~ and then ^{and then} You have won out. You have gone through the difficult days of the War Between the States and the trials of Reconstruction. You have had to fight

against oppressors from within and without.

Your farmers were among the first to rebel against exploitation by the railroads. In a period of monopoly, combinations, over-capitalization, high rates, poor service and discrimination against the small shipper, you established a landmark in the regulation of public utilities for the good of their users.

Later, when industrial development came to Texas, you were confronted by corporations that got out of hand. Here again you called into play the old Texas spirit of freedom for the individual, and out of it came your anti-trust laws, preceded by only one other State in the Union.

It is, as I recall my history, a fact that during this period there were many prophets of evil who foretold the ruin of Texas by the enactment of legislation to curb these abuses. Yet it is a matter of record that several years' later an authoritative survey reported this: "No part of the Union is more prosperous, no other State has so systematically pursued a policy of corporation regulation, and no other State is so free from the domination of special interests".

Why did the people of Texas do this more than a generation ago? They believed in democracy in government, but

they discovered that democracy in government could not exist unless, at the same time, there was democracy in opportunity.

You found that certain forms of monopoly - the combinations of public utilities and other businesses which sought their own ends - were undemocratic because they were bearing down heavily on their smaller competitors, and on the people they served. Because of this they were taking away opportunity.

Today we have restored democracy in government.

We are in the process of restoring democracy in opportunity.

In our national life, public and private, the very nature of free government demands that there must be a line of defense held by the yeomanry of business and industry and agriculture. Not the generalissimos, but the small men, the average men in business and industry and agriculture, - those who have an ownership in their business and a responsibility which gives them stability. Any elemental policy, economic or political, which tends to eliminate these dependable defenders of democratic institutions, and to concentrate control in

the hands of a few small, powerful groups, is directly opposed to the stability of government and to democratic government itself.

If the tendency in the dozen years following the World War had been permitted to continue, the inevitable consequence would have been the destruction of the base of our form of government. For its splendid structure there would have been substituted as a natural result, an autocratic form of government.

I have spoken of the prophets of evil who plagued your great reforms in Texas. They were blood brothers of some who seek to operate on a national scale. After you in Texas had done so much to restore democracy in opportunity, you found as we in other States found, that the evils we had sought to eradicate had merely jumped over the boundary into some other State. The old abuses of the railroads were finally curbed only after teeth were put into the Interstate Commerce law and a nation-wide regulation was made effective. Banking reforms were tried in many States but here again reform became effective only when the Federal Government was enabled to operate throughout the Union, first by the Federal Reserve Act, and finally by means of the splendid legislation of the past

three years. Individual States attempted courageously to regulate the sale of securities or the control of exchanges, but you and I know that from the point of view of the nation as a whole, the effective curbing of abuses was made possible only when the Congress of the United States took a hand by passing the Securities Act and the Stock Exchange Act.

So it goes with the constructive reform of many other abuses which, in the past, have limited or prevented democracy in opportunity. The more progressive of the States may do their share, but unless the action of the States is substantially uniform and simultaneous, the effectiveness of reform is nullified, - crippled by the chisellers, who, like are, alas, still many other evil-doers, ~~xxxxxstillxxxx~~ with us.

The net result of monopoly, the net result of economic and financial control in the hands of the few, has ownership meant the ~~control~~ of labor as a commodity. If labor is ~~to~~ to be a commodity in the United States, in the final analysis it means that we shall become a nation of boarding houses, instead of a nation of homes. If our people ever submit to that, they will have said "good-by" to their historic freedom. Men do not fight for ~~a~~ boarding houses. They will fight for their homes.

I have spoken of the interest which all the country should take in this great Exposition - I mean this as a symbol for the concern which every locality should have in every other locality in every other State. The prosperity which has come to Texas through the products of its farms and ranches, the products of its mines, the products of its oil fields, and the products of its factories, has been made possible chiefly because other parts of the nation were in possession of the buying power, the consuming power, to use what you have produced. On the other side of the picture, thousands of factories and thousands of farms in the North and in the East have been enabled more greatly to sell their wares, because of the prosperity of you, the people of Texas. I have spoken not once but a dozen times of the necessity of inter-dependence of each State on every other State - it is a lesson which cannot be ~~not~~ driven home or preached too often.

I have taken great happiness in these past three years in the lessening of sectionalism which is apparent on every hand. More and more we have been thinking nationally. That in itself is good, but it would not have been good if at the same time we had not come to understand more deeply that the national good neighbor policy must extend also to

those neighbors who lie outside of our national boundaries. You in Texas whose boundaries extend for hundreds of miles along those of our sister Republic of Mexico, can well understand what the good neighbor policy means throughout the Americas. We seek to banish war in this hemisphere; we seek to extend those practices of good will and closer friendship upon which peace itself is based.

I salute the Empire of Texas.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
TEXAS CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION GROUNDS,
DALLAS, TEXAS
June 12, 1936

Governor Allred, my friends of Texas:

I have come here today to bear the tribute of the Nation to you on your hundredth birthday: for you are (a) one hundred years' young! (Applause)

I am here also because I conceive it to be one of the duties (and the privileges) of the Presidency of the United States to visit, from time to time, every part of the (United States) Union.

Many years ago when I was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President Woodrow Wilson in 1913, (Applause) back in those days I had visited, as I recall, only about twenty states, but during the next few years I had the fortunate opportunity of going into all the others.

Seeing things at first hand is a mighty good habit. I have been fortunate indeed, for as a result of personal contacts with every part of the United States during many years past, I have tried honestly to visualize the problems of every part of the land in their relationships to every other part, and in their relationship to the unity of the whole land. (Applause)

This great Centennial Exposition is not for Texas alone - it is for the people of all the other

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.

Speeches made by Franklin D. Roosevelt
I have come here today to bear the witness of the Nation to you on your hundredth birthday for you are (a) the greatest of our (b) men (c) and women (d) and I am sure this Nation will consider it to be one of the greatest (e) and the proudest (f) of the President of the United States to have, from time to time, every part of the (g) United States (h) today. (i) Now, when I was a young man, I was a young man, a member of the Navy of President William Howard Taft, (j) and I recall, (k) that in those days I had a great, (l) only about twenty years, the young man next to me, and the fortune of my life, for all the days, (m) being a young man, it is a great, (n) debt. I have seen the Nation, for a great of persons, (o) with every part of the Nation, (p) during my years here, I have seen the Nation, (q) the problem of every part of the Nation, (r) and to every other part, (s) the unity of the whole (t) (u) This great Centennial Exposition is for the Texas State - it is for the people of all the other

forty-seven states as well. And I hope and I believe that they will take full advantage of it.

During (the) these past three years, with the return of confidence and the great increase in prosperity, the excellent custom of getting acquainted with the United States has asserted itself. We see a great tide of travel by rail, by plane, by ship and by automobile. We Americans are indeed seeing things at first hand and may the habit spread. (Applause)

Coincident with (the) this return of better days, we have witnessed three great Expositions - the Century of Progress in Chicago, so popular that it was kept open for a second year; the California International Exposition in San Diego which is open (today) again this summer in its second successful year; and now the third, (is) this fine Exposition commemorating the Centenary of the Independence of Texas. And may you good people have all the (good) fine luck that you so well deserve.!

You down here live in the biggest state in the Union. (Applause) But you people know that it is not mere acres that count in this world - it is, rather, the character of the people who dwell upon them. You, the people of Texas, have been tried by fire in these hundred years. And you have come through. You have commenced a War for Independence. You have (been) apparently been defeated;

and then you have won out. You have gone through the difficult days of the War Between the States and the trials of Reconstruction. You have had to fight against oppressors from within and oppressors from without.

More than a generation ago your farmers were (among) the first to rebel against exploitation. In those years it was exploitation by the railroads. In (a) that period of monopoly, of combinations, of overcapitalization, of high rates and poor service and discrimination against the small shipper, you in Texas established a landmark in the regulation of public utilities for the good of their users. (Applause)

Later, when industrial development came to Texas, you were confronted, as other people have been before and since, by corporations that got out of hand. Here again you called into play the old Texas spirit of freedom for the individual, and out of it came your anti-trust laws, preceded, as I recall it, by only one other state in all the Union.

It is, as I recall my history, a fact that during (this) that period there were many prophets of evil who foretold the ruin of Texas by the enactment of legislation to curb these abuses. Yet it is a matter of record that several years later an authoritative survey (reported this) had this to say of your state: "No part of the Union

is more prosperous, no other state has so systematically pursued a policy of corporation regulation, and no other state is so free from the domination of special interests." (Applause)

Why did the people of Texas do this more than a generation ago? They believed in democracy in government, but they discovered that democracy in government could not exist unless, at the same time, there was democracy in opportunity. (Applause)

You found that certain forms of monopoly - the combinations of public utilities and other businesses which sought their own ends - were undemocratic because they were bearing down heavily on their smaller competitors, and on the people they served. Because of this they were taking away opportunity.

Today, my friends, we have restored democracy in government. (Applause)

We are in the process of restoring democracy in opportunity. (Applause)

In our national life, public and private, the very nature of free government demands that there must be a line of defense held by the yeomanry of business, (and) the yeomanry of industry and the yeomanry of agriculture. Not the generalissimos, but the small men, the average men in business and industry and agriculture, - those who have an

ownership in their business and a responsibility which gives them stability. Any elemental policy, economic or political, which tends to eliminate these dependable defenders of democratic institutions, and to concentrate control in the hands of a few small, powerful groups, is directly opposed to the stability of government and to democratic government itself. (Applause)

And most of us believe, furthermore, if the tendency in the dozen years following the World War had been permitted to continue, the inevitable consequence would have been the destruction of the base of our form of government. For (its) that splendid structure of American government, there would have been substituted as a natural result, an autocratic form of government.

I have spoken of the prophets of evil who plagued your great reforms in Texas. They were blood brothers of some who seek to operate on a national scale. After you in Texas had done so much to restore democracy in opportunity, you found as we in other states found, that the evils we had sought to eradicate had merely jumped over the boundary into some other state. The old abuses of the railroads were finally curbed only after teeth were put into the Interstate Commerce laws and a nation-wide regulation was made effective. Banking reforms were tried in many states but here again reform became effective only when the Federal Government was enabled to operate

throughout the Union, first by the Federal Reserve Act, and finally by means of the splendid legislation of the past three years. Individual states attempted courageously, as you and I know, to regulate the sale of fly-by-night securities (or the control of) and attempted courageously to regulate the exchanges, but you and I know that from the point of view of the nation as a whole, the effective curbing of abuses was made possible only when the Congress of the United States took a hand by passing the Securities Act and the Stock Exchange Act. (Applause)

So it goes with the constructive reform of many other abuses which, in the past, have limited or prevented what I call democracy in opportunity. The more progressive of the States may do their share, but unless the action of the States is substantially uniform and simultaneous, the effectiveness of reform is nullified, - crippled by the chisellers, who, like many other evil-doers, are, alas, still with us. (Applause)

Now, the net result of monopoly, the net result of economic and financial control in the hands of the few, has in the past meant and means today, in large measure, the ownership of labor as a commodity. If labor is to be a commodity in the United States, in the final analysis it means that we shall become a nation of boarding houses, instead of a nation of homes. If our people ever submit to

that, they will have said "good-by" to their historic freedom. Men do not fight for boarding houses. (They will fight for their homes). Men do fight and will fight for homes. (Applause)

I have spoken of the interest which all the country should take in this great Exposition - I mean this as a symbol for the concern which every locality should have in every other locality in every other State. The prosperity which has come to Texas through the products of its farms and ranches, the products of its mines, the products of its oil fields, and the products of its factories, that prosperity has been made possible chiefly because other parts of the nation were in possession of the buying power, the consuming power, to use what you have produced. On the other side of the picture, thousands of factories and thousands of farms in the North and in the East and in other parts of the land have been enabled more greatly and more widely to sell their wares, because of the prosperity of you, the people of Texas. (Applause) I have spoken not once but a dozen times of the necessity of interdependence of each State on every other State - it is a lesson which cannot be driven home or preached too often.

I have taken great happiness in these past three years in the lessening of sectionalism which is apparent on every hand. More and more we have been thinking

nationally. That in itself is good, but it would not have been good if at the same time we had not come to understand more deeply that that national good neighbor policy must extend also to those neighbors who lie outside of our national (boundaries) borders. You in this great state of Texas whose boundaries extend for hundreds of miles along those of our sister Republic of Mexico, can well understand what the good neighbor policy means throughout the Americas. (Applause) We, all Americans, North Americans, Central Americans and South Americans, we seek to banish ^{war,} war in this hemisphere; we seek to extend those practices of good will and closer friendship upon which peace itself is based. (Applause)

And so, my friends, I wish you once more every happiness and all the good luck in the world.

I salute the Empire of Texas. (Applause)

*Drift
Dalls*

~~President Theodore Roosevelt~~. I have come here to

bear the tribute of the nation to you on your hundredth birthday; you are a hundred years' young!

I am here also because I conceive it to be one of the duties and the privileges of the Presidency to visit, from time to time, every part of the greater Empire of the United States.

Back ^{about} ~~in~~ 1905 when I was visiting the White House, another President Roosevelt was pacing up and down the floor ~~distressing~~ deeply perturbed because one of his pet measures for the establishment of national parks in many parts of the Union had failed of passage in the Congress of the day. We asked him what he was going to do about it, and he replied: "Do? I cannot do anything, but if I had my way I would enact a law requiring every public official of the United States government to ~~take~~ a certificate ^y before taking office, ~~certifying~~ that he had visited every one of the 48 States.

When I ~~was~~ ^{President} was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by ~~Woodrow~~ ^{President} Wilson in 1913, I ~~did not have that qualification~~ I had visited as I recall, only about 20 States, but during the next few years I had the fortunate opportunity of going into all the others.

Seeing things at first hand is a good habit, and I have been fortunate indeed, for as a result of ~~personal contacts~~ ^{personal contacts with every part of the United States} I ^{during many} have honestly tried to visualize the problems of every part of the land in their relationships to every other part, and to the unity of the whole.

This great centennial exposition is not for Texans alone - it is for the people of all the other 47 states, and I hope that they will take full advantage of it. As I have learned in my travels it is not enough to say "I have been to Texas" after visiting one city or one section of your State. The large majority of the independent nations of Europe are smaller in extent than this one State; and few of them have a quarter of the natural resources of this State.

Invent A It is not, however, mere acres that count in this world - it is rather the character of the people who dwell upon them. You, the people of Texas, have been tried by fire in these hundred years. You have commenced a war for independence, *X* you have been defeated, *and X* you have won out. You have gone through the difficult days of the War between the States and the trials of reconstruction. You have had to fight against oppressors from within and without. *A* Your farmers were among the first to

Insert A.

During the past three years with the return of confidence and the great increase in prosperity, the excellent custom of getting acquainted with the United States has asserted itself and we see a great tide of travel by rail, by plane by ship and by automobile. We are indeed seeing things at first hand - may the ~~custom~~^{habit} spread.

Co-incident with the return of better days, we have witnessed ~~the success~~ of three great expositions - the Century of Progress in Chicago, so ~~successful~~^{popular} that it was kept open for a second year, and the California International Exposition in San Diego, which is open today in its 2nd successful year. The third is this fine Exposition commemorating the Centenary of the Independence of Texas. May you have all the luck you ~~deserve~~ and your wide state deserve.

rebel against exploitation by the railroads. In a period of monopoly, combinations, ~~of~~ over-capitalization, ~~of~~ high rates, ~~of~~ poor service and ~~of~~ discrimination against the small shipper you established a landmark in the regulation of public utilities for the good of their users.

Later, when industrial development came to Texas, you were confronted by corporations that got out of hand, ~~and began~~ ~~to do many things against public policy.~~ Here again you called into play the old Texas spirit of freedom for the individual, and out of it came your anti-trust laws, preceded by only one other State in the Union.

It is, as I recall my history, a fact that during this period there were many ~~of these~~ prophets of evil who foretold the ruin of Texas by the enactment of legislation to curb these abuses. Yet it is a matter of record that several years later an authoritative survey reported this: "No part of the Union is more prosperous, no other State has so systematically pursued a policy of corporation regulation, and no other State is so free from the domination of special interests".

Insert B
~~These prophets of evil were big business men of~~
~~the name of~~ Most of us can well remember what they said of

Insert B

Why did the people of Texas do this more than a generation ago? They believed in Democracy in government, but they discovered that democracy in government could not exist unless at the same time there was democracy in opportunity.

You found that certain forms of monopoly - the combinations of public utilities and other businesses which ^{is doing it} ~~could~~ their own ends - were undemocratic because they were bearing down heavily on their smaller competitors, and on the people they served. ~~They were undemocratic because they were keeping other people from going into their fields of activity.~~ Because of this they were taking away opportunity.

~~It~~ Today we have restored democracy in government, ~~and~~
~~It~~ We are in the process of restoring democracy in opportunity.

~~It~~ In our national life, public and private, the very nature of free government demands that there must be a line of defense held by the ^{system} ~~system~~ of business and industry and agriculture. Not the generalissimos, but the small men, the average ^{man} ~~man~~ in business and industry, ^{and} ~~and~~ agriculture, those who have an ownership in their business and a responsibility which gives them stability. Any elemental policy, economic or political, which tends to eliminate these dependable defenders of democratic institutions and to concentrate control in the hands of a few small, powerful groups is directly opposed to the stability of government.

ful groups, is directly opposed to the stability of government and to democratic government itself.

If the tendency ~~to~~ ^{down years following} ~~in the United States~~ ~~after~~ the World War ~~does to end through the year 1932~~, had been permitted to continue, the inevitable consequence would have been the destruction of the base of our form of government. For its splendid structure there would have been substituted as a natural result an autocratic form of government.

I have spoken of the prophets of evil who plague^d your great reforms in Texas. They were blood brothers of some ~~one~~ ^{Jack} operate on a national scale. After you in Texas had done so much to restore democracy ⁱⁿ ~~an~~ opportunity, you found as we in other States found, that the evils we had sought to eradicate had merely jumped over the boundary into some other State. The old abuses of the railroads were finally curbed only after teeth were put into the Interstate Commerce law and a nationwide regulation was made effective. Banking reforms were tried in many States but here again reform became effective only when the Federal Government was enabled to operate throughout the Union, first by the Federal Reserve Act, and finally by means of the splendid legislation of the past three years. Individual States attempted courageously to regulate

INSERT B Page 3.

the sale of securities or the control of exchanges, but you and I know that from the point of view of the nation as a whole the effective curbing of abuses was made possible only when the Congress of the United States took a hand by passing the Securities Act and the Stock Exchange Act.

So it goes with the ^{constructive} ~~indiscriminate~~ reform of many other abuses which, in the past, have limited or prevented democracy in opportunity. The more progressive of the States may do their share, but unless the action of the States is substantially uniform and simultaneous, the effectiveness of reform is nullified, ~~and~~ crippled by the chisellers, who, like many other evil-doers, seem still to be with us.

As one who has been for two terms the Governor of a great State, I believe that every Governor is glad today that the Federal government has set up machinery to assist the States and localities in tracking down and punishing kidnapers. So, also, I believe that every forward-looking Governor is glad to have the United States government assist him in eradicating from the life of his State the selfish and thoughtless individuals and the corporations.

Insert B - page 4

The net result of monopoly, the net result of economic and financial control in the hands of the few, has meant the control of labor as a commodity. If labor is a commodity in the United States, in the final analysis it means that we shall become a nation of boarding houses, instead of a nation of homes. If our people ever submit to that, they will have said "good-by" to their historic freedom. Men do not fight for a boarding house, ^{they will} they fight for their home.

the Interstate Commerce Commission Act, of the Federal Reserve Act, of the Securities Exchange Commission Act, and many other wise regulatory measures that the Congress has passed. That is why prophets of evil are not permanently popular in our America.

I have spoken of the interest which all the country should take in this great exposition - I mean this ~~city~~ as a symbol for the concern which every locality ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ should have in every other locality in every other State. The prosperity which has come to Texas through the products of its farms, ^{and its mines} the products of its mines, the products of its oil fields, and the products of its factories, has been made possible chiefly because other parts of the nation were in possession of the buying power, the consuming power, to use what you have produced. On the other side of the picture, thousands of factories and thousands of farms in the North and in the East have been enabled more greatly to sell their wares, because of the prosperity of you, the people of Texas. I have spoken not once but a dozen times of the necessity of inter-dependence of each State on every other State - it is a lesson which cannot be driven home or preached too often.

I have taken great happiness in these past three years in the lessening of sectionalism which is apparent on every hand. More and more we have been thinking nationally. That in itself is good but it would not have been good if at the same time we had not come to understand more deeply that the national good neighbor policy must extend also to those neighbors who lie outside of our national boundaries. You in Texas whose boundaries extend for hundreds of miles along those of our sister republic of Mexico, can well understand what the good neighbor policy means throughout the Americas. We seek to banish war in this hemisphere; we seek to extend those practices of good will and closer friendship upon which peace itself is based.

I salute the Empire of Texas.

P.P.F.
IF

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Y 10/29/37

June 2, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The attached is submitted for consideration in connection with the preparation of your speech in Dallas, Texas.

It has been prepared jointly by Bill Hasset and Dave Barbee. The Library of Congress has checked the speech and substantiated all of the essential facts.

STEPHEN EARLY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 2, 1956.

MEMORANDUM TO MR. EARLY:

Here is the draft for the Dallas speech. I made a slight change in the introduction and eliminated on page four in the paragraph at the bottom of the page an unnecessary reference to the Spanish Inquisition, always a touchy problem. Otherwise, the draft submitted by Mr. Barbee stands.

The Library of Congress checked the speech and substantiated all of the essential facts. Certain minor facts not substantiated by the Library had their origin in Mr. Barbee's special knowledge of Texas history. The notes by the Library of Congress and those of Mr. Barbee's are attached herewith, for possible reference, in the event that the President might want to verify any of the statements bearing on Texas history with which this draft is replete. The draft is about 2700 words long.

W.D.H.
WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Memo for Mr. Hassett
From Mr. Barbee

My notes with citations have been misplaced, but a set of notes without citations which I have and from which the speech was written shows that standard histories of Texas, taken from the shelves of the Library of Congress, were used as source material. If you wish the unidentified quotations documented, it will take some little time to look up the citations.

I have marked on the margin of Library of Congress memo in blue pencil eight notations. They are to be explained as follows:

1. Taken from a history of Texas Counties (Crockett County), and is to be found in the biography of Crockett therein. The quotation is authenticated.
2. Told to me in 1901 or 1902 by James Turney, Clerk of Tennessee Supreme Court, and printed in Nashville American. It is an authentic story.
3. Taken from one of the standard histories of Texas.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. One of the Texas histories consulted places Texas second. The citation by the L. of C. does not contradict that. The quotation, of course, refers to the Texas anti-Trust law, and not to the Sherman Act.
7. Gov. Comer frequently used this expression in his campaign speeches in 1914. I was then managing editor of The Mobile Register and close to him and his campaign. The expression will be found in the Alabama papers of that period. It referred to the type of men-tories, standpatters, etc. - who cried out that his New Deal for Alabama would ruin the State.
8. I quoted from a Texas history. The citation from World's Work itself is not materially different, except for punctuation, capitalization and a minor change in phraseology.

May I not congratulate the person who did this L. of C. research. It is thorough, and seems to substantiate the facts in the speech as far as it goes.

MEMORANDUM

EW

OFFICE OF THE
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE READING ROOM

June 1, 1936

FOR MR. HASSETT:

Page 1, lines 7-8. "The men who died in the old mission one hundred years ago" ...

"It [i.e. the Alamo] has enduring celebrity as the scene of the battle and massacre of 6 March 1836, in the war for Texas independence. ... With the slogan 'Remember the Alamo' the Texans redoubled their efforts and Santa Anna was defeated, and was himself captured a few weeks later at San Jacinto." The Encyclopedia Americana, New York, The Americana Corporation, 1936, vol. 1, p. 309.

Page 1, line 11. ... "sans peur et sans reproche".

"In the midst of mercenary armies Bayard remained absolutely disinterested, and to his contemporaries and his successors he was, with his romantic heroism, piety and magnanimity, the fearless and faultless knight, le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche." Vide Pierre Terrail, Seigneur de Bayard in The Encyclopaedia Britannica, fourteenth edition; New York, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc. [c. 1934], vol. 3, p. 239.

Page 1, lines 16-18. "Mr. Speaker: I am skeered, but I don't know what about; I know I can lick any man in this house, and I ain't afeared of none of 'em; still I'm skeered." [Crockett].

(6) This quotation has not been identified. According to the Register of Debates in Congress, comprising the leading debates and incidents of the first session of the Twentieth Congress, Vol. IV, Washington, Gales and Seaton, 1828, col. 2086, Col. Crockett spoke, for the first time, on Wednesday, April 2, 1828, in connection with the Senate Bill for the relief of the widow of General Brown; in which he offered "to subscribe his quota, in his private character, to make up the amount proposed." In An Account of Col. Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East ... Written by himself, Philadelphia, E. Carey and A. Hart, 1835, p. 23, he described an incident in Philadelphia as follows:-

I had made stump speeches at home, in the face of all the little office yelpers who were opposed to me; but, indeed, when I got within sight of the Exchange, and saw the streets crowded, I most wished to take back my promise; but I was brought up by hearing a youngster say, as I passed by, "Go ahead, Davy Crockett." I said to myself, "I have faced the enemy; these are friends. I have fronted the savage red man of the forest; these are civilized. I'll keep cool, and let them have it."

Miss Constance Mayfield Rourke in her biography entitled, Davy Crockett, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [c. 1934], p. 261, wrote:- "Almost surely someone gave a bit of polish to the speeches in Congress before they were recorded."

In his remarks on Land Claims in Tennessee, delivered April 29, 1828. (According to the Register of Debates, supra, col. 2518) Col. Crockett said:-

... it was with the greatest diffidence that he rose to address the committee. Did I not [said Mr. C.] consider it due to myself, to my constituents, and to the honorable committee from whom this bill was reported, I can assure you, I should not hazard a single remark ...

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Page 1, lines 16-18. (Cont.)

There can be little doubt that this "was polished," for the report published in *Gales and Seaton's National Intelligencer* for Wednesday, April 30, 1828, begins: - "Mr. Crockett, after referring, by way of apology, to his own very slight opportunities of education, and his long residence in the country where these lands lay, stated to the House his intimate acquaintance with their situation, and true value."

Page 2, lines 6-7. "A Texan in Search of a Fight". [*Confederate War Diary* by West]
To wit: John C. West: A Texan in search of a fight ... Waco, Texas, 1901.

Page 2, lines 15-18. ... "and looking with hopeful eyes to the future, in imitation of faithful soldiers upon the field of battle, they faced to the front and cried 'Forward!', and forward they have gone from that dark hour to this." [West in 1895]
O. K. as corrected. In John C. West: Speech ... on Decoration Day, 1897.
In his A Texas in search of a fight ... Waco, Tex., 1901, p. 172-173.

Page 2, line 25. "Jesse Jones belongs to it" [the race of immigrants]. The Hon. Jesse Holman Jones was born in Robertson County, Tennessee. *Wide who's who in America, 1934-1935*, vol. 18, p. 1304.

② Page 3. Anecdote not identified.

Page 4, lines 15-16. Check spelling of Brazos and Frio.
Brazos and Frio. See Lippincott's *Gazetteer*, ed. 1922.

Page 5, lines 2-3. ... "about 1875, when you regained control of your own government.
O. K. Gov. Coke was inaugurated January 15, 1874.
"Although the inauguration of Gov. Coke marked the beginning of the process of restoring self-government to the people of Texas, it required nearly two years to wipe out all traces of the radical regime". *Wortham: History of Texas* (Fort Worth, 1924) Vol. 5, p. 85, 87.

Page 5, lines 3-8. "For the next 25 years Texas had growing pains ... You had a bankrupt treasury, an unbalanced budget, and a frightful waste of public lands as an inheritance from the Reconstruction Administration."
See G. O. John: *Texas history* (N. Y. [1935]) page 173.
J. H. Brown: *History of Texas* (St. Louis [1893]) Vol. 2, page 451 et seq.

③ Page 5, lines 11-13. "But in the offing, were the more vexing problems of the political regulation of social and economic interests and the protection of the people from exploitation by powerful corporations." [A quotation, without clue to source.]

O. K. See message of Gov. Coke, March 16, 1874, in F. W. Johnson: *A history of Texas and Texans* (Chicago and New York, 1914) Vol. 1, page 575. (F388,J66)

Page 5, lines 19-22. "As far back as 1873, they [the farmers of Texas] organized a non-political society known as The Patrons of Husbandry, which two years later became the historic Farmer's Alliance, for the purpose of dealing with their problems."

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Page 5, lines 19-22. (Cont.)

"The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, the Farmers' Alliance, the Agricultural Wheel, and, finally, the Farmers' Union, have each at some time numbered thousands of members and exercised considerable influence, particularly on politics in Texas. ... With its war cry of 'Cooperation and Down with Monopolies!' the State Grange was organized at Dallas, Texas, October 7, 1873 ... The Farmers' Alliance, which became a national organization with millions of Members, and from which sprang the Populist party - a party which unseated Governors, Congressmen, and United States Senators - had its origin fifteen miles northeast of Lampasas, Texas, in 1874." From H. Y. Benedict and John A. Lomax: The Book of Texas; Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916, p. 304-312 passim.

"The Alliance of Texas originated in Lampasas County, about fifteen miles north of the present village of Lampasas. The date of the first organization is given as some time in 1874 or 1875. There is considerable vagueness about the date of its formation, which doubtless is unknown at the present time. It was probably the result, as an old member states, of an attempt to formulate a plan for purchasing supplies, that was made directly after the panic of 1873". From Nelson A. Dunning: The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest; Washington, D. C., The Alliance Publishing Company, 1891, page 15.

Page 6, lines 24-27; Page 6, line 1. "The agrarian leaders recognized the dependence of the farmers upon the railroads, and felt, with some justice, that the exorbitant rates charged for moving crops and the special favors granted large shippers were among the chief causes of the hardships of the planters'." [Quotation without source.]

[The report of the Committee on Good of the Order and Demands, made at the annual meeting of the Farmers' Alliance, held at Cleburne, Texas, August 3, 1886:] ... "We demand the passage of an interstate commerce law, that shall secure the same rates of freight to all persons for the same kind of commodities, according to distance of haul, without regard to amount of shipment. To prevent the granting of rebates; to prevent pooling freights to shut off competition; and to secure to the people the benefit of railroad transportation at a reasonable cost." From Dunning, op. cit. 42-43.

[The message of the Acting President of the Farmers' Alliance, C. W. Macoune, read at the meeting held in the Court house, Waco, Texas, January 18, 1887:] ... "I hold that co-operation, properly understood and properly applied, will place a limit to the encroachments of organized monopoly, and will be the means by which the mortgage-burdened farmers can assert their freedom from the tyranny of organized capital, and obtain the reward for honesty, industry, and frugality, which they so richly deserve, and which they are now so unjustly denied. Take for example a freight question as illustrated in this way: A car-load of lumber from Galveston to Waco will probably cost you about forty dollars freight; but if you load that very same flat car with cotton and ship to Galveston, the freight will cost you about one hundred and fifty dollars. Here is a tribute that the cotton fields pay the organized monopolies for nothing; but I hold that we have an adequate and complete remedy in co-operation." ... From Dunning, op. cit. p. 49-50.

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Page 6, lines 5-7. ... "for the agrarian revolt of the '70's produced some of your greatest men - Lubbock, Reagan, Terrell, HOGG, Ross, Coke, Hubbard, Roberts and Ireland."

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad Transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, p. 116-130.

Clarence R. Wharton: History of Texas ... Dallas, [1935] p. 273, 274, 318, 322, 329, 330, 405, 410, 414.

Page 6, lines 13-25. "To stimulate rail expansion, enormous grants from the public domain were made to the [railroad] promoters. ... There followed a period of combinations, over-capitalization, high rates, poor service, and discrimination against the small shipper. ... In competing territory they [the railroad operators] cut rates very low, but where they had a monopoly, where there was only one line of railroad, they charged exorbitant rates. In addition to this they granted rebates to large shippers, and made secret agreements to pool their profits. Is it any wonder that the farmers began to complain of these unfair practices? That regulation of the railroads was cried throughout the length and breadth of your State?"

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, passim, esp. Chapter VII and page 199.

Page 6, lines 26-27; Page 7, lines 1-6. "Governor Hogg, large of body, large of mind, large of heart, was Attorney General at that time. He took up the farmers' battle and carried it through to the end. As Governor he had the honor of signing one of the first Railroad Commission bills enacted in this country. ... The railroads fought the law through the courts to the Supreme Court of the United States, which upheld it."

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, p. 123-139.

Page 7, lines 7-9. "In looking about for an Administrator ... Hogg found him in the Federal Senate ... John H. Reagan".

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, p. 130.

Page 7, lines 19-20. "The effect of the commission's work, was practically to end rate wars, wasteful competition, and discriminations." [Direct quotation without source.]

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, p. 199.

Page 7, lines 22-25. "Although it was many years before the railroads gave up their fight against these regulatory measures, it appears that on the whole the acts were just and that in the end instead of injuring the roads they protected and benefitted both the roads and the public." [Direct quotation without source.]

See Charles S. Potts: Railroad transportation in Texas ... Austin, 1909, p. 197 ff. "The companies now recognize the supremacy of the law and in general have come to see that much that has been done was best for the railways as well as essential to the protection of the public. page 200.

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Page 8, lines 4-6. "This called into play the old Texas Spirit of freedom for the individual and out of it came the Anti-Trust Law, which was the second State law of its kind in history."

At least six states - Kansas, Maine, Michigan, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas - passed such laws [anti-trust laws] in 1889. E. Jones: The trust problem in the United States ... N. Y., 1921, p. 23 n.

Page 8, lines 9-12. "It is common history that in 1900 the Supreme Court of the United States, in the noted Waters-Pierce Oil Co. case, upheld the law, and declared that the company had forfeited its right to do business in the State."

The case of Waters-Pierce Oil Company v. Texas was argued before the Supreme Court, January 8, 9, 1900; and the Court's decision (Mr. Justice Harlan dissenting) was handed down March 19, 1900. It was held that it is well settled that a State has the power to impose such conditions as it pleases upon foreign corporations seeking to do business within it; and that the statute of Texas of March 30, 1890, prohibiting foreign corporations, which violated the provisions of that act, from doing any business within the State imposed conditions which it was within the power of the State to impose; and that this statute was not repealed by the act of April 30, 1896, c. 83. Vide, 177 U. S. Reports 28-47.

Page 8, lines 14-15. ... "those whom the late Governor Comer of Alabama used to call 'lizards on the rail' ..."

The quotation "lizards on a rail" has not been identified. An account of Governor Braxton Bragg Comer's contribution to the regulation of railroads in Alabama is found in Albert Burton Moore: History of Alabama; University, Ala., University Supply Store. [c. 1934] p. 663-871.

Page 8, lines 19-24: "In 1906, six years after this epochal decision, World's Work, after a survey, found more than 400 foreign corporations, with a capital of 700 million dollars, doing business in Texas, and it said: 'No part of the Union is more prosperous. No other State has so systematically pursued a policy of corporation regulation, and no other State is so free from the domination of special interests.'"

Corrections. "There is no part of the Union more prosperous"
"Special Interests"
"Corporation-regulation"

From "The Texan regulation of corporations" In World's Work (N. Y.) Vol. 11, p. 7255-7256, March, 1906.

Page 9, lines 11-13. "One of your historians has said that 'the greatness of Texas lies not so much in its vast extent of territory and its abundance of natural resources as in the character of its people.'"

Cf. H. H. Bancroft: "Probably there never was a country which entered upon the long and brilliant career of progress that we may look forward to in this instance, under more favorable auspices than this State ..."

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Page 9, lines 11-13. (Cont.)

Here are the seeds of life instead of the elements of disease and death. With her vast area of tillable and grazing lands, a people rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth and refinement; with young and healthy institutions resting on honest republican foundations; with a determination on the part of the people to admit within their borders no species of despotism, no form of tyranny, there is no height of grandeur to which this commonwealth may not reasonably aspire".

Quoted in History of Texas ... Chicago: Lewis publishing company, 1895, page 105.

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannee

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C O N F I D E N T I A LDALLAS, TEXAS, JUNE 12, 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.

I have come here to bear the tribute of the Nation to you on your hundredth birthday: (you are ~~100~~ hundred years' young) (6)

I am here also because I conceive it to be one of the duties and the privileges of the Presidency to visit, from time to time, every part of the United States.

When I was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President Wilson in 1913, I had visited, as I recall, only about twenty states, but during the next few years I had the fortunate opportunity of going into all the others.

Seeing things at first hand is a good habit. I have been fortunate indeed, for as a result of personal contacts with every part of the United States during many years past, I have tried honestly to visualize the problems of every part of the land in their relationships to every other part, and to the unity of the whole.

This great Centennial Exposition is not for Texans alone - it is for the people of all the other forty-seven states as well. I hope that they will take full advantage of it.

During the past three years, with the return of confidence and the great increase in prosperity, the excellent custom of getting acquainted with the United States has asserted itself. We see a great tide of travel by rail, by plane, by ship and by automobile. We are indeed seeing things at first hand - may the habit spread.

Coincident with the return of better days, we have witnessed three great Expositions - the Century of Progress in Chicago, so popular that it was kept open for a second year; the California International Exposition in San Diego which is open today in its second successful year; and the third, ~~is~~ this fine Exposition commemorating the Centenary of the Independence of Texas. May you, have all the good luck you so well deserve!

It is not mere acres that count in this world - it is, rather, the character of the people who dwell upon them. You, the people of Texas, have been tried by fire in these hundred years. You have commenced a War for Independence. You have ~~been~~ apparently defeated; and then you have won out. You have gone through the difficult days of the War Between the States and the trials of Reconstruction. You have had to fight against oppressors from within and without.

Your farmers were ~~among~~ the first to rebel against exploitation by the railroads. In a period of monopoly, combinations, over-capitalization, high rates, poor service and discrimination against the small shipper, you established a landmark in the regulation of public utilities for the good of their users.

Later, when industrial development came to Texas, you were confronted by corporations that got out of hand. Here again you called into play the old Texas spirit of freedom for the individual, and out of it came your anti-trust laws, preceded by only one other state in the Union.

It is, as I recall my history, a fact that during ^{that} period there were many prophets of evil who foretold the ruin of Texas by the enactment of legislation to curb these abuses. Yet it is a matter of record that several years later an authoritative survey ^{(6.)'12} ~~reported this:~~ "No part of the Union is more prosperous, no other state has so systematically pursued a policy of corporation regulation, and no other state is so free from the domination of special interests."

Why did the people of Texas do this more than a generation ago? They believed in democracy in government, but they discovered that democracy in government could not exist unless, at the same time, there was democracy in opportunity.

You found that certain forms of monopoly - the combinations of public utilities and other businesses which sought their own ends - were undemocratic because they were bearing down heavily on their smaller competitors, and on the people they served. Because of this they were taking away opportunity.

Today we have restored democracy in government.

We are in the process of restoring democracy in opportunity.

In our national life, public and private, the very nature of free government demands that there must be a line of defense held by the yeomanry of business and industry and agriculture. Not the generalissimos, but the small men, the average men in business and industry and agriculture, - those who have an ownership in their business and a responsibility which gives them stability. Any elemental policy, economic or political, which tends to eliminate these dependable defenders of democratic institutions, and to concentrate control in the hands of a few small, powerful groups, is directly opposed to the stability of government and to democratic government itself.

If the tendency in the dozen years following the World War had been permitted to continue, the inevitable consequence would have been the destruction of the base of our form of government. For ~~that~~ splendid structure there would have been substituted as a natural result, an autocratic form of government.

I have spoken of the prophets of evil who plagued your great reforms in Texas. They were blood brothers of some who seek to operate on a national scale. After you in Texas had done so much to restore democracy in opportunity, you found as we in other states found, that the evils we had sought to eradicate had merely jumped over the boundary into some other state. The old abuses of the railroads were finally curbed only after teeth were put into the Interstate Commerce laws and a nation-wide regulation was made effective. Banking reforms were tried in many states but here again reform became effective only when the Federal Government was enabled to operate throughout the Union, first by the Federal Reserve Act, and finally by means of the splendid legislation of the past three years. Individual states attempted courageously to regulate the sale of securities ~~in the control of~~ exchanges, but you and I know that from the point of view of the nation as a whole, the effective curbing of abuses was made possible only when the Congress of the United States took a hand by passing the Securities Act and the Stock Exchange Act.

Cal. 127.5

So it goes with the constructive reform of many other abuses which, in the past, have limited or prevented democracy in opportunity. The more progressive of the States may do their share, but unless the action of the States is substantially uniform and simultaneous, the effectiveness of reform is nullified, - crippled by the chisellers, who, like many other evil-doers, are, alas, still with us. (C)

The net result of monopoly, the net result of economic and financial control in the hands of the few, has meant the ownership of labor as a commodity. If labor is to be a commodity in the United States, in the final analysis it means that we shall become a nation of boarding houses, instead of a nation of homes. If our people ever submit to that, they will have said "good-by" to their historic freedom. Men do not fight for boarding houses. They will fight for their homes. 1914-15

I have spoken of the interest which all the country should take in this great Exposition - I mean this as a symbol for the concern which every locality should have in every other locality in every other State. The prosperity which has come to Texas through the products of its farms and ranches, the products of its mines, the products of its oil fields, and the products of its factories, has been made possible chiefly because other parts of the nation were in possession of the buying power, the consuming power, to use what you have produced. On the other side of the picture, thousands of factories and thousands of farms in the North and in the East have been enabled more greatly to sell their wares, because of the prosperity of you, the people of Texas. I have spoken not once but a dozen times of the necessity of inter-dependence of each State on every other State - it is a lesson which cannot be driven home or preached too often.

I have taken great happiness in these past three years in the lessening of sectionalism which is apparent on every hand. More and more we have been thinking nationally. That in itself is good, but it would not have been good if at the same time we had not come to understand more deeply that the nation's good neighbor policy must extend also to those neighbors who lie outside of our national boundaries. You in Texas whose boundaries extend for hundreds of miles along those of our sister Republic of Mexico, can well understand what the good neighbor policy means throughout the Americas. We seek to banish war in this hemisphere; we seek to extend these practices of good will and closer friendship upon which peace itself is based. (C)

salute the Empire of Texas. (C)

(End)

Operator
Avoid words are in we are

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