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. 1143

1938 July 8

Marietta, OH - Address
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MARIETTA, OHIO
JULY 8, 1938

Long before 1788 there were white men here, "spying
out this land of Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were --
the scouts and the skirmishers of the great American migration.
The sight of smoke from neighbor's chimneys might have worried
them. But Indians and redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with
scant help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved
wilderness for themselves -- and for us -- with their own bare
hands and their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes,
not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to the scouts and the skirmishers,
we celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women --
the first battalions of that organized army of occupation which
transplanted from over the Alleghenies whole little civilizations
that took root and grew. They were giving expression to a genius
for organized colonization, carefully planned and ordered under
law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Erickson's
men to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta, came rather like the men and women of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Boston, an organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most came intending to stay. Such people may not be the first to conquer the earth, but they always last possess it.

Right behind the men and women who established Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago moved that instrument of law and order and cooperation -- government. A representative of the national government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are celebrating today is this establishment of the first civil government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of the Northwest Ordinance I always like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a
peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory".

It provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged".

And it provided for the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped the new West would exemplify. It has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck with the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio in 1788 and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve
their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security which is driving us today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-sufficing economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but reach out and shoot or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and his means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done which men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen naturally reached out - to government - as their greatest single
instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and their children and their homes and their opportunities. They looked on government not as a thing apart -- as a power over our people. They regarded it as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee.

There were worried legalists back in the Seaboard towns who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help to put roads and railroads and canals through these new territories -- who were sure that the nation would never get back the money it was plowing into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest.

But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of
government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

----------

Today under new conditions a whole nation, the original thirteen states and all the West and South that has grown out of them, is on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the little band that came to Marietta to create new conditions -- of security. And again the people see an ally in their own government.

Many a man does not own his cabin any more; his possessions are a bank deposit.

Scarcely any man can call his neighbors to raise his roof any more -- he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad -- he may need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once old age was safe because there was always something
useful which men and women, no matter how old, might do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities the individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes -- statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through F. H. A.; statutes providing help through H. O. L. C. for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, like Senator Bulkley, toiling over the drafting of such statutes and over the efficiency of government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of government can be extended to the full.

On a thousand fronts government -- state and municipal as well as federal -- is playing the same role of the insurer of
security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom most of the great protective statutes of today are in essence mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other -- let us never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President and Senators and Congressmen and Government officials but the voters of this country.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to run their government, want the same cooperative security and have the same courage to achieve it, in 1938 as in 1788. I am sure they know that we will always have a frontier -- of social problems -- and that we must always move in to bring law and
order to it. In that confidence I am pushing on. I am sure you will push on with me.
GOVERNOR DAVEY, SENATOR BULKLEY, CHAIRMAN WHITE AND YOU, THE PEOPLE
OF THE NORTHEAST TERRITORY:

A long time ago in Washington, two old friends of mine
came to the White House, Bob Bulkley and Bob Secrest, to ask me to
come to Marietta in 1938. It seemed a long way off, but I promised
them I would come if I possibly could. So here I am.

Long before that famous year of 1788 there were white men
here, white men, to use a Biblical phrase, "spying out this land of
Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were -- the scouts and the
skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from
a neighbor's chimney(s) might have worried them a great deal. But the
Indians and the redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with scant
help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for
themselves -- and for us -- held it with their own bare hands and
their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to (the) those scouts and (the) skir-
mishers, we are celebrating the coming of a different
type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army
of occupation which transplanted from (over) across the Alleghenies
whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giv-
ing expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully
planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Erickson's
men did to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and
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.
women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta came rather like
the men and the women of the Massachusetts Bay (Company) Colony to
Boston, an organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure,
but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and
children and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most
of them came here intending to stay. (Such) People like that may
not be the first to conquer the earth, but they will always be the
last to possess (it) the earth.

Right behind them, the men and women who established
Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago, moved that instrument of
law and order and cooperation — the instrument of government. A
representative of the National Government entered Marietta to admin-
ister the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance.
And what we are celebrating today is this establishment of the first
Civil Government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of (the Northwest) that Ordinance I
always like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peace-
able and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his
mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory."

And it provided that "religion, morality and knowledge
being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind,
schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged."

And it provided, finally, for the perpetual prohibition
of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women — that is
what the thirteen states hoped that the new West would exemplify.
(It) And the new West has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck (with) by the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration that we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio (in 1788) in the early days and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security (which) that is driving us forward today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was fairly certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-(sufficing) satisfying, self-sufficient economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but reach out and shoot it or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; it belonged to him; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and owning his own means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning further westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done (which)
that men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen naturally reached out -- to Government -- as their greatest single instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of Government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and (their) children, (and) of their homes and (their) opportunities. They looked on Government not as a thing apart -- as a power over (our) people. They regarded (it) Government as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee, only on a bigger scale.

There were worried legalists back in the Seaboard towns who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help (to) put roads and (railroads) railways and canals through these new territories -- who were sure that the Nation would never get back the money that it was plowing into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest Territory.

But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the states making up the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

----------

And so today under new conditions, as a whole nation, the American people, the original thirteen states and all the West and
South that has grown out of them, (is) they are on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the little band that came to Marietta, seeking to create new conditions -- of security. And again the people see an ally in their own Government.

Many a man does not own his cabin any more; or the house or the flat that he lives in. His possessions may be some furniture and perhaps (are) a bank deposit.

Scarcely any man can call his neighbors (to raise his roof any more) to help him build his home any more. Today he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad -- he may need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once upon a time old age was safe because there was always something useful (which) that men and women, no matter how old, (might) could do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities, what happens? The individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of Government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes -- statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through the (F.H.A.) Federal Housing Administration; statutes providing help through (H.O.L.C.) the Home Owners' Loan Corporation for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain of the old days, who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, men like Senator Bulkley, toiling over the drafting of such
statutes and over the efficiency of Government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of Government can be extended to the full.

Yes, on a thousand fronts Government -- State Government, (and) Municipal Government, County Government, as well as Federal-- is playing the same role of the insurer of security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom of most of the great protective statutes of today (are) there is the fact that in essence they are mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other -- let us never forget that Government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President, (and) not Senators and Congressmen and Government officials. (but the voters of this country) The ultimate rulers of our democracy are the voters of the country itself.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to run their Government, want the same cooperative security and that they have the same courage to achieve it, in 1938 as in 1788. (Applause) And I am sure that they know that we will always have a frontier -- a frontier of social problems and economic problems -- and that we must always move in to bring law and order to (it) the solution of those problems. In that confidence -- in that confidence I do not think I have to tell
you that I am pushing on. And I am sure (you) that the people of
the Nation will push on with me. (Prolonged applause)

And now I understand that somebody is going to pull a
string and I hereby dedicate this great monument commemorating one
hundred and fifty years of Americanism.
Long before 1783 there were white men here, "spying out this land of Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were — the scouts and the skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from neighbor's chimneys might have worried them. But Indians and redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kankakee and Vincennes, with scant help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for themselves — and for us — with their own bare hands and their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to the scouts and the skirmishers, we celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women — the first battalions of that organized army of occupation which transplanted from over the Alleghenies whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giving expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Ericsson's men to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta came rather like the men and women of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Boston, an organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most came intending to stay. Such people may not be the first to conquer the earth, but they always last possess it.

Right behind the men and women who established Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago moved that instrument of law and order and cooperation — government. A representative of the national government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are celebrating today is the establishment of the first civil government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of the Northwest Ordinance I always like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory."
It provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged".

And it provided for the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped the new West would exemplify. It has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck by the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio in 1808 and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security which is driving us today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin and fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-sufficing economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but rank out and shoot or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and his means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done which men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen naturally reached out to government as their greatest single instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and their children and their homes and their opportunities. They looked on government not as a thing apart -- as a power over our people. They regarded it as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier hunking box.

There were worried legalists back in the seaboard towns who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help to put roads and railroads and canals through those new territories -- who were sure that the nation would never get back the money it was spending into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest.
But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

Today under new conditions a whole nation, the original thirteen states and all the West and South that has grown out of them, is on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the little band that came to Marietta to create new conditions — of security. And again the people see an ally in their own government.

Many a man does not own his cabin any more; his possessions are a bank deposit.

Searcely any man can call his neighbors to raise his roof any more — he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad — he may need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once old age was safe because there was always something useful which men and women, no matter how old, might do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and none new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities the individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes — statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through F.H.A.; statutes providing help through H.O.L.C. for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, like Senator Bulkeley, toiling over the drafting of such statutes and over the efficiency of government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of government can be extended to the full.

On a thousand fronts government — state and municipal as well as federal — is playing the same role of the insurer of security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom most of the great protective statutes of today are in essence mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other — let us never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President and Senators and Congressmen and Government officials but the voters of this country.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to run their government, want the same cooperative security and have the same courage to achieve it as in 1768. I am sure they know that we will always have a frontier — of social problems — and that we must always move in to bring law and order to it. In that confidence I am pushing on. I am sure you will push on with me.
Long before 1788 there were white men here spying out this land of Canaan. An intrepid outpost breed they were -- the scouts and the skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from neighbor's chimneys might have worried them. But Indians and redcoats did not. Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with scant help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for themselves -- and for us -- with their own bare hands and their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta. Here, with all honor to the scouts and the skirmishers, we celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army of occupation which transplanted from over the Alleghenies whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giving expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Erickson's men to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta came rather like the men and women of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Boston, an organized society, un-
afraid to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. Many of them were destined to leave; but most came intending to stay. Such people may not be the first to conquer the earth, but they always last possess it.

As a Roosevelt I claim a personal interest in the romance of the rise of social organization in this trans-Allegheny basin. For a member of the Roosevelt family first built and operated a steamboat down the Ohio, down the great Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

Right behind the men and women who established Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago moved that instrument of law and order and cooperation -- government. A representative of the national government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are celebrating today is this establishment of the first civil government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of the Northwest Ordinance I always like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship
or for religious sentiment in the said territory”.

It provided that “religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged”.

And it perpetually provided for the prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped the new West would exemplify. It has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck with the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio in 1788 and followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security
which is driving us today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-sufficing economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but reach out and shoot or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and his means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunities.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done which men could not get done alone that the frontiersmen naturally reached out to government -- as their greatest single instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of government was
but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors. And no one on
the frontier ever argued himself into a funk that participation in a
husking bee or a roof raising or a swapping of labor in each other's
fields was threatening survival of rugged individualism and the American
way.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of
the security of their women and their children and their homes and their
opportunities. They looked on government not as a thing apart -- as a
power over our people. They regarded it as a power of the people, as a
democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee.

There were worried legalists back in the Seaboard towns who were
sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to roads
and railroads and canals through these new territories -- who were sure
that the nation would never get back the money it was plowing into de-
velopment of the natural and human resources of the Northwest.

But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who
were actually living in the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude
when he said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a
community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at
all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and in-
dividual capacities."

--------------

Today under new conditions a whole nation, the original thirteen
states and all the West and South that has grown out of them, is on a
mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the
little band that came to Marietta to create new conditions -- of security.
And again the people see an ally in their own government.

Many a man does not own his cabin anymore; his possessions are a
bank deposit.

Scarcely any man can call his neighbors to raise his roof anymore --
he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the
cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad -- he may
need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once old age was safe because there was always something useful
which men and women, no matter how old, might do to earn an honorable
maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities the individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes -- statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through F.H.A.; statutes providing help through H.O.L.C. for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, like Senator Buhlley, toiling over the drafting of such statutes and over the efficiency of government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of government can be extended to the full.

On a thousand fronts government -- state, municipal as well as federal -- is playing the same role of the insurer of security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest territory. When you think through, at the bottom most of the great protective statutes of today are in
essence mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a
departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help
of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other -- let us never forget that
government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate
rulers of our democracy are not a President and Senators and Congressmen
and Government officials but the voters of this country.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity
to choose forward-looking representatives to run their government, want
the same cooperative security and have the same courage to achieve it,
in 1938 as in 1788. I am sure they know that we will always have a
frontier -- of social problems -- and that we must always move in to bring
law and order to it. In that confidence I am pushing on. I am sure you
will push on with me.
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MARIETTA, OHIO
JULY 8, 1938

Long before 1788 there were white men here, "spying out this land of Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were -- the scouts and the skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from neighbor's chimneys might have worried them. But Indians and redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with scant help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for themselves -- and for us -- with their own bare bands and their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to the scouts and the skirmishers, we celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army of occupation which transplanted from over the Alleghenies whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giving expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Ericson's
men to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and
women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta, came rather like
the men and women of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Boston, an
organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure, but
serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children
and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most came
intending to stay. Such people may not be the first to conquer
the earth, but they always last possess it.

Right behind the men and women who established Marietta
one hundred and fifty years ago moved that instrument of law and
order and cooperation -- government. A representative of the
national government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest
Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are
celebrating today is this establishment of the first civil
government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of the Northwest Ordinance I always
like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a
peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory".

It provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged".

And it provided for the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped the new West would exemplify. It has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck with the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio in 1788 and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years want to improve
their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same
yearning for security which is driving us today.

At the end of the wagon ruta there was something worth
the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid
fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but
it was certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole
self-sufficing economic system — plenty of food to eat if a man
would but reach out and shoot or cultivate it; plenty of warm
clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a
tight roof over the family’s head if the little community would
respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man’s own; he had the solid joy
of possession — of owning his home and his means of livelihood.
And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite
self-sufficiency beckoning westward — to new land, new game, new
opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done
which men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen
naturally reached out — to government — as their greatest single
instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and their children and their homes and their opportunities. They looked on government not as a thing apart -- as a power over our people. They regarded it as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee.

There were worried legalists back in the Seaboard towns who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help to put roads and railroads and canals through these new territories -- who were sure that the nation would never get back the money it was plowing into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest.

But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of
government is to do for a community of people whatever they need
to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for
themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

Today under new conditions a whole nation, the original
thirteen states and all the West and South that has grown out of
them, is on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions,
seeking like the little band that came to Marietta to create
new conditions -- of security. And again the people see an ally
in their own government.

Many a man does not own his cabin any more; his
possessions are a bank deposit.

Scarceley any man can call his neighbors to raise his
roof any more -- he pays a contractor cash and has to have
mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is
of the wrong kind or goes bad -- he may need help to save his home
from foreclosure.

Once old age was safe because there was always something
useful which men and women, no matter how old, might do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities the individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes -- statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through F. H. A.; statutes providing help through H. O. L. C. for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, like Senator Buhlley, toiling over the drafting of such statutes and over the efficiency of government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of government can be extended to the full.

On a thousand fronts government -- state and municipal as well as federal -- is playing the same role of the insurer of
security for the average man, woman and child that the Army
detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest
Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom most of
the great protective statutes of today are in essence mutual
insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a
departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual
self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other -- let us
never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power
over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President
and Senators and Congressmen and Government officials but the
voters of this country.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of
their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to
run their government, want the same cooperative security and
have the same courage to achieve it, in 1938 as in 1788. I am
sure they know that we will always have a frontier -- of social
problems -- and that we must always move in to bring law and
order to it. In that confidence I am pushing on. I am sure you
will push on with me.
CONFIDENTIAL UNTIL RELEASED

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered at Marietta, Ohio, is for release in all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets EDT EARLIER than 9:30 (nine-thirty) A.M., EASTERN STANDARD TIME, July 8, 1938.

CASE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

July 7, 1938

Long before 1788 there were white men here, "spying out this land of Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were -- the scouts and the skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from neighbor's chimneys might have worried them. But Indians and redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with sentry help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for themselves -- and for us -- with their own bare hands and their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to the scouts and the skirmishers, we celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army of occupation which transplanted from the Alleghenies whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giving expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lieb Erickson's men to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta came rather like the men and women of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Boston, an organized society, set about to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most came intending to stay. Some people may not be the first to conquer the earth, but they always last possess it.

Right behind the men and women who established Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago moved that instrument of law and order and cooperation -- government. A representative of the national government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are celebrating today is this establishment of the first civil government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of the Northwest Ordinance I always like to remember.

It provided that 'no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory.'
It provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged".

And it provided for the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing man and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped the new West would exemplify. It has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck with the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio in 1808 and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security which is driving us today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-sufficient economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but reach out and shoot or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the woman of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and his means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done which men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen naturally reached out to government -- to their greatest single instrument of cooperation -- self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and children and their homes and their opportunities. They looked on government not as a thing apart -- as a power over men people. They regarded it as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee.

There were warlike sectionalists back in the seaboard states who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help put roads and railroads and canals through those new territories -- who were sure that the nation would never get back the money it was flowing into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest.
But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

Today under new conditions—a whole nation, the original thirteen states and all the West and South that has grown out of them, and on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the little band that came to Marietta, to create new conditions—of security. And again the people see an ally in their own government.

Mary a man does not own his cabin any more, his possessions have a bank deposit.

Sarcely any man can call his neighbor to center his roof—new more—he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad—he may need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once old age was safe because there was always something useful small men and women, no matter how old, might do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities the individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier homesteading box is found today in carefully-drafted statutes—statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through FHA, statutes providing help through insurance, for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators—like Senator Fulbright, toiling over the drafting of such statutes and over the efficiency of government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of government can be extended to the All.

On a thousand fronts government—state and municipal as well as federal—is playing the same role of the insurer of security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom most of the great protective statutes of today are in essence mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other—let us never forget that government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not President and Senators and Congressmen and Government officials but the future of this country.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to run their government, want the same cooperative security and have the same courage to achieve it, in 1938 as in 1788. I am sure they know that we will always have a frontier—of social problems—and that we must always move in to bring law and order to it. In that confidence I am pushing on. I am sure you will push on with me.