According to Library records, President Roosevelt gave the reading copy of the speech he delivered on October 28, 1936 at the Rededication of the Statue of Liberty to Margaret Suckley.
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE OCCASION OF THE CEREMONIES MARKING THE
FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATUE OF LIBERTY
BEDLOE’S ISLAND, NEW YORK

October 28, 1936, 2.30 P.M.

Mr. Ambassador, Monsieur de Tessan, Secretary Ickes,
Governor Lehman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen:

Fifty years ago our old neighbor and friend from
across the sea gave us this monument to stand at the principal
eastern gateway to the New World. Grover Cleveland, President
of the United States, accepted this gift with the pledge that
“We will not forget that liberty has (here) made her home
here; nor shall her chosen altar be neglected.”

During those fifty years that covenant between our-
selves and our most cherished convictions has not been broken.

Four hundred years ago, in Europe as well as in
Asia, there was little hope of liberty for the average men of
courage and good-will. The ambitions of a ruling class and
the times alike, conspired against liberty of conscience,
liberty of speech, liberty of the person, liberty of economic
opportunity. Wars, dynastic and religious, had exhausted
both the substance and the tolerance of the Old World. There
was neither economic nor political liberty -- nor any hope
for either.

Then came one of the great ironies of history. Rulers
needed to find gold to pay their armies and increase their
power over the common men. The seamen they sent to find that
This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
gold found instead the way of escape for the common man from those rulers. What they found over the Western horizon was not the silk and jewels of Cathay but mankind's second chance -- a chance to create a new world after he had almost spoiled an old one. (Applause)

And the Almighty seems purposefully to have withheld that second chance until the time when men would most need and appreciate liberty, the time when men would be enlightened enough to establish it on foundations sound enough to maintain it.

For over three centuries a steady stream of men, women and children followed the beacon of liberty which this light symbolizes. They brought to us strength and moral fibre developed in a civilization centuries old but fired anew by the dream of a better life in America. They brought to one new country the cultures of a hundred old ones.

I think it has not been sufficiently emphasized in the teaching of our history that the overwhelming majority of those who came from the nations of the Old World to our American shores were not the laggards, (not) nor the timorous, (not) nor the failures. They were men and women who had the supreme courage to strike out for themselves, to abandon language and relatives -- to start at the bottom without influence, without money and without knowledge of life in a very young civilization. We can say for all America what
the Californians say of the Forty-Niners "The cowards never started and the weak died by the way."

Perhaps Providence did prepare this American continent of ours to be a place of the second chance. Certainly, millions of men and women have made it that. They adopted this homeland because in this land they found a home in which the things they most desired could be theirs -- freedom of opportunity, freedom of thought, freedom to worship God. Here they found life because here (there) was freedom to live.

It is the memory of all these eager seeking millions that makes this one of America's great places of (great) romance. Looking down this great harbor I like to think of the countless number of inbound vessels that have made this port. I like to think of the men and women who -- with the break of dawn off Sandy Hook -- have strained their eyes to the west for a first glimpse of the New World.

They came to us -- most of them -- in steerage. But they, in their humble quarters, saw things in these strange horizons which were denied to the eyes of those (few) who travelled in greater luxury.

They came to us speaking many tongues -- but a single language, the universal language of human aspiration.

How well their hopes were justified is proved by the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the New World, but by their effort and devotion they made the New World's freedom safer, richer, more far-reaching, more
capable of growth.

Within this present generation that stream from abroad has largely stopped. We have within our shores today the materials out of which we shall continue to build an even better home for liberty.

We take satisfaction in the thought that those who have left their native land to join us, may still retain here their affection for some things left behind -- old customs, old language, old friends. Looking to the future, they wisely choose that their children shall live in the new language and in the new customs of (this) our new people. And those children more and more realize their common destiny in America. That is true whether their forebears came past this place eight generations ago or only one.

The realization that we are all bound together by hope of a common future rather than by reverence for a common past has helped us to build upon this continent a unity unapproached in any similar area or similar sized population in the whole world. For all our millions of square miles, for all our millions of people, there is a unity in language and speech, in law and (in) economics, in education and in general purpose, which nowhere finds its match.

It was the hope of those who gave us this Statue and the hope of the American people in receiving it that the Goddess of Liberty and the Goddess of Peace were the same.
The grandfather of my old friend the French Ambassador, and those who helped him make this gift possible, were citizens of a great sister Republic established on the principle of the democratic form of government. Citizens of all democracies unite in their desire for peace. (Applause) Grover Cleveland recognized (this) that unity (on this spot fifty years ago) of purpose on this very spot.

He suggested that liberty enlightening the world would extend her rays from these shores to every other nation.

Today (the) that symbolism should be broadened. To the message of liberty which America sends to all the world must be added her message of peace.

Even in times as troubled and uncertain as these, I still hold to the faith that a better civilization than any we have known is in store for America and by our example, perhaps, for the world. Here destiny seems to have taken a long look. Into this continental reservoir there has been poured untold and untapped wealth of human resources. Out of that reservoir -- out of the melting pot -- the rich promise which the New World held out to those who came to it from many lands is finding fulfillment.

The richness of the promise has not run out. If we keep the faith for our day as those who came before us kept the faith for theirs, then you and I can smile with confidence into the future.
It is fitting, therefore, that this should be a service of re-dedication to the liberty and the peace which this Statue symbolizes. Liberty and peace are living things. In each generation -- if they are to be maintained -- they must be guarded and vitalized anew.

We do only a small part of our duty to America when we glory in the great past. Patriotism that stops with that is a too-easy patriotism -- a patriotism out of step with the patriots themselves. For each generation the more patriotic part is to carry forward American freedom and American peace by making them living facts in a living present.

To that, my friends, we can, we do, re-dedicate ourselves. (Prolonged applause)
Fifty years ago our old neighbor and friend from across the sea gave us this monument to stand at the principal eastern gateway to the New World. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, accepted this gift with the pledge that "I will not forget that liberty has come into her home; nor shall her chosen alter be neglected."

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Then came one of the great ironies of history. Rulers needed to find gold to pay their armies and increase their power over the common man. The soon they sent to find that gold found instead the way of escape for the common man from those rulers. That they found over the "ocean horizon" was not the silk and jewels of Cathay but mankind's second chance -- a chance to create a new world after he had almost spoiled an old one.

And the Almighty seems purposefully to have withheld that second chance until the time when man would most need and appreciate liberty, the time when man would be enlightened enough to establish it on foundations sound enough to maintain it.

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It is the memory of all those eager seeking millions that makes this one of America's places of great romance. Looking down this great harbor I like to think of the countless number of inbound vessels that have made this port. I like to think of the men and women who -- with the break of dawn off Sandy Hook -- have strained their eyes to the west for a first glimpse of the New World.

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'Within this present generation that stream from abroad has largely stopped. To have within our shores today the materials out of which we shall continue to build an even better home for liberty.'

'Ve take satisfaction in the thought that those who have left their native land to join us, may still retain here their affection for some things left behind -- old customs, old language, old friends. Looking to the future, they wisely choose that their children shall live in the new language and in the new customs of this new people. And those children more and more realize their common destiny in America. That is true whether their forbears came past this place eight generations ago or only one.'

The realization that we are all bound together by hope of a common future rather than by reverence for a common past has helped us to build upon this continent a unity unapproached in any smaller area or population in the whole world. For all our millions of square miles, for all our millions of people, there is a unity in language and speech, in law and in economics, in education and in general purpose, which nowhere finds its match.

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To that we can, we do, re-dedicate ourselves.
(For the President)

Suggested Draft of Address at Celebration Marking the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Statue of Liberty, to be delivered Wednesday, October 28, at the afternoon program, which begins at 2 o’clock. Time allotment: 15 minutes. Speech to be broadcast. Place: Bedloe Island, New York Harbor.

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Measured by the calendar but fifty years have elapsed since Grover Cleveland dedicated the Statue of Liberty.

Measured by events, inventions, world changes, and new conceptions of social justice so much has happened since October 28, 1886, that even to those of us who can look back but 26 years, the world seems like another planet.

Wars and rumors of wars have repeatedly shattered the peace that prevailed over most of the earth when Cleveland was President. Economic depressions so much more widespread and devastating than those his era knew have visited every civilized nation. Work, once accepted not only as the common destiny of man but as the inalienable right of all who ask it, has seemed for a time to be denied to all but a privileged few. Some of us have come to consider the America of the 80’s as a lost Utopia. But through all the changing scenes the American people have been able to sustain their faith in the principles of liberty which this monument personifies. The Statue of Liberty is a perpetual reminder that it was such principles that led to the founding of this republic and attracted to its shores the seekers of liberty and opportunity from every corner of the earth.
At the ceremonies attendant upon the installation of the first adequate flood-lighting system of the Statue, held here on December 3, 1916, a prophecy was made which it is fitting to reiterate on this occasion. It was made by the son of Joseph Pulitzer, whose name will ever be linked with the Statue of Liberty because of the valorous campaign he waged through his newspaper to raise the $100,000 necessary to erect the pedestal. Pulitzer had died five years before, but one of his sons was among the speakers at the banquet given that December evening at the Waldorf Hotel, and it was he who declared that "there would come a day when men should perceive that the Goddess of Liberty was also the Goddess of Peace."

Courage and faith and hope of a high order were needful to express such sentiments in the winter of 1916. It will be recalled that at that time Europe had become a shambles; that France was facing some of the blackest days of the World War. America had not then entered the lists. Woodrow Wilson, in his own speech which followed Mr. Pulitzer's on the banquet program, applauded the younger man's words and endorsed them. The people of America applauded and endorsed them. It is never the people who seek or sanction war.

The Statue of Liberty is essentially the people's monument. Not only because the coins of the people of two great nations made possible its materialization but because it has stood, in popular thought, for their ideal state, a land of freedom, equality, and opportunity.
People from every other nation have come to our own. They have cast their lot unreservedly with that of this republic. By far the greater majority of them have entered through the port of New York -- passing by the feet of this Statue. In round numbers the total number of European immigrants who entered the United States between 1881 and 1920 was 20,000,000. (20,802,980). The bulk of them remained to share the opportunities of their adopted country.

Within the sound of the voices of the speakers on today's program undoubtedly is a very large percent of that 20,000,000, listening over the radio to what is said here. It is highly probable that their children and grandchildren have taken part, during this Golden Jubilee year, in the local programs of school and grange; in the observances sponsored by the posts of military and patriotic organizations all over the nation. Special tribute should be paid to these for what they have contributed to America -- in war and in peace; in work and in the display of fortitude which is required when work is no longer to be had.

George M. Stephenson in his scholarly work on the history of American immigration has pointed out that when the Congress enacted the immigration law of 1924, it closed a momentous chapter in American and European history, and indeed in world history.
He also reminds us that "immigration is distinctly a nineteenth century and twentieth century phenomenon," and that a study of nineteenth century Europe is as important to the student of American immigration as is a knowledge of the seventeenth century Europe for the study of American Colonial history. "Although the migration of groups and of individuals from one country to another is as old as history", Stephenson says, "nothing comparable to the movement of population from Europe to America in the last 100 years is recorded in the annals of the past."

Quoting further from Stephenson, "It has become the custom to distinguish between the old immigration and the new. Bearing in mind the limitations of this classification, we may accept it for convenience. Prior to 1883 about 95 percent of the immigrants came from England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Belgium, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden — the so-called 'old immigration'; in 1907 fully 81 percent embarked from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Montenegro, Poland, Rumania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Syria, and Turkey — usually designated as the 'new immigration'."

New or old, this immigration has tremendously influenced the destiny of our nation; and tremendously has it been influenced by the changing trends of our times.

The immigrants who came to the United States when the Statue of Liberty shone like gold in the sunlight, before the salty mists had coated her robe with verdigris, seldom wanted for work. The America of that day needed their labors for farm and factory. There was work for all who were willing to work.
The America of that day had not been caught up by the swift currents of the machine age, with its insatiable appetite for raw materials and its glut of overproduction. Conservation, either of natural assets or of man-power, was a term to the majority of those Americans unknown.

One of the inalienable rights which the America of that day took for granted, and which those who came to these shores rated as America's richest promise, was the guarantee of self-sustaining labor. Scarcity of work hardly existed for the unskilled man or woman. For the skilled, the problem was rather to choose what should be their life's vocation, than where to find a vocation of any sort. Abundance of natural resources seemed inexhaustible.

But with the advent of the machine came an acceleration of pace and an increased capacity of production which consumed like a fever the peace and security of the whole world. Moreover, that world was contracting, and with it the opportunities for independent livelihood for the individual of limited means but unlimited hardihood. Liberty no longer carried with it the assurance of a living for himself and for his family.

Many lessons have been presented to us during the past fifty years. Some of us have tried to learn and profit by these lessons; some of us have been so preoccupied by the problems connected with our individual destinies that we have not yet found time or wit to devote to the lessons that involve the human family as a whole.
But there is scarcely one of us who has not learned, through the experience of the past decade, that liberty does not mean exploitation and waste. Through the bitterness of want and woe this nation has grasped the truth that liberty is for all, for all time; and not for a few, or for only a passing generation. And to insure liberty for the future and for posterity, it is our inescapable duty to safeguard and promote the conditions that liberty is founded upon.

Material things perish. Nature herself is not an inexhaustible storehouse for those who prodigally exploit her resources. So it is we who must change, and not nature, if we would be worthy guardians of the earth and earth's treasures.

America still needs workers. Without them she ceases to be the American democracy which our forefathers conceived. This country still has work that is worthy of a man's self-respecting best. It is our solemn obligation so to order the material wealth of this new age that the work as well as the worker shall be worthy of the hire. We must plan with greater insight and more far-seeing vision for the needs not only of the workers of today, but of those who will be here 50 years hence. Only thus can we give back to each the unsullied principles which this monument represents. Only thus can we say truthfully that we have honored its tradition and kept the faith.

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Speech delivered by F.D.R.
at Statue of Liberty during
1936 Campaign.

Draft from which reading

was made.

F.D.R. handwriting

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T. G. E.
Second Draft — Statue of Liberty

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We can say for all America that the Californians
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Perhaps Providence prepared this American continent to be a
place of the second chance. Millions of men and women have made
it their home because in this land they found a home in which the things they most desired were guarded --
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It is in the memory of all of us living millions --

that once this was America's places of great romance.

Looking down this great harbor I like to think of the countless
number of vessels that have made this port. I like to
think of the men and women who with the break of dawn off
Sandy Hook—have strained their eyes to the west for a first glimpse of the New World. What manner of world was this? What lay for them back of those hills and in the lanes between those towering buildings? They had staked their lives on a great hope. Would that hope find substance?

They came to us—some of them—in steerage. They, in their humble quarters, saw things in those strange horizons which were new to the eye of those who travelled in luxury.

They came to us speaking many tongues—but a single language, the language of mean aspiration. Between those who have already there and those who came later there was the bond of understanding that exists between people who desire the same things. How well their hopes were justified in the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the New World: by their effort and devotion they made the New World's freedom safer, richer, more enduring.
Within this generation that change has largely stopped. We have within our shores the materials out of which we shall continue to build a home for liberty.

We take satisfaction in the thought that those who have left their native land to join us, may still retain their affection for some things which they wish to keep from the past — their old customs, their old language. Looking to the future, that their children shall live in the new language and in the new customs of this new people, and those children more and more realize their common destiny. That is true whether they come in American, in ten or in fifty, or in eighty generations or only one.

As we build it if we are wise in the knowledge that each of us is only an individual part in the making of a future nation so vast in culture and civilization that we cannot at this
The realization that we are all bound together by hope of a common future rather than by reverence for a common past. This has come upon this continent a unity unencroached in any area or population in the world. In a similar whole where there is no consideration. For all our millions of square miles, for all our millions of people, who do not walk in language and speech, in law and in common, by education and in general which Ground looks its

We have later rededicated ourselves before the statue of Liberty upon which a great American conceived this monument to be. We have rededicated ourselves with a realistic conception of what liberty requires in the modern age — of the limitations required on the liberty of the few that there may be liberty of opportunity for the many.

It was the hope of those who gave us this statue and the hope of the American people in receiving it that the Goddess of Liberty...
The grandfather of my old friend, the French Ambassador, and I were citizens of a great sister Republic established on the principle of the democratic form of government. Citizens of democracies unite in their desire for peace. Grover Cleveland recognized this unity on this spot fifty years ago.

Here's how they helped them build it...
It was President Cleveland himself who suggested that liberty enlightening the world extend her rays from those shores to every other nation.

Thus the symbolism should be broadened. To the message of liberty which America

sends to all the world must be added the message of peace.
and the Goddess of Peace were the same. That can only be true when the liberty of worship on these shores is the liberty of the many. That can only be true only when we hold out to the largest possible number of our population an opportunity for a share of the world's goods large enough to bring contentment and the will to peace. Where there is liberty for all, economic liberty as well as political liberty, there is no envy, no desperation and there is peace. Where there is no liberty except the liberty of a few to rule as they please, there never has been and never can be peace.

Even in times as troubled and uncertain as these, I still hold to the faith that a better civilization than any we have known is in store for us. America seems to have taken a long look into this continental reservoir and has poured into it untold and untapped wealth of human resources. Out of that reservoir — out of the melting pot — the rich promise which the New World held out to those who came to it
from many lands is finding fulfillment.

The richness of the promise has not run out. If we keep the faith for our day as those who came before us kept the faith for theirs, then you and I can look into the future with confidence.

It is fitting, therefore, that this should be a service of rededication to the liberty which this Statue symbolizes. Liberty and peace are living things. In each generation — if they are to be maintained — they must be guarded and revitalized anew.

We have done only a small part of our duty to America when we glory in the great past. Patriotism that stops with that is a too-easy patriotism — a patriotism out of step with the patriots. For each generation to carry forward American freedom by asking living facts in a living present.

To that we can, we do rededicate ourselves.
Pres. Reading Copy
given to
M.S. # 820
Fifty years ago our neighbor from across the sea gave us this monument to stand at the principal eastern gateway to the New World. Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, accepted this gift with the pledge that "We will not forget that liberty has here made her home; nor shall her chosen altar be neglected".

During those fifty years that covenant between ourselves and our most cherished convictions has not been broken.

Four hundred years ago, in Europe as well as in Asia, there was little hope of liberty for the average man of courage and good will. The ambitions of a ruling class, and the times alike, conspired against liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, liberty of the person, liberty of economic opportunity. Wars, dynastic and religious, had exhausted both the substance and the tolerance of the Old World. There was neither economic nor political liberty—nor any hope for either.

Then came the great irony of history. Rulers needed to find gold to pay their armies and increase their power over the common man. The seamen they sent to find that gold found instead the way of escape for the common man from those rulers. What over the Western horizon was not the silk
and jewels of Cathay but mankind's second chance—a chance to create a new world after he had almost spoiled an old one.

And the Almighty seems purposefully to have withheld that second chance until the time when men would most need and appreciate liberty, the time when men would be enlightened enough to establish it on foundations sound enough to maintain it.

For over three centuries a steady stream of men, women and children followed the beacon of liberty which this light symbolizes. They brought to us strength and moral fibre developed in a civilization centuries old but fired anew by the dream of a better life in America. They brought to our new country the cultures of a hundred old ones.

It has not been sufficiently emphasized in the teaching of our history that the overwhelming majority of those who came from the nations of the Old World to our American shores were not the laggards, not the timorous, not the failures. They were men and women who had the supreme courage to strike out for themselves, to abandon language and relatives—to start at the bottom without influence, without money and without knowledge of life in a very young civilization. We can say for all America what the Californians say
of the Forty-Miners "The cowards never started and the weak died by the way."

Perhaps Providence did prepare this American continent to be a place of second chance. Millions of men and women have made it that. They made this homeland because in this land they found a home in which the things they most desired were secured—freedom of opportunity, freedom of thought, freedom to worship God. Here they found life because here there was freedom to live.

It is the memory of all these eager seeking millions that makes this one of America's places of great romance. Looking down this great harbor I like to think of the countless number of inbound vessels that have made this port. I like to think of the men and women who—with the break of dawn off Sandy Hook—have strained their eyes to the west for a first glimpse of the New World.

They came to us—most of them—in steerage. But they, in their humble quarters, saw things in these strange horizons which were denied to the eyes of those few who travelled in greater luxury.

They came to us speaking many tongues—but a single language, the universal language of human aspiration.
How well their hopes were justified is proved by the record of what they achieved. They not only found freedom in the New World; but by their effort and devotion they made the New World's freedom safer, richer, more far reaching, more capable of growth.

Within this generation that stream from abroad has largely stopped. We have within our shores today the materials out of which we shall continue to build a better home for liberty.

We take satisfaction in the thought that those who have left their native land to join us, may still retain here their affection for some things left behind—old customs, old language, old friends. Looking to the future, they wisely choose that their children shall live in the new language and in the new customs of this new people. And those children more and more realize their common destiny in America. That is true whether their forbears came past this place eight generations ago or only one.

The realization that we are all bound together by hope of a common future rather than by reverence for a common past has helped us to build upon this continent a unity unapproached in any similar area or population in the whole world. For all our millions of square miles, for all our millions of
people, there is a unity in language and speech, in law and in economics, in education and in general purpose, which nowhere finds its match.

It was the hope of those who gave us this statue and the hope of the American people in receiving it that the Goddess of Liberty and the Goddess of Peace were the same.

The grandfather of my old friend, the French Ambassador, and those who helped him make this gift possible, were citizens of a great sister Republic established on the principle of the democratic form of government.

Citizens of all democracies unite in their desire for peace. Grover Cleveland recognized this unity on this spot fifty years ago.

He suggested that liberty enlightening the world would extend her rays from these shores to every other nation.

Today the symbolism should be broadened. To the message of liberty which America sends to all the world must be added her message of peace.

Even in times as troubled and uncertain as these, I still hold to the faith that a better civilization than any we have known is in store for America and by our example, perhaps, for the world. Here destiny seems to have taken a long look. Into this continental reservoir there has been
poured untold and untapped wealth of human resources. Out of that reservoir--
out of the melting pot--the rich promise which the New World held out to those
who came to it from many lands is finding fulfillment.

The richness of the promise has not run out. If we keep the faith
for our day as those who came before us kept the faith for theirs, then you
and I can smile with confidence into the future.

It is fitting, therefore, that this should be a service of re-
dedication to the liberty and the peace which this Statue symbolizes.

Liberty and peace are living things. In each generation--if they are to be
maintained--they must be guarded and vitalized anew.

We have done only a small part of our duty to America when we glory
in the great past. Patriotism that stops with that is a too-easy patriotism--
a patriotism out of step with the patriots. For each generation the more
patriotic part is to carry forward American freedom and American peace by
making them living facts in a living present.

To that we can, we do rededicate ourselves.
"The idea of erecting a Statue of Liberty was a generous one. It does honor to those who conceived it as it likewise does to those who executed it. Liberty lighting the world! A great lighthouse raised in the midst of a fleet on the threshold of a free America. In landing beneath its rays people will know that they have reached a land where individual initiative is developed in all its power; where progress is a religion; where great fortunes become popular by the charity they bestow and by encouraging instruction and science and casting their influence into the future. You are right, American citizens, to be proud of your 'go ahead'. You have made great progress in 100 years thanks to that cry because you have been intrepid. In telling of the sympathy of France I know that I am expressing the feeling of all my countrymen. There is no painful recollection between the two countries; there is only one rivalry - that of progress. We accept your inventions as you accept ours, without jealousy. You like men who dare and persevere. I say, like you, 'Go ahead'. We understand each other when I use that term".