
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

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

HARRISBURG, PA.,

OCTOBER 29, 1936.

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 ^{payrolls} ~~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 ^{have risen higher than others.} ~~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} ~~three~~ 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} ~~three~~ per cent but ^{77 %} ~~seventy~~ 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.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the in the previously prepared reading copy text.

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. Egan.

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

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. (Applause)

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)



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Samuel I. Rosenman

From the Papers of

*Draft Harnsburg Speech
1936 Camp again*

*SAR
FOR } handwritten changes*

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JH*

state, a great commercial

in the West--can see his

Pennsylvania industrial

erity is the prosperity

actory.

migration from west coast
keystone state. Great

planning-famous wagon-

north to the
the south and back again.

every state in the Union.

STEEPLE. A great railroad

~~the third most important~~

Pennsylvania knows that

1 becomes

at international

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and

of 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

staves
without becoming ~~game~~ of the machine--a way for them to make their

SECOND DRAFT

HARRISBURG

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 his fellow ^{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 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} ^{North to the} south to the west and the south and back again.

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

^{as a manufacturing state} It is one of the Nation's largest powerhouses and workshops. ^{and a great railroad} A great railroad system ^{with its main station} runs out from Philadelphia. Philadelphia is the oldest and most important

port in the United States, ^{in international trade} in international trade. Pennsylvania knows that ^{transient state lines and becomes} American commerce is largely interstate commerce ^{and international} and international.

But because Pennsylvania has these great problems of commerce and of 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 ^{slaves} pawns of the machine--a way for them to make their



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

contribution to material progress and yet not lose their self-respect as ~~the~~
human beings.

David
The machine age has misshaped well all the men and women who ~~use~~
facilitate
its products. The new problem is to see to it that the machine age serves,
then
equally well, the men and women who ~~misshaped~~ its machines.

This is a problem not for Pennsylvania alone--not even for in-
dustry alone. It is a problem for the nation--and for all kinds of enter-
prise 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.

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

That
What simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either
unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leadership of this post-war



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From the Report of
Samuel I. Rosenberg

Heaven *gives definite* *and further promise* *after* *for*
period. Their gospel was to help the top and ~~you~~ the bottom. Twelve
~~years~~ 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
heresy
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 weekly--*in* 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



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From the Papers of
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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. But factory wages 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 hole 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. ^{price} For the average family--~~for the factory worker--~~ income was going down faster and farther than food prices.

~~That 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



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

- 8 -

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, ^{if} 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.

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(7)

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~~ we are vigilant and on guard against monopolies ~~whether they are actually illegal or merely contrary to sound public policy~~ which are contrary to sound public policy even though they are not actually illegal.

Second, we are seeking new means ~~which waste and unnecessary duplication in distribution, will be eliminated~~ for the benefit of both producer and consumer.



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~~8~~ 8

Through twelve ~~long~~ years the Republicans proved ~~to our sorrow~~ that sectionalism will not work. We have proved in these 3 1/2 years that interdependence does work.

Daphin or Lancaster
Giving the farmer of ~~Mass~~ ^{Mass} County a break has given a break to the steelworker of Pittsburgh, the coal miner of Scranton, the white collar *or factory* ~~worker~~ ^{man} of Philadelphia. And giving California, Minnesota and Texas a break gives a break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Things went sour in 1933 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~~ ^{over}. It is ~~at an end~~ ^{over} 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*
that practice will continue recovery.



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(9)

You all remember that good old Republican slogan that was trotted out and ~~passed~~ ^{belated} 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 ^{belated} removed, became the empty market basket.

I know that the American people will not ^{hesitate to turn the tables} go back to the policies ^{which} delivered that empty market basket to ^{your} their doors. I know that they will go forward with the policies that filled it with food again.



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For Reading
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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 ^{their neighbors the} ~~the~~ farmer just beyond the ~~doors of his shop or factory~~ ^{their} ~~doors of his shop or factory~~ ^{is} ~~is~~

Pennsylvania ^{rightly} ~~justifiably~~ calls itself the ~~Keystone~~ ^K 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~~ ^{must} ~~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} ~~sound~~ business ~~sense~~.

The simple fact of our dependence upon each other was either unknown or entirely ignored by the Republican leaders ~~of this~~ ^{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.} ~~crack-up~~.

^{in 1933} When we came to Washington ~~we went forward~~ ^{it was our belief} 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. ~~they~~ to reduce food prices for

In the summer

INSERT A

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

There was " and very little bread. The American people *are through with* ~~have had their fill~~

that kind of emptiness. ~~they~~

The prices of farm products

~~have~~ 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 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

That means more people are at work in the cities
farmer is able to buy more from the city. *Here in Pennsylvania*

and that in turn means that the city dwellers buy more
alone the shipments from its industries to thirty-two agricultural

(the first two years of our farm program)
states increased 78 percent in [that same period.] Sweatshop agricul-

produce
ture 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 -- *it had* she has

more money left over after she has bought. *Nation wide facts*
and figures prove that
Let's 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~~
but understand this: in the same period went
percent, factory wages ~~were going~~ down 58 percent. ~~that~~ *that* made
A
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~~ *city* ~~family -- the same as~~
A
~~the factory worker -- paid less for what it bought. But~~ *that family* ~~it~~ *had*
P.T.H.
~~was~~ less with which to buy.

(Insert B)
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 *in 1936* has much in it be-
cause 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 ~~1944~~ 3½ years that interdependence does work.

Giving the farmer of Dauphin or Lancaster County a good break has given ^{good} 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 ^{good} a break gives ^{good} a break to Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.

Ours has been a program of one for all and all for one. ~~The~~ practice of ^T 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 ^{have been responsible for its} themselves ~~were a party to the sad end, which befell it.~~ The full-

Turned out to be
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 ~~emptied the national~~
~~delivered that empty market basket to their doors.~~ I

The American people *Those who are*
know that ~~they~~ will go forward with ~~the policies that filled it~~
succeeding in filling it once more,
~~with food again~~

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FOR THE PRESS

October 29, 1936

This address of the President, to be delivered at Harrisburg on Thursday, October twenty-ninth, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected about 1:00 P. M., Eastern Standard Time.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Assistant Secretary to the President.

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 the 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 at 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 emptying.

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 products.

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.

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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.

(a) ~~Curt~~ has been a program of one for all and all for one. ~~That doesn't~~ 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. 3, 33

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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