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. 1004

1936 October 29

Harrisburg, PA - Campaign Address
Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, a great commercial state, a great mining state and a great agricultural state.

The Pennsylvania farmer -- unlike the farmer in the West -- can see his own city market within a few hours' drive. And the Pennsylvania industrial worker and merchant know how important to their prosperity is the prosperity of their neighbors the farmers.

Pennsylvania rightly calls itself the Keystone State. Great tides of immigration have swept over it. Great routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning -- famous wagon-roads and railroads and water routes from the East to the West and the North to the South and back again. Pennsylvania knows that American commerce transcends state lines and becomes interstate and international.
But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of industry it has, also, great human problems.

The machine age has served well the men and women who use its excellent products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves equally well the men and women who run its machines.

This is a problem not for Pennsylvania alone -- not even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation-- and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must see to it that human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality and good religion. You and I know that it is also good business.

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leaders of the post-war period. Their doctrine was to give definite help to the top and to utter pious hopes for the bottom. Twelve years of that brought the inevitable crash.
When in 1933 we came to Washington it was our belief that faith without works is dead. We acted -- not for a few of us but for all of us. That program worked.

But the Republican leadership is still the same. It still preaches the same heresy -- class against class and region against region.

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it themselves, loudly, in their market-basket campaign.

In the cities they make promises which they are careful to hide from the farmers. In the rural districts they make promises which they are careful to hide from the city dwellers. In the cities they promise to reduce food prices for the woman who carries the market-basket. In the country they promise to raise food prices for the man who grows the contents of that market-basket on the farm.

That is a nice fairy story. But you and I know that you can't eat your cake in the city and have your cake on the farm. You and I know that after twelve years of that policy there wasn't any cake and there was very little bread. The American people are through with that kind of emptiness.
The prices of farm products have risen since 1932. It's a good thing for all of us that they have risen. We set out deliberately to raise them. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the road to recovery again. Every home in America has benefitted by that.

The prices the farmer was receiving in 1932 were so low that he had no cash income to buy industrial goods made in the cities. That threw people out of work in the cities. Today the farm's products bring more to the farmer. Here in Pennsylvania cash income from farm production was forty-seven per cent higher in 1935 than in 1932. That is typical of what has happened to farmers throughout the East and throughout the Nation. The farmer is able to buy more from the city. That means more people are at work in the cities, and that in turn means that the city dwellers buy more farm produce.

That is why the consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for what she buys, but she has more money to buy it with -- and she has more money left over after she has bought.
Nation-wide facts and figures prove this. Let us take a look at these figures.

From 1929 to 1932 food prices dropped thirty-five per cent, but understand this: factory wages in the same period went down fifty-eight per cent. That made a large hole in the workers' market-basket.

The average city family paid less for what it bought. But that family had still less with which to buy.

Some retail food prices are today too high. Other food prices have advanced very little. To be fair you have to strike an average. The average advance of food costs since 1932 is twenty-four per cent -- a quarter more than they were four years ago.

But compare that -- again using average figures for the country -- with the factory payrolls. These have gone up not twenty-four per cent but seventy-seven per cent. And if you take the average of all city dwellers, their incomes have gone up faster and farther than food prices have gone up.
To sum up -- the Republican market-basket of 1932 cost less but the American consumer did not have the cash to fill it. Our market-basket in 1936 has much in it because people have money in their pockets to fill it with.

It is true that there is often too wide a spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither the farmer nor the consumer is responsible, and both the farmer and the consumer suffer.

We are engaged in solving that difficulty. First, we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal. Second, we are seeking new means to eliminate waste and unnecessary duplication in distribution for the benefit of both producer and consumer.

Through twelve years the Republicans proved that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in three and a half years that interdependence does work.
Giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a

good break has given a good break to the steelworker of

Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or

factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota

and Texas a good break gives a good break to Pennsylvania, Ohio

and New Jersey.

Ours has been a program of one for all and all for

one. That doctrine has given us recovery. Continuing that

practice will continue recovery.

You all remember that good old Republican slogan that

was trotted out and polished up for every political campaign --

the slogan of "the full dinner pail." And we know that the

Republican leaders themselves were responsible for its sad end.

The full dinner pail turned out to be the empty market-basket.

I know that the American people will not return to

power those leaders who emptied the national market-basket. I

know that the American people will go forward with those who are

succeeding in filling it once more.

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Original reading copy
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

October 29, 1936, 1:00 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Governor Earle)

My friends of Pennsylvania:

I am glad to come here to your Capital. I am especially glad to come here as the guest of my old friends, Governor and Mrs. Earle.

Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, and a great commercial state, a great mining state and a great agricultural state.

I have been visiting many parts of this Commonwealth and I feel that, as a neighbor of yours besides, I know something of your problems.

The Pennsylvania farmer -- unlike the farmer in the West -- can see his own city market within a few hours' drive just like my neighbor farmers in the Hudson River Valley. And the Pennsylvania industrial worker and merchant, they know how important to their prosperity is the prosperity of their neighbors the farmers.

Pennsylvania rightly calls itself the Keystone State. Great tides of immigration have swept (over) through it. Great routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning -- famous wagon-roads (and) railroads and water routes from the East to the West and the North to the South and back.
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.

The first part of Pennsylvania:

I am going to close these remarks, for now.

Appalachia, when it comes to the heart of any country.

Pennsylvania is one of the great industrial states. It is a great manufacturing state, a great mining state, and a great agricultural state.

I have read articles many places of the Commonwealth.

And I feel that, as a valiant of your peace, I know the importance of that hope, to the Pennsylvania miner -- outline the farm in the heart of the Allegheny Valley.

And the Pennsylvania industrial worker, and the Pennsylvania farmer, and the Pennsylvania coal miner, and the Pennsylvania coal miner, are important to their country. To the prosperity of your country.

Pennsylvania mighty cattle十足 the Keystone State.

Great rice of Pennsylvania have made (can) phonograph.

Great loves of Pennsylvania have crossed. It has been very good.

Punish -- Thomas Jefferson (and) Washington, the most famous and greatest.

How can hear to the West and the North to the South and your face.
again. Pennsylvania knows that American commerce transcends state lines and becomes interstate and international.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of industry it has, also, great human problems, and those are the problems that you and I are deeply concerned with.

The machine age has served well the men and women who use its excellent products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves equally well the men and women who run (its) the machines.

And (this) that is not a problem (not) for Pennsylvania alone -- (not) nor even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation -- and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must see to it that human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality and good religion. You and I know that it is also good business.

(Applause)

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leadership of the post-war period. Their doctrine was to give definite help (to) at the top and to utter pious hopes for the bottom. (Applause) Twelve years of that brought (the inevitable crash) 1929 to 1933.

When (in 1933) we came to Washington in 1933 it was our fundamental belief that faith without works is dead.
And so we acted -- not for a few of us (applause) but for all of us. And that program worked. (Applause)

But I am very much afraid that (but) the Republican leadership is still the same. I am very much afraid that it still preaches the same heresy -- class against class and region against region. (Applause)

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it themselves, loudly. (Applause) There are a dozen examples that you could use, but just take one. They are using it, for example, in what they call their market-basket campaign.

In the cities they make promises which they are careful to hide from the farmers. In the rural districts they make promises which they are careful to hide from the city dwellers. (Applause) In the cities they promise to reduce food prices for the woman who carries the market-basket. In the country they promise to raise food prices for the man who grows the contents of that market-basket on the farm. (Applause)

Now, isn't that (is) a nice fairy story. (Laughter) (But) You and I know that you can't eat your cake in the city and have your cake on the farm. (Applause) You and I know that after twelve years of that policy there wasn't any cake and there was very little bread. (Applause) The American people are through with that (kind of) emptiness and propose to remain through with it. (Applause) And I believe that.
Now, let us analyze just a little further:

The prices of farm products have risen since 1932. It's a good thing for all of us that they have risen. We set out deliberately to raise them. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the road to recovery again. Every American home (in America) has benefitted by that.

Why, the prices the farmer was receiving in 1932 were so low that he had no cash income to buy industrial goods made in the cities. That threw people out of work in the cities. Today the farm's products bring more to the farmer. Here in Pennsylvania, for instance, cash income from farm production was forty-seven per cent higher in 1935 than in 1932. That is typical of what has happened to farmers throughout the East and, indeed, throughout the Nation. The farmer today is able to buy more from the city. That means more people are at work in the cities, and that in turn means that the city dwellers are buying more farm produce.

(Appause)

And that, incidentally, is why the consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for what she buys, but she has more money to buy it with (applause) -- and she has more money left over after she has bought. (Applause) Nation-wide facts and figures prove (this) that. Let us take (a look at these figures) another example.

From 1929 to 1932 food prices in the United States
dropped thirty-five per cent, but, understand this: During that same period factory payrolls (in the same period) went down fifty-eight per cent. And that made a large hole in the workers' market-basket.

The average city family paid less for what it bought in those years. But that family had still less with which to buy. (Applause)

Now, it is true that some retail food prices have risen higher than others. Other food prices have advanced very little. To be fair you have to strike an average. The average advance of food costs since 1932 is twenty-four per cent. (-- a quarter more than they were four years ago.)

But compare that -- again using average figures for the country -- with the factory payrolls. These have gone up since 1933, in the Spring, not over twenty-four per cent but over 77 per cent. (Applause) And if you take the average of all city dwellers, their incomes have gone up faster and (farther) further than food prices have gone up. And so, my friends, to sum up -- the Republican market-basket of 1932 cost less but the American consumer did not have the cash to fill it. Our market-basket in 1936 has much in it because people have money in their pockets to fill it with. (Applause)

Now, let us examine a little further: It is true that there is often too wide a spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither the farmer
nor the consumer is responsible, (and) but both the farmer and the consumer suffer.

And so, we are engaged very definitely in seeking to solve (solving) that difficulty. First, we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies, the kind of monopolies which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal. Secondly, we are seeking new means to eliminate waste, (and) to eliminate unnecessary duplication in (distribution) distributing the food-supply of the nation, doing it for the benefit of both producer and the consumer.

And so we have to look and shall continue in the next four years to look (applause) at this problem -- we shall continue to look at it from the national point of view.

Through twelve years the Republicans proved that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in three and a half years that interdependence (does) and unity will work.

I take it that giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a good break has given a good break to the steel worker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a good break gives a good break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Yes, (ours has been a program of) our program has been one for all and all for one. Coming down the river this morning from Wilkes Barre, I have been talking with your Governor about cooperation, cooperation in the problems of
the miners of the state, cooperation in the great flood control problems of the state, cooperation in farming. We have agreed, your Governor and I, -- and most of the Governors of the States are in complete accord -- we are agreed that we can make cooperation between local government and state government and Federal government a success. This program of one for all and all for one (that doctrine) has given us recovery. Continuing that practice will continue recovery.

You all remember, I suppose Harrisburg as well as any city in the United States, that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and polished up for every political campaign -- the slogan of "the full dinner pail." And, indeed, we know that the Republican leaders themselves were responsible for its sad end. (Applause) Yes, down to 1933, the full dinner pail turned out to be the empty market-basket.

And, my friends, I know that the American people will not return to power those leaders who emptied the national market-basket. I (know) am very confident that the American people will go forward with those who are succeeding in filling it once more. (Prolonged applause)
Draft Harding Speech
1936 Campaign
For hard-earned changes

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and
industry it has, also, great human problems. Here, more than in most
states, a way must be found by which men can live in a machine economy

and

without becoming pawns of the machine—a way for them to take their

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Pennsylvania Industrial

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the third most important

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of

Pennsylvania...
Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, a great commercial
state, and a great agricultural state.

The Pennsylvania farmer—unlike his fellow in the West—can see his
own city market within a few hours’ drive. And the Pennsylvania industrial
worker and merchant know how important to his prosperity is the prosperity
of the farmer just beyond the doors of his shop or factory.

Pennsylvania justifiably calls itself the keystone state. Great
routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning—famous wagon-
roads and railroads from the east to the west and the south and back again.

Pennsylvania’s coal and oil and manufactures go to every state in the Union.

Philadelphia is the chief, most important
port in the United States, the interchange-trade. Pennsylvania knows that
American commerce is largely interstate commerce.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and
industry it has, also, great human problems. Here, more than in most
states, a way must be found by which men can live in a machine economy
without becoming pawns of the machine—a way for them to make their
contribution to material progress and yet not lose their self-respect as human beings.

The machine age has mistreated well the men and women who make its products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves, equally well, the men and women who produce its machines.

This is a problem not for Pennsylvania alone—not even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation—and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must give its aid so that this vast and interdependent mechanism can be kept in running order—and see to it that—within this mechanism—human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality. You and I know that it is sound business sense. The farmer of Pennsylvania has a stake in the well-being of the wage-earner of Pennsylvania. That is true not only for Pennsylvania, but for the nation.

What simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leadership of this post-war
period. Their gospel was to help the top and pull the bottom. Twelve
years of that brought the inevitable crack-up.

When we came to Washington we went forward believing that faith
without works is dead. We acted—not for a few of us but for all of us.
We based our program upon the fact of interdependence. That program worked.

But the Republican leadership is still the same. It still preaches
the same gospel. Its program is still class against class and region against
region.

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it honestly for them-
selves, in their market-basket campaign.

Here you have the old story all over again. In the cities of
Pennsylvania and the entire East they promise things which they are careful
to hide from the farmers of Pennsylvania and of the nation. They promise
to reduce food prices for the woman who carries the market-basket in the
city. They promise to raise food prices for the man who fills that market
basket on the farm. That is a nice fairy story. But you and I know that
you can't eat your cake in the city and have your cake on the farm. After
twelve years of that You and I know there wasn't any cake and very little
bread. The American people have had their fill of that kind of emptiness.

Now what is the truth about this market basket—about the eternal-triangle between the price of food, the farmer and the consumer?

Food prices have risen since 1922. It's a good thing for all of us that they have risen. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the road to recovery again. We set out to raise these prices and we did raise them. Every home in America has benefited by the

Today—see—the farm's products bring more to the farmer.

The farmer is able to buy more from the city. Sweatshop agriculture is on the way out because sweat-shop prices are on the way up. And that has put the consumer above the sweatshop level.

The proof of that is found—not in the price of the consumer's food, but in the thickness of the consumer's pocketbook. The consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for what she buys, but she has more money to buy with—she has more money left over after she has bought.

Now let's take a look at some figures.
From 1929 to 1932 the price it cost to fill your market baskets dropped 35 per cent. The same food which cost a dollar in 1929, cost only 65 cents in 1932. That is true.

But here is the important fact—a fact which the market-basket propagandists are careful to conceal. In the same period the money in the factory-workers' pay envelopes dropped 58 per cent. The pay envelope which had one dollar in it in 1929 had only 42 cents in it in 1932.

In other words—food prices dropped faster and farther. While food prices were going down 35 per cent, factory wages were going down 58 per cent. And that made a large hold in the workers' market basket.

The same thing was happening to the pocket-book and the market-basket of every city family. Whatever the source of the income, for every dollar which they had in 1929—they had only 61 cents in 1932. For the average family—

for the factory worker—income was going down faster and farther than food prices.

The family paid less for what it bought. But it had even less with which to buy.

In the days to which the Republican leadership would return you—plate beef even at eleven cents a pound was a luxury—a luxury beyond the reach
of our unemployed or underpaid millions. The housewife learned in 1932 that
she could not feed her family on plate beef at eleven cents per pound in the
market window, because she did not have the eleven cents in her pocket-
book. But today she can feed her family on plate beef even at 15 cents per
 pound because she has the 15 cents to pay for it, and something left over.

Today food costs 25 per cent more than it did in 1932. That is true. But again the market-basket propagandists ignore the increase in the
size of your pocketbook today. Factory payrolls have gone up 100 per cent
while food prices were going up only 25 per cent. In other words the factory
worker is seventy-five cents ahead on every dollar.

The same thing has happened for city people generally. The pocket-
book of the city dweller has filled up faster than food prices have gone up.
He, too, is ahead on every dollar he spends.

To sum it up—the difference between our market-basket and the
market-basket to which the Republican leaders would return you is very
simple. Our market basket has something in it. It has something in it
because the people have money in their pockets with which to fill it.
It is true that there is often too wide a spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither the farmer nor the consumer is responsible and both the farmer and the consumer suffer.

We are engaged in solving that difficulty. First, in we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies whether they are actually illegal or merely contrary to some public policy which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal.

Second, we are seeking new means by which waste and unnecessary duplication in distribution will be eliminated to benefit of both producer and consumer.
Through twelve long years the Republicans proved—to our sorrow—that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in these 3½ years that interdependence does work.

Giving the farmer ofreek County a break has given a break to the steelworker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a break gives a break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Things went sour in 1932 because our economy had been allowed to fall apart. The philosophy of those days was a dog-in-the-manger philosophy. The forces of sectionalism, localism and class division got the upper hand. Government, then, was a dividing—not a unifying factor.

In 1933 we put an end to that kind of government. Today the crisis of 1933 is at an end. It is at an end because the policies of this Administration were not class policies; they were not regional policies; they were national policies. Ours has been a program of one for all and all for one.

The practice of that doctrine has given us recovery. Continuing
You all remember that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and smeared up for every political campaign—the slogan of "the full dinner pail." And we know that the Republican leaders, themselves, were a party to the sad end which befell it. The full-dinner pail, with the paint removed, became the empty market basket.

I know that the American people will not go back to the policies which delivered that empty market basket to their doors. I know that they will go forward with the policies that filled it with food again.
Harrisburg (Third Draft)

Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, a great commercial state, a great mining state and a great agricultural state.

The Pennsylvania farmer -- unlike the farmer in the West -- can see his own city market within a few hours' drive. And the Pennsylvania industrial worker and merchant know how important to their prosperity is the prosperity of the farmer just beyond the doors of his shop or factory.

Pennsylvania rightly calls itself the Keystone State. Great tides of immigration have swept over it. Great routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning -- famous wagon- and water routes, roads and railroads from the East to the West and the North to the South and back again. Pennsylvania knows that American commerce transcends state lines and becomes interstate and international.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of industry it has, also, great human problems.

The machine age has served well the men and women who use its
excellent products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves equally well the men and women who run its machines.

This is a problem not for Pennsylvania alone -- not even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation -- and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must give its aid so that this vast and interdependent mechanism can be kept in running order -- and see to it that within this mechanism human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality and good religion.

You and I know that it is also good business.

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leaders of this post-war period. Their doctrine was to give definite help to the top and to utter pious hopes for the bottom. Twelve years of that brought the inevitable crash up in 1933.

When we came to Washington we went forward believing that faith without works is dead. We acted -- not for a few of us but for all of us. We based our program upon the fact of interdependence.
That program worked.

But the Republican leadership is still the same. It still preaches the same heresy -- class against class and region against region.

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it themselves, loudly, in their market-basket campaign.

In the cities they make promises which they are careful to hide from the farmers -- to reduce food prices for

In the rural districts they make promises which they are careful to hide from the city dwellers. In the cities they promise

There was very little bread. The American people have had their fill of that kind of emptiness.

The price of farm bread has risen since 1932. It's a good thing for all of us that they have risen. We set out deliberately to raise them. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the
road to recovery again. Every home in America has benefitted by that.

The prices the farmer was receiving in 1932 were so low that he had no cash income to buy industrial goods made in the cities. Today, the farm's products bring more to the farmer. Here in Pennsylvania cash income from farm production was 47 percent higher in 1935 than in 1932. That is typical of what has happened to farmers throughout the East and throughout the Nation. The money more people are at work in the cities, the farmer is able to buy more from the city. Here in Pennsylvania the savings from the industrial production that in turn saves that the city-dweller buys alone the shipments from its industries to thirty-two agricultural states increased 78 percent in that same period. Sweatshop agriculture is on the way out because sweat-shop farm prices are on the way out.

That is why the consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for what she buys, but she has more money to buy with -- she has more money left over after she has bought. Nationwide facts and figures prove this. Take a look at these figures.
From 1929 to 1932 food prices dropped. But factory wages dropped faster and farther. While food prices were going down 35 percent, factory wages were going down 58 percent. That made a large hole in the workers' market basket.

The same thing was happening to the pocket-book and the market-basket of every city family. The average family -- the same as the factory worker -- paid less for what it bought. But it had still less with which to buy.

Some retail food prices are today too high. Other food prices have advanced very little. To be fair you have to strike an average. The average advance of food costs since 1932 is 25% -- a quarter more than they were four years ago.

But compare that -- again using average figures for the country -- with the factory payrolls. These have gone up not 25% but 100%.

And if you take the average of all city dwellers, their incomes have gone up faster and farther than food prices have gone up. To sum up -- the Republican market-basket of 1932 cost less but the American consumer did not have the cash to fill it. Our market-basket has much in it because people have money in their pockets to fill it with.
the increase in the size of your pocketbook today. Factory payrolls have gone up 100 percent while food prices were going up only 25 percent.

The same thing has happened for city people generally. The pocketbook of the city dweller has filled up faster than food prices have gone up.

To sum it up -- the difference between our market-basket and the market-basket to which the Republican leaders would return you is very simple. Our market-basket has something in it. It has something in it because the people have money in their pockets with which to fill it.

It is true that there is often too wide a spread between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither the farmer nor the consumer is responsible, and both the farmer and the consumer suffer.

We are engaged in solving that difficulty. First, we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal.
Second, we are seeking new means to eliminate waste and unnecessary duplication in distribution for the benefit of both producer and consumer.

Through twelve years the Republicans proved that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in 3½ years that interdependence does work.

Giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a good break has given a break to the steelworker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a break gives a break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Ours has been a program of one for all and all for one. The practice of that doctrine has given us recovery. Continuing that practice will continue recovery.

You all remember that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and polished up for every political campaign -- the slogan of "the full dinner pail". And we know that the Republican leaders themselves were a party to the sad end which befell it. The full-
dinner pail with the polish removed became the empty market basket.

I know that the American people will not return to power those leaders who delivered that empty market basket to their doors. I know that the American people will go forward with the policies that filled it with food again.
\[ \sqrt{2} \]

\[ \text{some text} \]
Pennsylvania is at once a great industrial state, a great commercial state, a great mining state and a great agricultural state.

The Pennsylvania farmer -- unlike the farmer in the West -- can see his own city market within a few hours' drive. And the Pennsylvania industrial worker and merchant know how important to their prosperity is the prosperity of their neighbors the farmers.

Pennsylvania rightly calls itself the Keystone State. Great tides of immigration have swept across it. Great routes of commerce have crossed it from the very beginning -- famous wagon-roads and railroads and water routes from the East to the West and the North to the South and back again. Pennsylvania knows that American commerce transcends state lines and becomes interstate and international.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of industry it has, also, great human problems.

The machine age has served well the man and woman who use its excellent products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves equally well the man and woman who run the machinery.

That is a problem not for Pennsylvania alone -- not even for industry alone. It is a problem for the nation -- and for all kinds of enterprise within the nation. If modern government is to justify itself, it must see to it that human values are not mangled and destroyed.

You and I know that that is sound morality and good religion. You and I know that it is also good business.

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leadership of the past-war period. Their doctrine was to give definite help to the top and to utter pious hopes for the bottom. Twelve years of that brought the same results.

When in 1933 we came to Washington it was our belief that faith without works is dead. It was acted -- not for a few of us, but for all of us. That program worked.

But the Republican leadership is still the same. It still preaches the same heresy -- class against class and region against region.

You do not need me to tell you this. They say it themselves, loudly, in their market-basket campaign.

In the cities they make promises which they are careful to hide from the farmers. In the rural districts they make promises which they are careful to hide from the city dwellers. In the cities they promise to
reduce food prices for the woman who carries the market-basket. In the
country they promise to raise food prices for the man who grows
the contents of that market-basket on the farm.

That was a nice fairy story, but you and I know that you
can't eat your cake in the city and have your cake on the farm. You
and I know that after twelve years of that policy there wasn't any
cake and there was very little bread. The American people are through
with that nonsense.

The prices of farm products have risen since 1932. It's a
good thing for all of us that they have risen. We set out deliberately
to raise them. It was their rise that helped to start all of us on the
road to recovery again. Everyone in America has benefited by that.

The prices the farmer was receiving in 1932 were so low that
he had no cash income to buy industrial goods made in the cities.
That threw people out of work in the cities. Today the farmer's products
bring more to the farmer. Here in Pennsylvania, cash income from farm
production was forty-seven per cent higher in 1935 than in 1932. That
is typical of what has happened to farmers throughout the East and
throughout the Nation. The farmer is able to buy more from the city.
That means more people are at work in the cities, and that in turn
means that the city dwellers buy more farm produce.

That is why the consumer's pocketbook has filled up faster
than the price of food has gone up. The housewife pays more money for
what she buys, but she has more money to buy it with and she has
more money left over after she has bought. Nation-wide facts and
figures prove that. Let us take a look at these figures.

From 1929 to 1932 food prices dropped thirty-five per cent,
but understand this: factory payrolls in the same period went down
fifty-eight per cent. That made a large hole in the workers' market-basket.

The average city family paid less for what it bought. But
that family had still less with which to buy.

Some retail food prices have risen higher than others. Other
food prices have advanced very little. To be fair you have to strike
an average. The average advance of food costs since 1932 is twenty-
four per cent -- a quarter more than they were four years ago.

But compare that -- again using average figures for the
country -- with the factory payrolls. These have gone up not
twenty-four per cent but 77 per cent, and if you take the average
of all city dwellers, their incomes have gone up faster and further
than food prices have gone up. To sum up -- the Republican market-
basket of 1932 cost less but the American consumer did not have the
cash to fill it. Our market-basket in 1936 has much in it because
people have money in their pockets to fill it with.

It is true that there is often too wide a spread between
what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays. For that neither
the farmer nor the consumer is responsible, and both the farmer and
the consumer suffer.

We are engaged in solving that difficulty. First, we are
vigilant and on guard against monopolies which are contrary to sound
public policy even though they are not actually illegal. Secondly we
are seeking new means to eliminate waste and unnecessary duplication
in distribution for the benefit of both producer and consumer.
Through twelve years the Republicans proved that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in three and a half years that interdependence does work.

Giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a good break has given a good break to the steelworker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar or factory worker of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a good break gives a good break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Our party has been a program of one for all and all for one. That doctrine has given us recovery. Continuing that practice will continue recovery.

You all remember that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and polished up for every political campaign— the slogan of "the full dinner pail." And we know that the Republican leaders themselves were responsible for its and only. The full dinner pail turned out to be the empty market-basket.

I know that the American people will not return to power those leaders who emptied the national market-basket. I know that the American people will go forward with those who are succeeding in filling it once more.