# Franklin D. Roosevelt - "The Great Communicator" The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945 

Series 2: "You have nothing to fear but fear itself:" FDR and the New Deal

File No. 915

1936 September 10

Charlotte, NC - Informal remarks

## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENI

## AT THE GREEN PASTURES RALLY

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA
September 10, 1936, 6.30 P.M.
(The President arrived at Charlotte a little under an hour late, in the midst of a thunder shower. As the President mounted the stand, the rain subsided. Just before he started to speak, the sun came out and there was a rainbow in the sky. Mr. Robbins, who headed up the Rally, extended a word of welcome and introduced Mayor Ben E. Douglas of Charlotte. Mayor Douglas introduced Governor Ehringhaus, who introduced the President.)

Governor Khringhaus, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Charlotte:

I notice that the rainbow shines in the sky (applause) and it is a fitting climax to two of the most delightful days that I have ever spent in my iffe. (Applause)

I am grateful, Governor Ehringhaus, for your hospitality and may I, through you, thank the people of the 01d North State for the welcome that they have given me.

I am told that this meeting is a Green Pastures Meeting. And the showers that we have passed through today prove that the pastures of North Carolina are green. (Applause)
(Green Pasturesi) What a memory those words call forth. In all our schooling, in every part of the land, no matter to what church we happen to belong, the old twenty-third psalm is in all probability better known to men, women and children than any other poem in the English language.

## Franklin D. HCouovblt Licrary

This in a tranecript nede by the Thite House stenographer from his shor thand notes taken at the thto the spaech was made. Underiining indicates words extemporaneounly aceet to the previonaly prepared readins copy loxt. Vords in parentheses ave wordig that were orditted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previous 1y. prepared reading copy text.

And in this great lyric, what do we best remember? -two 1ines
"He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
He leadeth me beside the still waters. $n$
It does not greatly matter whether that symbol of an 1deal of human physical and spiritual happiness was written in its original three thousand or five thousand or ten thousand years ago. It might have been written as well in the twentieth century of the Christian era.

Have you ever stopped to think that happiness is most often described in terms of the simple ways of nature rather than in the complex ways of man's fabrications? Perhaps it is because peace is necessary to ultimate happiness. Perhaps, therefore, when we seek a symbol of happiness, we do not go to the rush of crowded eity streets or to the hum of machinery to find (the simile) our goal.

The ancient psalmist did not use the parable of the merchants ' camel train or the royal palace or the crowded bazaar of the East. He had, in his day, as we have today, the problems of competing trade (of) and social crowding, and I venture to suggest that long before the Christian era, the ancient civilizations of the East were confronted with problems of social economies which, though small in point of (human) numbers and small in point of worldly goods were still, by comparison, as potent in their effect and as difficult in their solution as the extraordinarily similar problems of
social economies that face us in this (century) country today.

Be it remembered then, that (the) those kings and prophets reverted, just as we do today, to the good earth and the still waters when they idealized security of the body and mind.

A recent writer has suggested that the present President of the United States, because perhaps of (birth) where he was born and where he was trained (training) and perhaps because of his natural proclivity, he inevitably reverts to terms of land and water in his approach to any great (public) problem. I fear that I must plead guilty to (this) that charge -- though I do so with the reservation that this is in spite of the fact that during the greater part of my life I have been in far closer contact with the more exciting and more highly competitive give and take of the profession of the law, the practice of business and the exactions of public service.

Green pastures 1 Millions of our fellow Americans, with whom I have been associating in the past (fortnight) two weeks, out on the Great Plains of America, live with prayers and hopes for the fulfillment of what those words imply. Still waters! Millions of other Americans, with whom I also have been associated of late, (ive) living with prayers and hopes either that the floods may be stilled -- floods that bring with them destruction and disaster to fields and flocks, to homesteads and cities -- or else they look for the Heaven-sent
rains that will fill their wells, their ponds and their peacefful streams.

Many years ago, I talked with a learned man about this continent -- about what (it) North America was like when the white man came. I asked him, ("Were) if the Great Plains, which extend hundreds and hundreds of miles (upon hundreds of miles from the Rockies near to the Mississippi, always bare of trees, always the pasturage of great waves of bison and millions of antelope?") from the Mississiopi to the Rockies were always bare of trees, glways the pasturage of buffalo and antelope.
"Yes," he (replied) said, "For many hundreds of years before the white man came, but it is my belief that trees could have grown and still could grow on those plains, but that they (were) have been prevented from (doing so) growing by the constant succession of prairie fires, (some of then) set either by the lightning (and some of them by) or the red men."

I asked him whether the streams of the Southland were always brown and full of silt before our white ancestors moved in. (He replied,) "No," he sald, "in those earlier days, during the greatex part of the year, the Southern rivers were clear streams, except perhaps for a week or so in the Springtime, when they had (many) moderate freshets, (and) small floods, (just as we do. When that occurred) and when they occur, some soil but very little soil was
washed from the uplands, (and) from the mountains of the South into the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf, but because (they) these were seasonal only in their effect, and small in volume, the natural accretion of new top soil took the place of that which had run off to the sea."

If history gives a name to the day and age (in which) we are living in, I hope it will call this the era of rebuilding -- for it is my firm conviction that unless we, in our generation, start to rebuild, the Americans of a century hence will have lost the greater part of their natural and national heritage. (Applause)

My friends, it is because (in) I have spent these latter years (I have spent) so much (great a part of my life) in this Southland, and because I have come to know its fine people, its brave history, its many problems, that I speak not as a stranger to you who are gathered here from (the) seven states.

I have seen the denuding of your forests; I have seen the washing away of your top soil; (I have struggled through the red clay roads in the Springtime.) I have slid into the ditch from your red clay highways; and I have taken part in your splendid efforts to save your forests, to terrace your lands, to harness your streams and to push hard-surfaced roads into every county in every state. I have even assumed the amazing role of a columnist for a Georgia newspaper in
order that I might write powerful pieces against burning over the farm woodlot(s) and in favor of the cow, hog and hen program. (Applause)

May I add that it is because of practical experience on my own farm that for many years before I was inaugurated President I came to the conclusion that cotton, as it stood then, was essentially a speculative crop and that the planter of cotton, because he had nothing to say about the prica he would receive, could never tell when he put the seed in the ground whether he would make a big profit by selling his crop for twenty-five cents a pound or go broke by selling his crop for five cents a pound. (Applause)

It is perhaps a bit of history hitherto unrecorded that in the month of March, 1933, I said this to Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace: I said, "In respect to cotton," and I talked to him about lots of crops, "I have a definite objective: The cotton farmer has been cursed for a generation by the fact of insecurity. The price for his crop has run up the scale and down the scale and up the scale and down the scale again. In recent years, -- mind you, I was speaking in 1933, -- nin recent years his total aggregate production has been so great that thirteen million bales overhang the market. He will starve on five cent cotton -- the South will starve on five cent cotton - - and just as long as this appalling carryover hangs over the market, he will never get a price
that will even bring him out whole. My objective, Mr. Secretary, is to control and reduce that unwieldy surplus; to get for (him) the cotton planter ten cent cotton (our) the first year we are in office and (to get him) twelve cent cotton or more for the next three years. (Applause) You and I must keep that goal ever before (our eyes) us."

And, my friends, I ask you in simple fairness, have we attained that goal? (Applause)

You know the story of cotton. You know the story of tobacco, too. There again your national government had a goal. I don't believe that the great tobacco growing states of the Nation would wish to go back to the days of "every man for himself and let the Devil take the hindmost." (Applause)

Again, long before I went to Washington, I was convinced that the long road that leads to green pastures and still waters had to begin with (a) reasonable prosperity. It seemed axiomatic to me that a cotton farmer who could get only five cents a pound for his crop could not be in a position properly to fertilize his land, or to terrace it, (or to rotate his crops, or to keep a cow or a few head of cattle, ) or to plant a little orchard, or to cultivate a garden -- in other words, to work out for himself and his family a well-rounded, reasonably secure life that would tide him and them over a lean year of drought.

The same thing held true, I thought, in the case of the farmer whose principal crop was tobacco or whose principal
crop was peaches or whose principal crop was corn or wheat or cattle or hogs.

In other words, we could not go ahead to the next step (in the) of prevention of soil erosion throughout the South and indeed throughout the Nation, we could not go ahead to the transfer of thin pastures into forests and the transfer of submarginal plowed land into pastures and trees, (and) we could not go ahead to the use of many modern methods to stop soil erosion and to prevent floods until and unless the farmers of the Southland were able to make a reasonably decent living out of their (main crops) farms.

And what is the answer? Today, because of better prices for farm commodities, we are actually and actively engaged in taking these second steps. Not only have we aroused a public understanding, (and) a public approval of the need of ending soll erosion and water run-off, but we have enabled the public, through a practical prosperity, to begin to pay their debts, to paint their (houses) homes, to buy farm tools and automobiles, to send (mere) more boys and girls through school and college, to put some money in the bank and, incidentally, to know for the first time that the money in the bank is safe. (Applause)

So much for the green pastures and the still waters in their more literal physical terms. Those ancient words apply, however, with equal force to men and women and chlldren. Your 11fe and mine, though we work in the mill or in the
office or in the store, can still be a life in green pastures and beside still waters.

No man, (or) no woman, no family, can hope in any part of the country, to attain security in a city on starvation wages any more than they can hope on a farm to attain security on starvation crop prices. I do not have to tell you, who live in any of these southern states, which have factories in all of them, that a family that tries to subsist on a total wage income of three or four hundred dollars a year is just as much a drag on the prosperity of America as the farm family that seeks to subsist on a yearly cash income of a hundred (dollars) or two hundred dollars a year.

That is why (most) a good many thinking people in and out of finance and business and every other walk of life, believe that the National Recovery Act, during its short term of life, accomplished as much for the restoration of prosperity through the establishment of the minimum wage, the shortening of hours and the elimination of child labor, as any law put on the statute books of the Federal Government in the past century and a half. (Applause)

In the Summer of 1934, the head of one of the great mail order houses said to me, "Do you remember my telling you (in 1933) a year ago that the purchasing power of the South (has) had dropped to almost zero? Look at this report of our sales in all the southern states. All of our sales have increased, but those in the South have come back faster than
any, and the reason is that the South at last has (secured) begun to acquire purchasing power." (Applause)

And finally, (you and I have come) in this fourth year of definite upturn, you and I have come to appreciate another significant and inevitable result. (We) you and I live under three kinds of government -- and to all three we, as citizens, pay taxes. Our local estate taxes, mainly on real estate, go to the support of local and state functions of government such as schools and highways, city and county administrations, water supply, sewer systems, street lighting, peace officers and state institutions. And our Federal taxes, none of which by the way are on real estate, come in the form of tobacco and similar excises, and income, inheritance, (and) corporation taxes and are spent in the running of the Federal Government for national defense, for pensions, for forests, for parks, for highways, for public works of all kinds and for relief (for) of the unemployed.

Four years ago all of us, in every part of the United States, found that without any change in the local or state tax schedules, the tax receipts had fallen off to an alarming degree. The result was that counties (and municipalities) and states were failing to balance their budgets or else vere unable to carry out the ordinary and orderly functions and obligations of state and local government. Schools were being closed or curtalled; teachers were unpaid; roads lacked repairs; the borrowing of money for permanent improvements had
were compelled to pay unconscionable and ruinous interest (charges) rates.

History will also record that by the year 1936 a very much larger number of individuals are back in the black, so are most of our small business men, so are most of our corporations and so are almost all of our municipal and county and state governments. (Applause)

History will also record that individuals and corporations and governments are paying today a far more reasonable rate of interest than at any previous time in the history of the American Republic.

In the process of attaining these successful ends, my friends, individual liberties have not been removed, and I believe that the Governor of North Carolina and almost every other Governor in every one of these 48 States will agree also that the inherent rights of the sovereign states have not been invaded. It was obvious, of course, because of the economic unity of the entire (country) Nation in these modern days that no group of individuals and no individual states acting all alone could, by themselves, take the action necessary to restore the purchasing power of the (Nation) United States as a whole. Only the Federal Government could (accomplish that) ask and receive the cooperation of all the States in heading up a nation-vide plan.

And so I speak to you today as common-sense American men and women. You will agree that from the material aspect,
based on the sound concept of restoring purchasing power and prosperity to the great mass of our citizens, this Nation's consuming power has been and is being rapidly restored. I trust, therefore, that you will (11kewise) agree to the other proposition that better conditions on the farms, better conditions in the factories, (and) better conditions in the homes of America are leading us to (the) that beautiful spiritual figure of the old psalmist -green pastures and still waters. (Prolonged applause)

What a memory those words call forth. In all our schooling, in every part of the land, no matte ry to what church we happen to belong, the twenty-third psalm is in all probability better known to men, women and children than any other poem in the English language.

And in this great lyric, what do we best remember? -two lines
"He maketh me to lie dow in green pastures; He leadeth me beside the still waters."

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Have you ever stopped to think that happiness is most often described in terms of the simple ways of nature rather than in the complex ways of man's fabrications?

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The ancient psalmist did not use the parable of the merchants " camel train or the royal palace or the crowded bazaar. He had, as we have, the problems of competing trade, of social crowding; and I venture to suggest that long before the Christian era, the ancient civilizations of the Bast were confronted with problems of social economics which, though small in point of human numbers and small in point of worldly goods, were still, by comparison, as potent in their effect and as difricult in their solution as the extraordinarily similar problems of social economics that face us in this century.

Be it remembered then, that the ancient kings and prophets reverted, just as we do today, to the good earth and the still waters when they idealized security of the body and mind.

A recent writer has suggested that the present President of the United States, because of birth and training and natural proclivity inevitably reverts to terms of land and water in his approach to any great public problem. I fear that I must plead guilty to this charge - though I do so with the reservation that this is in spite of the fact that during the greater part of my life I have been in far closer contact with the more exciting and more highly competitive give and take of the profession of the law, the practice of business and the exactions of public service.

Green pastures! Millions of our fellow Americans, with whom I have been associating in the past fortnight, out on the Great Plains of America, live with prayers and hopes for the fulfillment of what those words imply. Still watersl Millions of other Americans, with whom I also have associated, live with prayers and hopes either that the floods may be stilled -.. floods that bring with them destruction and disaster to fields and flocks, to homesteads and cities -or else look for the Heaven sent rains that will fill their wells, their ponds and their peaceful streams.

Many years ago, I tayked with a learned man about this continent -- what it was like when the white man came. I asked him, "Were the areat Plains, which extend hundreds of miles upon hundreds of miles from the Rockies near to the Mississipp1, always bare of trees, always the pasturage of great waves of bison and millions of antelope?"
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If history gives a name to the age in which we are living, I hope it will call this the era of rebullding -- for it is my firm conviction that unless we, in our generation, start to rebuild, the Americans of a century hence will have lost the greater part of their natural and national heritage.

It is because in these latter years I have spent so great a part of my life in this Southland, and because I have come to know its fine people, its brave history, its many problems, that I speak not as a stranger to you who are gathered here from the seven states.

I have seen the denuding of your forests; I have seen the washing away of your topsoil; I have struggled through the red clay roads in the Springtime. I have taken part in your splendid efforts to save your forests, to terrace your lands, to harness your streams and to push hard-surfaced roads into every county in every state.

I have even assumed the amazing role of a columnist for a Georgia newspaper that I might write powerful pieces against burning over the farm woodlots and in favor of the cow, hog and hen program.

May I add that it is because of practical experience on my own farm that many years before I was inaugurated President I came to the conclusion that cotton, as it stood then, was essentially a speculative orop and that the planter of cotton, because he had nothing to say about the price he would receive, could never tell when he put the seed in the ground whether he would make a big profit by selling his crop for twenty-five cents a pound or go broke by selling his crop for five cents a pound.

It is perhaps a bit of history hitherto unrecorded that in the month of March, 1933 , I said this to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace: "In respect to cotton, I have a definite
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And, my friends, I ask you in simple fairness, have we sttained that goal?

You know the story of cotton. You know the story of tobacco, too. There again your national government had a goal. I don't belleve that the great tobacco growing states of the Nation would wish to go back to the days of "every man for himself and let the Devil take the hindmost." Again, long before I went to Washington, I was convinced that the long road that leads to green pastures and still waters had to begin with a reasonable prosperity. It seemed axiomatic to me that a cotton farmer who could get only five cents a pound for his crop could not be in a position properly to fertilize his land, or to terrace it, or to rotate his crops, or to keep a cow or a few head of cattle, or to plant a little orchard, or to cultivate a garden - in other words, to work out for himself and his family a well-rounded, reasonably secure life that would tide him over a lean year of drought.

The same thing held true, I thought, in the case of the farmer whose principal crop was tobacco or whose principal crop was peaches or whose principal crop was corn. In other words, we could not go ahead to the next step of the prevention of soil erosion throughout the South, to the transfer of thin pastures into forests and of submarginal plowed land into pastures and trees, and the use of many modern methods to stop soil erosion and to prevent floods until and unless the farmers of the Southland were able to make a reasonably decent living out of their main crops. Today, because of better prices for farm commodities, we are actually and actively engaged in taking these second steps. Not only have we aroused a public understanding and apyroval of the need of ending soil erosion and water runoff, but we have enabled the public, through a practical prosperity, to begin to pay their debts, to paint their houses, to buy farm tools and automobiles, to send mere boys and girls through school and college, to put some money in the
bank and, incidentally, to know for the first time that the money in the bank is safe.

So much for the green pastures and the still waters in their more literal physical terms. Those ancient words apply, however, with equal force to men and women and children. Your life and mine, though we work in the mill or in the office or in the store, can still be a life in green pastures and beside still waters.

No man or woman, no family, can hope in any part of the country, to attain security in a city on starvation wages any more than they can hope on a farm to attain security on starvation crop prices. I do not have to tell you, who live in any of these southern states, which have factories in all of them, that a family that tries to subsist on a total wage income of four hundred dollars a year is just as much a drag on the prosperity of America as the farm family that seeks to subsist on a yearly cash income of a hundred dollars.

That is why most thinking people believe that the National Recovery Act, during its short term of life, accomplished as much for the restoration of prosperity through the establisiment of the winlnum wage, the shortening of hours and the elimination of child labor, as any law put on the statute books of the Federal Gove nment in the past century. In the Summer of 1934, the head of one of the great mail order houses said to me, "Do you remember my telling you, in 1933, that the purchasing power of the South has dropped to almost zero? Look at this report of our sales in all the southern states. All of our sales have increased, but those in the south have come back faster than any, and the reason is that the South at last has secured purchasing power."

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Schools were being closed or curtailed; teachers were unpaid; roads lacked repairs; the borrowing of money for permanent improvements had become impossible. With the Federal Government, despite additional new forms of taxes, receipts of revenue in 1932 had been cut in half.

The value of those tangible private assets on which taxes were levied had fallen so low that even if the income had been there to pay taxes with, the sums received would have put all forms of government increasingly in the red. And even when some remnant of value remained on which to levy a tax, the taxpayer did not have the wherewithal to make the payment and was beginning to lose the very property which was taxed.

That is why I go back to the original thesis that any commonsense, logical governmental policy had to begin with the building up of farm and other property values, and crop values and the increase of workers' wages if that now historic corner was ever to be turned.

History records that only a few years ago farmers were not making both ends meet; workers in factories were not making both ends meet; the small business man was not making both ends meet and the corporation was not making both ends meet. As a logical result, local governments were not making both ends meet and neither were state governments and neither was the National Government. Incidentally, as another result, the individual who had to borrow, the corporation which had to borrow and the government which had to borrow -- all were compelled to pay unconscionable and ruinous interest charges.

History will also record that by the year 1936 a very much larger number of individuals are back in the black, so are most of our small business men, so are most of our corporations and so are almost all of our municipal and county and state governments.

History will also record that individuals and corporations and governments are paying today a far more reasonable rate of interest than at any previous time in the history of the American Rupublic.

In the process of attaining these successful ends, individual liberties have not been removed, and inherent rights of the sovereign states have not been invaded. It was obvious, of course, because of the economic unity of the entire country that no group of individuals and no individual states could, by themselves, take the action necessary to restore the purchasing power of the Nation. Only the Federal Government could accomplish that.

I speak to you today as commonsense American men and women. You will agree that from the material aspect, this Nation's consuming power has been rapidly restored. I trust that you will likewise agree that better conditions on the farms, in the factories and in the homes of America are leading us to the spiritual figure of the psalmist -- green pastures and still waters.

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Again, long before I went to Washington, I was convinced thet the long road that leads to green pestures and atill waters had to begin with a reasonable prosperity. It seemed axiomatic to me that a cotton farmer who coula get only five cents a pound for his crop could not be in a position to properly fortilise his land, or to terrace it, or to rotate his crops, or to keep a cow or a few head of cattle, or to plant a little orchard, or to cultivate a garden ... in other words, to work out for himself and his family a well-rounded, 2rculf reamonably arnin 11 e that would tide him over a lean year of drought. The same thing held true, I thought, in the case of the farmer whose principal orop was tobacco or whose
principal crop was peaches or whose principal crop was corn. In other words, wo could not go ahead to the next step of the prevention of sold erosion throughout the south, to the transfer of thin pastures into forests and of submarginal plowed land into pastures and trees, and the use of many modern methods to stop soil erosion and to prevent floods until and unless the farmers of the Southand were able to make a reasonably decent living. out of their main crops.

Today, because of better piles for farm commodities, we are actually and actively engaged in taking those second how are stops. Me have Mot only aroused a public understanding and approval of the need of ending soil erosion and water munoff, but we have enabled the public, through a practical begin A Any Liritrbto A far
 Their Livasso, $A$ buy fam tows and antimuleilen, silpeaty beginning tacit senikzte.


So much for the green pastures and the still waters the reponiand in their more literal physical terms.

Those ancient words apply, however, with equal force to men and women and children. Your life and mine, though wo wreck the mill or in the office or in the store, can still be a 11 fe -ur green pastures and beside/ still waters. No man or woman, no family, can hope in any part of the country, to attain security in a city on starvation wages any more than they can hope on a farm to attain security on starvation crop prices. I do not have to tell you, who Live in any of these southern states, which have factories in all of them, that a family that tries to subsist on a way 2
total income of four hundred dollars a year is just as much a drag on the prosperity of America as the farm family that seeks to subsist on a yearly cash income of a hundred dollars.

Schools were being closed or curtailed; teachers were unpaid; roads lacked repaira; the borrowing of money for permanent Improvements had become impossible. With the Federal

Wovernment, despite additional new forms of taxes, receipts in 1432 of revenue had been cut in half:

The value of those tangible thlega on which taxes were levied had fralen so low that even if the income had been there to pay taxes with, the eums received would have put all forms of government incressingly in the red. And even when some remnant of value remained on which to levy a tax, the taxpayer did not have the wherewithallto make the payment and was beginning to lose the very property which was taxed.

That is why I go back to the original thesis that any commonsonse, logical govermmental policy had to begin with tho building up of, values and the compeation (acosevtem-9) num hitmid ․ of workers' wages if that priptemeld corner was ever to be turned.

History records that only a few years ago farmers were not making both ends meet; workers in factories were not making both ends meet; the small business man was not making both ends meet and the corporation was not making both ends mect. As a logical result, local governments were not making both ends meet and neither were state governwents and neither was the National Government. Incidentally, as "Fssult of those-comdtetens, the individual who had to borrow, the corporation which hud to borrow and the government which had to borrow -- all were compelled to pay unconscionable and ruinous interest charges.

History will also racord bhat by the year 1936 a very much larger number of individuals were back in the black, so wese most of our snall business men, so weme most of our corporations and so hithe almost all of our municipal and county and state governuents.

History will also record that individuals and corporations and governinents are paying today a far more reasonable rate of interest than at any previous time in the history of the American Republic.

In the process of attaining these successful ends, neftier individual ilberties have been removed, mad not inherent rights of the sovereign states have been invaced. It was obvious, of course, becsuse of the economic unity of the entire country that no group of individuals and no individual states could, by themselves, take the action nacessary to restore the purchasing power of the Nation. Only the Federal Governuent could accomplish that. It is true that in the planned process of restoring the eredit and purcinsing powes of individuals, corporations and locsl and state govermsents, the Federal Government has been calied on to make large putlays.

The net out-of-pocket cost of these outlays in three yeaps and a half have anounted to luss than elght billions of dollars. This sum represents about one-third of the increaselin amsual national income and it represents an infinitely smalier proportion of the total adaition to our national wealth duriag the same pcriod of three and a half years.

It is a simple fadt that the Federal Governuent looks forward in the $n$ future to the day when a still further increase in national prospority will bring in, without further tax levies, endugh sdditional money on new income to balance the Foderal budget and pegin once more to reduce the public debt.

I speak to you today as average commonsense American men and women and I am going to ask you to fake home with you and ponder over a simple problem in mathematics:

If you could borrow one thousand dollars to increase your Income by throe thousand dollyrs a year, would you turn 1t dorm or accept it?

It is because you and $I$, as average comonsense
Americans know the ansmor to that question that we will be mindful also that jetter conditiong? on the farms, in the factories and in the homes of marios will lead us more quickly to green pastures and still waters.

BOUTHERNRAILWAY SYSTEX<br>Passenger Traific Department<br>Washington, D. C.

September 8, 2.935 sl

HMALDRADDUA OF OPERATING SCHEDULE, WASHINGTCN, D. C. TO KAOONTTY:


Ev. Mashington
Ar. Teyburn
Lv. Veyburn

Ar. Monroe
Lv. Honroe
A.s. Roanoke

Iv, Foanoke
AT. Bristol
Lv. Bristol

Ar. Bulls Gap
Lv. Bulls Gap

Ar. Knsxville
Lv. Knoxville

Ar. Asheville
Lv, Asheville
Ar. Saluda
Lv. Saluda

Ar. Melrose
Lv. Melrose

Ar. Hayne
Lv. Hayne

Ar. Charlotte

Sou. Ry. $\frac{\text { Reptember }}{8}: \frac{8}{00}$ FII Eastern Time
E 10:20 PM - Water cars in yard 15nt.ta
$110: 25 \mathrm{PM}$
September $\frac{9}{25}, 1936$
n $12 . \frac{2}{25} \frac{19}{\mathrm{AK}}$ - Change engines and or:25.b
How Fy. 12:30 AK in station
n 2:00 All - Change engines and orems.
n 2:10 AIS
" 6:15 AM East T. - Change enguspe
Sou.Ry, 5:25 Aif Cent T. and crews anc water cars.
n 7:30 AM - Water
" 7:35 Als
" 9:00 Alf Cent T.
n 9:30 AM Cent T.

* 1:00 PM Cent T.

September $\frac{30}{12}: \frac{2936}{100}$ East $T$.

- 1:00 PM - Inspect train
$0 \quad$ 1:05 PM
" 1:15 PLI - Water
n 1:18 Pia
n $\quad 2: 15 \mathrm{PIA}$ - Change engines and crews
* 2:20 PM
n $4: 30 \mathrm{PM}$
(See page 2)


## MEIORANDUM OF OPERATING SOHEDULE

| IV, | Charlotte |
| :---: | :---: |
| A以. | Sa.1isbury |
| Lv. | Sulisbury |
| Ar. | High Point |
| LV. | High Point |
| Ar. | Greensboro |
| LV. | Greensboro |
| Ar. | Pelham |
| Lv. | Pelhais |
| An. | Honroe |
| LV. | Monros |
| Ar. | Weybum |
| Lv, | Weybum |
| $A=$. | Fashington |

September 10,1936
Sou.Ry. 7:00 PM East I.

1) 8:00 PM - Change ongines and $\quad:>80$" 8:05 Fia
" B:55 PM
8:57 RH
$119: 25$ R14
9:30 P1
10:30 PH
September 11,1936
" 12:15 AM
3:15 AJX - Change engines and sievs3:20 Alf
5:40 AM - Water engine5:45 AII
8:30 AU Eastern Time.



Nos. 21 und 22 - "Conolinas Specin ${ }^{3 \prime}$ - Thrusk train betwrea Coblibons

 Dinteg Car Serrieg. Coschet
Now 111 nen! $112 \frac{-10}{2}$ Sectivin Obrervntion Sleeping Cur Ralcigh-Ashevilis, ©Nos. $\mathrm{J} \mid-15$ and $15-32$ West of Cremstore).
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# STATEMENTS FILE <br> Shorthanuju.unnee <br> HOLD FOR RELEASE <br> HOLD FOR RELBASB <br> HOLD FCR RELPASE <br> <br> ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT <br> <br> ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT <br> CHARLOTTE, I. C., <br> SEPTMBRR 10, 1936. 

CAOTION:
PLEASE SAFBGUARD AGATMST PREMATURE RBLRASB. Do be released upon dulivery, expected about $5.300^{\circ} \mathrm{clock}$ Eastern Standand The, Thw oday, September 10 th, 1936.
M. H. MCDityRB

Asaistant Socratary to the Presidont.

Grean pastureat What a meinery those vords call forth. In all our schooling, in overy pert of the land, mo matter to what church we happen to beleng, thertwenty-third psalm is in ell probebility bettor known to mon, women and children than any other poem in the Bnglish language.

And in this groat lyric, what do wo bost remember? --
two
And
"He maiceth mo to 116 down in green pastures; He loadeth me beside the still waters."

It doos not greatly matter whethor that symbol of an ideel of human physical and spiritual happiness Wes writton in its originel three thousand or five thoueard or ten thousamd years ago. It might have beon written as well in the twentieth century of the Christian era.

Heve you ever stopped to think that happiness is most often desoribed in terms of the simple ways of mature rather than in the complex ways of man's fabrications? Perhaps it ibbecause peace is necessory to ultimato happinesa. Perhaps, therefore, when wo seek a symbol of happinese, we do not 80 to the ruah of crowded city streets on to the hum of mschinery to find the siontle.

$$
\longrightarrow
$$

The ancient psalmist did not use the parable of the merchanta camel train or the royal palace or tho crowded bazaar: Ho had, as we have, the problems of competing trade, of social crowding, and I vonture to suggest that long before the christian era, the oncient civilizationg of the kast were confronted with probiema of social oconomics which, though suall in point of humas nuenbers
 as potent in their offect and as difficult in their solution as the extruordinurily similar problems of social economics that face us in this embury.

Be it remambered then, thot thecanciant kinge and prophota reverted, just as wo do today, to the good earth and the still waters whon they 1dealizod security of the body and mind.

A recont writer has suggested/that the ptesent president of tho Unitod States, because of binth end frainsag and natural proclivity, inovitabiy roverts to teran of 1 and and wator in his approach to any great pubitc problem. I fear that I must plead guilty to thiti charge -- though I do so with the reservation that this is in spito of the fact that during the greates part of my life I have buon in farcloser contact with the more exciting and more highly competitive give and take of the profeasion of the law, the practice of buainess and the aractions of publio eorvice.

Green pastures M11lions of our follow Amoricans, with whom I have been associating in the pest fortnight, out on the Great Plains of Amorica, (live with prayors and hopes for the fulfillment of what those words imply. Still watersi Millions of other Americans, with whom I slso hevejassociated, livep with prayers and hopes ol ther that the floods may be stilied -- Noods that bring with them destruction and disester to fields and flocks, to homesteads and cities .- or elsellook for the Heavon sont Trine that will P111 their velis, their ponda and their peaceful streans.

Many years ago, I talked with a learned mon about this continent --kwhat 14 was 11 ko whey tho white man qame. I asked him, -hloke the Great Plains, whtek extend hundreds of miles apon hundroder of-halies from tifo Rooklos near to the Misasiesippl, always bare of trees, always the pasturage of ereat ve*vee-of bfson ant-milliong-of antelope?"
"Yes," he replied, "For many hunareds of gears before the whtte man oesc, but it ia by belief that treos could have grown and still could grow on those plains, but that they wereuprevented from desing so by the constant succession of prairle fires, sombof them set. (by the lightning amd sume of them by) the red men." FI asked h1m whather tha atreans of the Southland were alwaya brown, bofore our white ancestors moved in. Ho replied, "No, in those earlier dayo, during the greater part of the year, the Southorn rivers vere clear stresms, except in the Springtime, when they had meny froshets ang floods, Just as-Wh bo When that occurred, nsoil, was washed from the uplands galdite inountains into the Atlantic poean, but bocause thogwere seasonal only in thoir offect, the natural agoretion of ndw topaoil took the place of


H history gives a name to tidd age in whieh we are living, I hope 14 (will call thsin the era of rebuilding -- for it is my ilm conviotion that unless we, in our ceneration, start to rebuild, the Americans of a century hence will havo lost the greater part of their natural and national heritage. .

Us
It is bocause in these lattor yoars I hevo spent so graet a part of Infe in this South1and, ond because I have come to know its fine people, its brave history, its many problems, that I speak not as a stranger to you who are gethered here from the seven states.
$\therefore(1251$
I have seen the denuding of your foreata; I have seen the washing away of your topsoilf I have struggled throuph the red clay roade in- the springtime. I have taken part in your splendid efforts to save your foresta, to terrace your lands, to harness youn streams and to push hard-surfaced roada into every county in ovory state. I havogovonjasaumed the amazing role of a columnist for a Georgia newspoper that I might wite powerful pieces against burning ovar the farin woogloty and in favor of the oov, hog and hon, program. L

YHay I add that it is because of practical oxperience on my own farm that many years before I was inaugurated President I oame to the concluaion that cotton, as it stood then, was essentially a speculative orop and that the planter of cotton, because ho had nothing to ady about the price he would recoive, could never tell whon ho put the seed in tho ground whether he would make a big profit by aelling his crop for twenty-five cents a pound or go broke by selling hia orop for five cente a pound. b

It is perhaps a bit of history hitherto unrecorded that in the month of March, 1933, I said this to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace: "In respect to cotton, I have a definite objective: The cotton farmer has boon cursed for a generation by the fact of insecurity. The price for his crop has run up the scale and down the scale and up the scale and down tho scale again. In recent years, his total aggregate production has been so great that thirteen million bales overhang the market. He w111 starve on five cent cotton -- the South will starve on five cent cotton -- and just as long as this appalling carryover hangs over the market, he will never get a price that will even bring him out whole. My objective, is to control and reduce that surplus; to get for his ten cent bottom our, first year/ in office and to got him twelve cent cotton or more for tho next three years. you and I (must keep that goal ever before) our eyes." ().

And, my friends, I ask you in simple fairness, hove we attained that goal? ( )

You know the story of cotton. You know the story of tobacco, too. There again your national government had a goal. I don't believe that the great tobacco growing states of the Nation would wish to go back to the days of "every man for himself and lot the Devil take the hindmost. "

Again, long before I went to Washington, I was convinced. that the long road that leads to green pastures and still waters had to begin with ereasoneble prosperity. It seamed axiomatic to me that a cotton femur who could get only rIve cents a pound for his crop could not be in a poaition properly to fertilize his land, or to terrace it, or to notete has crops, or to keep e cow or a fow-head of pottle, or to plant a little orchard, or to cultivate a garden -- In other words, to work out for himself and his family a well-rounded, reasonably secure life that would tide himpover a lean yea r of drought.

The, same thing held true, I thought, in the ouse of the farmoor whose principal crop was tobacco or whose principal crop was peaches or whose principal crop was corn. ) i $L$,

In other words, we could not go ahead to the next step in the prevention of soil erosion throughout the South, to the transfor of thin pastures into forests and of submarginal plowed land into pastures and trees, end the use of many modern methods to atop soil erosion and to prevent floods until and unless the farmers of the Southland were able to make a reasonably decent living out of theirmein orepel if $\sim \ldots$

Today, beaus of better prices for farm cormodaitios, we are actually and actively engaged in taking these apcond steps. Hot only have we aroused a public understanding and approval of the need of ending soil erosion and water run-off, but we have enabled the public, through a practical prosperity, to bogin to pay their debts, to paint their hours to buy farm tools and automobiles, to send moro boys and girls through school and college, to put some money in the bonk and, incidentally, to know for the first time that the money in the bonk in aafo.?

So much for the green pastures and the still waters in their more liters physical terms. Those ancient words apply, however, with equal force to mon and women and children. Your life and mine, though we works in the mill or in the office or in the store, cen still be a life in green pastures and beside still waters.

Wo man or woman, no family, can hope in any part of the country, to attain security in a oily on starvation wagedfany more than they can hope on a farm to attain security on starvation crop prices. 9 I do not have to tell you, who live in any of these southern states, which have factories in all of them, that a family that trios to subsist on a total wage income of four
hundred doliars a year 1 s just as much a drag on the prosperity of Americes as the farm family that seoks to subsist on a yearly cash income of a hundred dollars. Wl
Thet is why woat. Whinkiag people believe that the Mational Reoovery Aot, during 1 ts short term of 11 fe , accomplished as much for the rostoration or prosperity through the establishasont of the minimum wage, the shortening of hours and the elimination of child labor, as ony lav put on the statute books of the Federal Government in the pest century. (L

In the Summer of 1934, the head of one of the great mall ordex houses seid to me, "Do you romember ny tolling you, in 1933, $\div$ that the purchasing power or the South hed dropped to almost zerp? Look at this report of our sales in ali the southern stetes. Ll1 of our scies have increased, but those in the South heve come back fester than any, and the reason is that the South et lest hes socurod purohasing power." (C)

Finally, you and I havo come in this fourth year or definite upturnsto apprectate anothor algnificant and inevitable result. Tha live under three kinds of governmont -- ond to all three wo as oftizens, pay texes. Our loosi estate taxes, mainly on resi ostate, go to the support of 10001 end 1 state functions of government such es achools city end county adminiatrations, Water supply, sewor systens, street lighting, pesce officers and stete institutions. Our Federal taxes, none or whiehlare on reel estato, come in the form or tobacco and siniler oxcises, and income, inheritence ant corporation taxes and are spent in the running of the Fedorel Governnont for nationel defenee, (pensions, forests, parks, hichways, (public morks and (relier foz the unomployed.

Four years ago ell of us, in every part of the United States, found thet $n$ ithout any change in the locel or state tex schedules, the tax roceipts had follen off to an elerming degree. The result wes thet counties (and munieipelitios) and states were failing to belance their budgets or olse wore unable to carry out the ordinary and ordorly functions and obligetions of state and locel government. Schools wore being olosed orkourtailed; teachers mere unpe1d; roads lecked repairs; the forrowing of money for permonent improvemonts had become impossible. Iith the Fedorel Government, dospite additional new forms of texes, receipts or revonue in 1932 hod boon out in helf.

Tho velue of those tengiblof privato assets on whioh texes Weroblewiod hed fallon 30 low thet oven if the incomo had been thoro to pay toxos zith, the sums recoived would have put oll forms of govornmont ineronsingly in the rod. And ovon whon somo romnant of voluo romeinod on which to levy a tex, the texpoyor did not hevo tho whorowithei to meko the peyment and wes beginning to loso tho vory proporty whioh fres texed.

Thet is why I go beck to tho originel thesis that any cormonsonso, logicol govornmentel polioy hed to begin 81 th the buildine up of ferm and othor proporty valuos, arat orop veluos, ond tho inorcose of Workors negos if thet not histor 10 comber wrs over to bo turnod. (l)

Hiatory rocords thet only E . fow yocrs ego farmors woro not nekine both onds moot; workora in factorios woro not moking both onds moot; tho smell businoss ren wes not making both onds moot and tho oorporetion wes not meking both onds moot. is a logicel rosult, locel govormonts wore not making both onds moot and noithor wosc stato govornmonts end noithor wes tho Netionel Governmont.
-5-
Incidentally, as another results the individual who had to borrow, the corporation whehshad to borrow and the Government Which thad to borrow -- all-7iore compelled to pay unconscionable and ruinous intorestigherser ?

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wi y Nation Only the Jodorri Government could Fegenplish that. ' ic commonsense himorión mon and nomen
c) I speak to you todeypip commonsense Linorioen mon and women. You will gre that from the material aspect, phis Nation's consurins porer has beenrepialy restored. I trust) that you rill InesWee agree that better conditions on the farms $/ / 1 \mathrm{in}$ the factoriop and in the homes oi America are loadings us to thetspiritual figure of the rpssimiet $-=-$ green pastures and still waters. ( $)$

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