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. 1005

1936 October 30

Brooklyn, NY - Academy of Music -
Campaign Address
During the last month I have seen a great deal of our
country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the
Americans I have seen look very different from three and a half
years ago.

Many important things have happened to them in those
three and a half years. I could talk to you for hours about this
better, happier America. What I am going to talk to you about for
a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought
that better, happier America to pass. I want to tell you in terms
of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we
have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to end abuses.

The first thing was to give aid to those overtaken by
disaster. We did that, we furnished food relief, drought relief,
work relief, flood relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief
Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian
Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people
ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of dull despair.

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done!

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the mechanism of our economic order to know that we could not do that one wheel at a time. We had had enough of one-wheel economics. We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

By democratizing the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helpful channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works.
We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; the Farm Credit Administration; the Soil Conservation Program; the Home Owners Loan Corporation; the Federal Housing Administration; the Tennessee Valley Authority; a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; reciprocal trade agreements; foreign exchange accords.

We set up a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and stabilize industrial relations. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. With labor's aid and backing we set up a new charter for workers security by the Social Security Act -- an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by these old-time exploiters of labor who have always fought against contributing anything themselves to a sound security for the laboring man and his wife and children.

Some people call these things waste. You and I know that they are the means by which our stalled machine was started again.
That Act is a new Magna Charta for those who work. In its preparation and in its enactment it was supported not only by organized labor but by those other liberal groups -- workers, employers, churches, private charities, educators who for many years have believed that modern government can make provision against the hardship of unemployment and the terrors of old age.

On the passage of this law, in addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats in both the House and Senate, the country should note that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it.

This fact is perhaps illustrative of the paradox that in the closing days of the campaign Republican leadership driven to desperation and urged on by the same sinister forces which generation after generation have opposed all social legislation now repudiate their own Representatives and Senators in the halls of the Congress.
The people of the State of New York recognize in this issue in which we have become accustomed in this State for many years past. Every man and woman here knows that we have been blessed with these great social reforms because we have had liberal government in Albany. We know that we would not have had them if the Old Guard Republican leadership had been in power.

Governor Lehman has not merely exemplified in his splendid objectives this spirit of far-sighted progress, but he has practiced what he has preached, and thereby has continued to strengthen the civic conscience of the people of this State. There are none among you who believe that on Tuesday next there is one chance in a thousand that New York State will turn its government back to the Old Guard.

To go back to what the Federal Government has done in the past three years,
And on November third America will say that that was a job well done!

The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; -- all aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens. By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of some utility holding companies. By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home. Through loans to private enterprise we promoted slum-clearance and low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help
keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Some people call these things meddling and interference. You and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can, and are determined to, build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, more American America.

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun!

These are the things we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements of meaning for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. When we are in trouble we are all of us in trouble together. When we are prosperous we must all be prosperous together.
Unfortunately, there have been class distinctions in this country. But those who now raise that cry against this Administration are the very leaders whose policies fostered such class distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that some of this help in their benevolence or generosity pass that huddled might trickle through to the bottom. That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. In doing that, we have bridged the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened up between them.

An equally important task remains: to go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close entirely the gap between the classes, by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set class against class and region against region.
By our policies for the future we shall carry forward this program of interdependence. We will not be content until all people fairly share in our economy as it keeps with the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

On November third, the American people will say that our policy for the future is their policy for the future.

[Signature]

(Original reading copy)
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
October 30, 1936, 10.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mrs. Good, Chairman.)

No campaign, to me, would be complete without coming back to the old Academy of Music. (Applause) And I was very happy that my train reached New York in time for me to get here in time to listen to that splendid report from our great Governor of our great State.

During the last month or two I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the Americans I have seen look very different from what they did three and a half years ago. (Applause)

Many important things have happened (to them in those three and a half years) in the meantime. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. (Applause) What I am going to talk to you about for a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought about that better, happier America. (to pass) I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to restore prosperity and what we have done to end abuses.
The first thing before us on that famous fourth of March, 1933, was to give aid to those overtaken by disaster. We did that, and we are not ashamed of giving help to those who needed (help) it. (Applause) We furnished food relief, drought relief, flood relief, work relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of dull despair. (Applause)

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the (mechanism) mechanics of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had (had) enough of one-wheel economics. (Applause) We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

And by democratizing the work of agencies like
the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helpful channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works.

We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; (prolonged applause) the Farm Credit Administration; the Soil Conservation Program; the Home Owners Loan Corporation; (applause) the Federal Housing Administration; (applause) the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Resettlement Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration. We set up a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; we established reciprocal trade agreements and foreign exchange accords.

Yes, we (set up) created a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and seek industrial peace. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. (Applause) With labor's aid and backing we took the first great step for workers security by the Social Security Act and I am glad that the Governor has talked to you about it. I am going to talk to you some more about it. It is an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by a few employers whom you will easily recognize as old-time
exploiters of labor who have always fought against 
contributing anything themselves to a sound security for 
the laboring man and his wife and children. (Applause)

That Act, my friends, is a new Magna Charta for 
those who work. (Applause) In its preparation and (in) 
its enactment, it was supported not only by organized 
labor but by those other liberal groups -- unorganized 
workers, employers, churches, private charities, educators, 
all those fine men and women throughout the Nation who for 
many years have believed that modern government can make 
provision against the hardship of unemployment and the 
terrors of old age.

And note this: On the passage of this law, in 
addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats 
in both (the) House and Senate, the country should (note) 
remember that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted 
for it and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate 
fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five 
against it. (Applause)

(This) That fact is perhaps illustrative of the 
paradox that in the closing days of the campaign a distraught 
Republican leadership driven to desperation and urged on by 
the same sinister forces which generation after generation 
have opposed all social legislation, that Republican leader-
ship now repudiates (their) its own Representatives and 
Senators in the halls of the Congress and leave them looking
positively silly. (Applause, laughter) (Audience: That includes Al Smith.)

The people of the State of New York recognize in this issue in a national campaign only another form of the struggle to which we have become accustomed in this State for many years past. Every man and woman (here) knows that we have been blessed with these great social reforms because we have had a liberal government in Albany. We know that we would not have had them if the Old Guard Republican leadership had been in power. (Boos)

Governor Lehman has not merely exemplified (applause) in his splendid (interrupted by applause) -- our Governor has not merely exemplified in his splendid objectives this spirit of far-sighted progress, but he has practiced what he has preached, (applause) and thereby has continued to strengthen the civic conscience of the people of this State. There are none among you who believe that on Tuesday next there is one chance in a thousand that New York (State) will turn its government back to the Old Guard. (Applause)

To (go back) return to what the Federal Government has done in the past three and (one) a half years, some people call these things which have re-started our economic machine, they call them waste. Yet you and I know that they (are) have been the means by which our stalled machine (was started again) has been started on the road once more.
And on November third America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; (applause) banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; (applause) -- all of them aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens.

By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of (some) certain utility holding companies. (Applause)

By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home, be it in the country or in the city. Through loans to private enterprise and in cooperation with cities we promoted slum-clearance and established low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a
successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Yes, some people call these things meddling and interference. But you and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can build and are determined to build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, cheerier, more certain, more American America. (Applause)

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun! (Applause)

These are the things that we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements significant of better life for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. If we are in trouble, my friends, we are all of us in trouble together. If we are to be prosperous, if we are to be secure, we must all be prosperous and secure together. (Applause)

No, we are getting away from distinctions between East and West and North and South, between country and city. We are becoming a more united America. And that reminds me that I promised, on the train, to read a telegram that came to me on the train. It says this: "In the morning the
sunflower turns to the East. In the afternoon the sunflower turns to the West. And it goes to seed before November." (Applause)

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not work. (Applause) It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. And, in doing that, we (have bridged) are bridging the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened (up) between them.

An equally important task remains to be done: To go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forward this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its
citizens.

On November third, the American people will say that our policy for the future is their policy for the future. (Applause)
During the last month I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many Americans. Both America and the Americans I have seen look very different than they did 3½ years ago. Many important things have happened in those 3½ years. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. What I am going to talk to you for a few minutes about is some of the things that have brought that better, happier America to pass. I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to end abuses.

The first thing we did was to give aid to those overtaken by disaster. We did that. We furnished food relief, drought relief, flood relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people call them alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are ridiculous.

You and I call them the agencies that have substituted food for...
starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of the prospect of revolution. Now repair.

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done.

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine get under way again. We knew enough about the mechanism of our economic order to know that we could not do one thing at a time. We had to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of production. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of average business, business and industry, by democratizing and redirecting the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation into more practical and helpful channels. We furnished fuel for the machine, that were not going to. We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works.

We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; the Farm Credit Administration; the Soil
Conservation Program; a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; reciprocal trade agreements; international currency stabilization; Home Owners Loan Corporation; the Federal Housing Administration; the Tennessee Valley Authority.

We set up a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and stabilize industrial relations. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. With labor's aid and backing we set up a new charter for workers security in the Social Security Act -- an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by those old-time exploiters of labor who have always fought against a sound security for the laboring man and his wife and children.

Some people call these things which we did nonsense and waste. From what we know about America today, you and I call them the means by which our stalled machine was started again.

And on November third America will say that that was a job well done.
The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; all to safeguard the thrift of our citizens. By our tax policy and by regulating the financial markets we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overwhelming power and unholy practices of some utility holding companies. By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yard-sticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home.

Through the Home Owners Loan Corporation we saved more than a million homes threatened by foreclosure. By the Federal Housing Administration we made it possible for the home owner to repair or extend financial help to and modernize his home and helped the family which desired to own a home to finance it. Through loans to private enterprise we
promoted slum-clearance and low-cost/modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Some people call these things meddling and interference. From what you and I know about America today we will call them new stones in a foundation on which we can build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, more American America.

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun.

These are the things we have done. They are a record of 3½ years crowded with achievements of meaning for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted because what we have done for each group has been planned for the benefit of every group. In our policies there are no distinctions
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... When we are in trouble we are all of us in trouble together. When we are prosperous we must all be prosperous together.

Unfortunately there have been class distinctions in this country. Those who now raise that cry are the very leaders whose policies fostered such class distinctions. They were the ones who were content in the belief that the chief function of government was to help those at the top in the hope that some of this help might trickle through to the bottom.

That theory of government has been banished from Washington. We have united all classes in a program for the nation. In doing that we have bridged the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened up between them.

An equally important task remains: to go forward, consolidate and strengthen these gains -- to close entirely the gap between the classes by destroying these glaring inequalities of opportunity and of
security which, in the recent past, have set class against class
and region against region.

By our policies for the future we shall carry forward this
program of interdependence. We will not be content until our
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to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

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country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the
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better, happier America. What I am going to talk to you about for
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that better, happier America to pass. I want to tell you in terms
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Relief Administration; the Public Works Administration; the Civilian
Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for idleness; hope instead of dull despair.

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done!

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the mechanism of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had had enough of one-wheel economics. We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

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that we would not have had them if the Old Guard Republican leadership had been in power.

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Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top
would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not work. It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. In doing that, we have bridged the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened up between them.

An equally important task remains: to go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close the gap, by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forward this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

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And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done.

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the mechanism of our economic order to know that we could not do that one wheel at a time. We had heard enough of one-wheel economics. We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

By desecratizing the work of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helpful channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We prised the pump by spending government money in direct relief; in work relief; in public works.
The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; all aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens.

By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of some utility holding companies.

By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average American farm and the average American home. Through loans to private enterprise we promoted slum-clearance and low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Some people call these things meddling and interference. You and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, more American America.

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begun.

These are the things we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements significant of better life for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefited, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. If we are in trouble we are all of us in trouble together. If we are to be prosperous, if we are to be secure, we must all be prosperous and secure together.

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not work. It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. In doing that, we have bridged the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened up between them.

An equally important task remains; to go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -- to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forward this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.

On November third, the American people will say that our policy for the future is their policy for the future.
I think I am entitled also to say, "my fellow workers":

Jim has suggested that I am going to carry this District.

You know, I envy you because in previous years I have been at Headquarters during campaigns. I know how hard the work is, but it is fun and I have missed these past months being up here in New York City helping you good people to make the wheels go round.

But you, too, have missed something. I wish you could have been out on the road with me; it would have given you a perfectly tremendous thrill, just as it did me, going into a great many different parts of the country, seeing the faces of men, women and children and especially seeing their interest in things American.

I think that the most important impression that I have carried with me through these past weeks has been the impression that more greatly than in any other campaign
I think we've been doing a lot to-day, Uncle.

The speech was delivered, though, it is understood they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.
in all of our American history, people are taking an intelligent interest -- reading, going and listening to people's talks, reading all the literature of both parties, and then making up their own minds. It is the greatest thing that has happened for our democratic form of government in these later years.

I am glad that people have been reading the literature of both sides. I am glad that they have been going to meetings where people on both sides speak. It is an extension of the forum idea of getting both sides of the question presented and of course I may be, frankly, a little prejudiced, but at the same time I believe that the more people go to forums, the more people listen to both sides and read the literature of both sides, even the newspapers, the bigger our majority is going to be.

You at Headquarters, of course, prepare the material for this Campaign and see to it that every city and every county and every little hamlet is given the information, and I am very proud of the fact that our information has been kept at a pretty high level.

One reason for that is the fact that we have at the head of this campaign a man who has always been square.
I have known Jim Farley for a great many years and I have never known him yet to do or think a mean thing.

For a long time now -- a good many years -- he has been taking it on the chin -- taking it on the chin with a smile and not batting an eyelid, because, I think, in the back of his head he has had the idea that in spite of all kinds of unfair attacks, the American people, just like you and me, will read him for what he is, absolutely on the level.

And incidentally, of course, I get reports not only from Jim but from lots of people -- reports down in Washington about what has been going on here in New York and, after an experience with many headquarters dating back to 1912, I have come to the very definite conclusion that the national headquarters this year has been what we call in the (vernacular?) a happy shift (?). -- No cross wires, everything clicking, and the result is going to bear that out next Tuesday.

And so I am very grateful, I am very grateful to all of you from Jim down to the office boy. And maybe the office boy will be National Chairman or President about thirty years from now.
I want to thank you for all that you have done -- all the many hours that you have spent overtime and regular time, not only working in the offices but I know that most of you have been doing a lot of work back in your own homes.

It has been an inspiration for me to know that I have had the support of all you good people, not only the last few months but also the last few years, and I think we are going to continue with that support in the next four years.

So once more let me thank you from the bottom of my heart. I wish I could meet each and every one of you in person. I want you to consider that I have shaken the hand of each and every one of you and I hope that we will meet again some day soon.

I want to take this occasion, when you are all here, to send our thanks, yours and mine, to the many hundreds of men and women in all the states of the Union, in all the counties of the Union, in all the villages and cities of the Union, who in their way have been carrying on the same kind of task that we have been engaged in. I am going to ask Jim to send your regards, my regards, your thanks and my thanks to those in every part of the Nation
who have been working towards this goal that we all believe we are going to reach next Tuesday.

Goodbye and good luck.
INFORMAL ETEMPORANOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CONCOURSE PLAZA HOTEL
BRONX, N. Y.
October 31, 1936, 2.30 P. M.

Ladies and gentlemen:

No campaign would be complete without this luncheon. (Applause)

I am not only always glad to come here on the Saturday before election, which I have done many times, but when I come here I consider myself as one of the godfathers of the Bronx.

There is a story connected with that which ought to be a part of the history of this County. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I was in the Legislature, the Bronx County Bill came up and there was a good deal of division in the ranks of the Party at that time as to whether there should be a separate county in the Bronx or not. I, being a neighbor on the north, was very strongly in favor of the Bill and, when it came up on the floor of the Senate, it came up in such way that it caught those of us who were in favor of it somewhat by surprise, and a number of our adherents were away. They started to force a vote on us and we, trying a parliamentary device, started to walk out of
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

I am not only a farmer, but also a real estate investor. Neither of these pursuits has given me any leisure, but I have had a very active life in the business of the nation.

I have always been interested in the welfare of the country. I have been a member of the board of directors of the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank. I have also been a director of the Cooperative Bank of the State of New York.

In my early years, I was a member of the New York City Council. I have been a member of the New York State Assembly and the United States House of Representatives. I have also been a member of the New York State Senate.

I am a strong believer in the right of the people to vote. I have always been active in the Democratic Party, and I have always voted for the Democratic ticket. I have always been a strong supporter of the New Deal.
the Senate Chamber.

There was presiding over the Senate Chamber that day an old gentleman from upstate New York. They tried to lock the doors of the Senate Chamber and to keep us from going out and thus preventing a quorum. The old gentleman banged on the desk, and somebody said, hoping for a parliamentary rule, "By what right are you keeping us in this Chamber?" Whereupon the old gentleman banged again and said, "We are keeping you here by the right of major force." (Laughter, applause)

Well, we were defeated that day but, shortly thereafter, the Bill came up again and that time right prevailed over might and Bronx became a county. (Applause)

I wish that all of you could have been with me during these past two months travelling around the country and seeing the enormous interest in every community I have visited in many, many states -- an interest in this election that I believe is more fundamental, more deep-seated, than in any previous election in which I have taken part.

It shows me that men and women are thinking more deeply than ever before. They are going to vote on Tuesday not merely out of gratitude for what has occurred in this country in the last four years, they are going to vote
because they believe that our progress for social security and better living conditions for the American people must continue.

And so, like your Governor, like our Governor, I am approaching next Tuesday in a spirit of real confidence because I believe very firmly that this outpouring of voters, this tremendous interest in public questions, can mean only one thing, and you and I can guess what that is.

I have but one more formal speech between now and Tuesday and it is not completely written yet. That is why I shall have to forego the pleasure of staying on this afternoon and listening to the speeches of the candidates from this County and the candidates on the State ticket. I wish that I might be with you and, although it is probably my last political campaign as a candidate, I hope to be with you on other Saturday luncheons before election. (Prolonged applause)
I think I am entitled also to say, "my fellow workers":

Jim has suggested that I am going to carry this
District.

You know, I envy you because in previous years I have been at Headquarters during campaigns. I know how hard the work is, but it is fun and I have missed these past months being up here in New York City helping you good people to make the wheels go round.

But you, too, have missed something. I wish you could have been out on the road with me; it would have given you a perfectly tremendous thrill, just as it did me, going into a great many different parts of the country, seeing the faces of men, women and children and especially seeing their interest in things American.

I think that the most important impression that I have carried with me through these past weeks has been the impression that more greatly than in any other campaign in all of our American history, people are taking an intelligent interest — reading, going and listening to people's talks, reading all the literature of both parties, and then making up their own minds. It is the greatest thing that has happened for our democratic form of government in these later years.
I am glad that people have been reading the literature of both \textit{political} sides. I am glad that they have been going to meetings where people on both sides speak. It is an extension of the forum idea of getting both sides of the question presented and of course I may be, frankly, a little prejudiced but at the same time I believe that the more people go to forums, the more people listen to both sides and read the literature of both sides, even the newspapers, the bigger our majority is going to be.

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And so I am very grateful, I am very grateful to all of you from Jim down to the office boy. And maybe the office boy will be National Chairman or President about thirty years from now.

I want to thank you for all that you have done — all the many hours that you have spent overtime and regular time, not only working in the offices but I know that most of you have been doing a lot of work back in your own homes.

It has been an inspiration for me to know that I have had the support of all you good people, not only the last few months but also the last few years, and I think we are going to continue with that support in the next four years.

So once more let me thank you from the bottom of my heart. I wish I could meet each and every one of you in person. I want you to consider that I have shaken the hand of each and every one of you and I hope that we will meet again some day soon.

I want to take this occasion, when you are all here, to send our thanks, yours and mine, to the many hundreds of men and women in all the states of the Union, in all the countries of the Union, in all the villages and cities of
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THOMAS CORCORAN=
(CARE PRESIDENTIAL SPECIAL TRAIN ENROUTE TO NEW YORK CITY) 30TH ST STATION PHA=

BEST QUIP LANDON EMBLEM IS WELL CHOSEN STOP IN THE MORNING THE SUNFLOWER TURNS TO THE EAST IN THE AFTERNOON TO THE WEST IT GOES TO SEED BEFORE NOVEMBER=

STANLEY REED.