
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**

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1938 September 5

Denton, MD - Labor Day Address

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR DAY

SEPTEMBER 5, 1938

DENTON, MARYLAND

For two reasons, which I think you will approve, I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today.

The first reason is to give you and me a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. That fact is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America;

that what happens in and to the Free State
of Maryland matters mightily in and to the
United States of America and, under the
Constitution, to the Chief Executive and
to the Congress of the United States;

that in the Free State of Maryland --
happily a part of the Union -- the Flag,
the Constitution and the President are
still as welcome as in all of the other
forty-seven States of the Union.

The second -- and the original reason for my coming here
is also related to the unity of this nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in
September -- Labor Day -- is set aside in special honor of those
who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and
mines. That is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs
just as much to those who work with head and hand on farms.

There is no distinction between those who run farms or work on farms and those who work in industry, for you and I well know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively recently from farms all over the country, including Maryland, and from farms of the Old World from which originally we all came.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around to give that minority all ^{it wants} ~~they want~~ and at the same time to give the rest of America -- the overwhelming majority of America -- a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor on the farm as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over this country the unity of interest of all common men and women, warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm, grows steadily more evident. Clearer every day is the one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master

of Galilee -- that the only road to peace and the only road to civilization is the road to unity -- the road called the "Highway of Fellowship".

But as this community of interest becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class feeling among people who instinctively are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other States -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class feeling which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics.

Today above all else that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans just like him.

This is my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary degree by your own historic Washington University.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world.

of farm and fishery
Your products go to the greatest city markets of the
United States.

And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values in life. That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you will, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another".

In order to make that relationship a benefit rather than a curse, in order to keep all of our people abreast of each other and in line with the present, our democratic form of government must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, the Federal Government had not moved forward at all. Life was out of balance failed and government had completely to recognize that important social needs called for action.

In a nation-wide effort to catch up with lost time, to bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of new undertakings had to be launched in 1933. But remember well that these undertakings were on a complete front that included American citizens in every occupation and in every part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people both in private and in public life who did not like to do the things that had to be done. They admitted the existence of certain abuses. But in their hearts they wishfully believed that improvement should come from individual initiative or local initiative without the help of government. If improvement could not come without government action, then they wanted no improvement at all.

People who feel and think like that I call "conservatives", and even "reactionaries". And people who feel that the past should be brought up to the present by using every legitimate instrument to do the job, government included, I call "liberals" or "progressives".

Any man -- any political party -- has a right to be honestly one or the other. But the nation cannot stand for the confusion of having him pretend to be one and act like the other.

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative and I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, "Mr. A" is a composite conservative. He admitted that in 1933 interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks and bonds; he admitted that the hours of work in his factory were too long; he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation made farming and fishing extremely hazardous occupations; and he even admitted that the buying power of farmers and fishermen had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

But conservative "Mr. A" not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems in cooperation with his government, but found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

"Mr. B", I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only admitted the needs and the problems like "Mr. "A", but he put his shoulder under the load, he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. "Mr. B" did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world.

If we have a Government run by the "Mr. A's" of this life, it is obvious that the nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- bump along from one 1929 crisis to another. Yours is the choice.

Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his great work on the American Commonwealth, said: "An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great Parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the Parties may seem to have erred by neglecting to discover and work out any principles capable

of solving the problems which now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a Government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack the nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great Party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has lived by, so far as they are still applicable, and when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents".

That has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a Party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles.

The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it remains a liberal party. If it reverts to the situation which Lord Bryce described more than a quarter of a century ago, it will fail.

As the leader of that party, I propose to try to keep it liberal. As President of the United States I conceive that course to be in the best interests not of Democrats alone but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States of America.

Increasingly during these past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown throughout the land.

People have continued to ask their representatives to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. That applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers.

You who live on the farm know well how farmers were exploited by those who controlled government from the end of the World War to 1933 -- and by the monopolies they fostered which still give us trouble. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. Industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners. America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago people who were injured through no fault of their own in factories found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for their injuries. A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. Ten years later, I, following his lead, was helping to pass a workmen's compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is ~~this~~ that workmen's compensation laws are not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. They confer a definite benefit on farmers because the injured industrial worker is able to get his compensation and continue to buy food for himself and his family.

Later on in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a Parcel Post law on the statute books of the United States. That Parcel Post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes, but it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of the country.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator of earlier days.

Many years later it became clear that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nation-wide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured to millions of our people.

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He symbolizes for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister in Sunday School. And that is why perhaps he has lived the life of the Good Samaritan -- and has not passed by on the other side.

You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes without saying.

But may I express the hope that the choice will be the choice of all who are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, an "organization" group or an "anti-organization" group, not the choice of only part of the voters either in city or in country, but the choice of all who have the right to make the choice.

At a time of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own country. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer.

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been to defend agriculture to labor and business.

That is part of my public duty. When I became President I found a country demoralized and disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787, when there was grave danger that the States would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to be lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American Union.

A big part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. The great test for us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

Such progress comes from the rank and file of our citizens, and ^{through} ~~by~~ the representatives of their free choice -- representatives, willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action.

What I or any one man may do is of small moment compared with what the people do. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our Union, I am confident that all who labor in field and factory will carry on the good work.

This is our high purpose on this Labor Day of 1938.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(Big reading copy)

~~Friends of the Negro of Maryland~~
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

Denton, Maryland
Monday, September 5, 1938

(Representative Goldsborough introduced the President.)

CONGRESSMAN GOLDSBOROUGH, CONGRESSMAN LEWIS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This is Labor Day. For two reasons, which I think you will approve, I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today. (Applause)

The first reason for coming here is to give you and me a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. (Applause) That fact, my friends, is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America; (Applause)

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters mightily in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive and to the Congress of the United States;

(Applause)

And finally, that in the Free State of Maryland -- happily a part of the Union -- the Flag, the Constitution and the President are still as welcome as in all of the other

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.

forty-seven States of the Union. (Applause)

The second, and in fact, the original reason for my coming here is also related to the unity of (this) the Nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in September -- Labor Day -- is set aside in special honor of those who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and mines. But that is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs just as much to those who work with head and hand on the farms of the Nation. There is no distinction between those who run farms or work on farms and those who work in industry. For you and I well know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively recently from farms all over the country, including the Eastern Shore and Maryland and all the other states and from farms of the Old World across the seas, farms from which originally (we) all of us have (came) come.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around to give that minority all that it wants and at the same time to give the rest of America {-- the overwhelming majority of America --} a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor on the farm as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over (this) the country the unity of interest of all common men and women -- warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm -- grows steadily more evident. Clearer every day is the

one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee -- that the only road to peace and the only road to a happier and better civilization is the road to unity -- the road called the "Highway of Fellowship." . (Applause)

But as this community of interest that I am talking about, as it becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class feeling among people like ourselves, who instinctively are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other states -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class feeling which can be charitably explained only (as) by political hysteria. (Applause) But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things in campaign time on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics. (Applause)

Today above all else (that) the minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on (ths) one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other hand. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, the farmer who above all people has always known what it meant to

have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh, (and) blood of his blood, Americans just like him. (Applause)

This is, I think, my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary degree by your own historic Washington (University) College.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world. Your products of farm and fishery go to the greatest city markets of the United States. And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values (in) of life.

That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you (will) like, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another."

In order to make that relationship a benefit rather than a curse, in order to keep all of our people abreast of each other and in line with the present, our democratic form of government must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, the Federal Government had not moved forward at all. Life was out of balance -- you remember it -- and Government had failed completely to recognize that important social needs call(ed) for action. In a nationwide effort to catch up with lost time, to bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of new undertakings had to be launched in 1933. But remember well that (these) those undertakings were on a complete front, a front that included American citizens in every

occupation and in every part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people both in private life and (in) public life who did not like to do the things that had to be done. They admitted the existence of certain abuses, yes. But in their hearts they wishfully believed that improvement (should) could come from individual initiative or local initiative without the help of Government. And if improvement could not come without Government action, then they wanted no improvement at all.

People who feel and think like that are what I call "Conservatives," and even "reactionaries." And people who feel that the past (should) ought to be brought up to the present by using every legitimate instrument to do the job, including Government (included), those people I call "liberals" or "progressives."

Any man -- any political party -- has a right to be honestly one or the other. (Applause) But the Nation cannot stand for the confusion of having him pretend to be one and act like the other. (Applause)

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer came to the White House and asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative. And I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, "Mr. A" is a composite conservative. "Mr. A" (He) admitted that in 1933, for instance, interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm or a home were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks (and bonds); he admitted that the hours of work in his factory and a great many other factories were too long;

he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation had made farming and fishing extremely hazardous occupations; and he even admitted that the buying power of farmers and fishermen had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

But, (conservative) "Mr. A", conservative "Mr. A", not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems in cooperation with his Government, he (even) found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

"Mr. B", on the other hand, I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only agreed with "Mr. A" on (admitted) the needs and the problems (like "Mr. A",) but "Mr. B" (he) put his shoulder under the load, he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with his Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. "Mr. B" did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world of ours. (Applause)

And, my friends, if we have a Government run by the "Mr. A's" of this life, it is obvious that the Nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- bump along from one 1929 crisis to another. And yours is the choice of what kind of a Government you want.

I ran across an interesting thing the other day: Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his (great work) famous book on the American Commonwealth, (said) had this to say: "An eminent

journalist remarked to me in 1908" -- that is thirty years ago -- "that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each bottle was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the parties may seem to have erred by neglecting to discover and work out any principles capable of solving the problems (which) that now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack (the) a nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has lived by, so far as they are (still) applicable, (and) but when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents."

That quotation from Bryce, that has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles.

(Applause)

Yes, why should not we be frank with each other? It is a great big nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico. The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it remains a liberal party. (Applause) And if it reverts to the situation of thirty or forty years ago, which Lord Bryce described, (more than a quarter of a century ago) it will fail.

As the leader of that party, I propose to try to keep it liberal. (Applause) As President of the United States, I conceive that course to be the best course in the best interests not only of Democrats (alone) but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States (of America). (Applause)

Increasingly during these past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown up throughout the land. People have continued to ask their representatives, their executive representatives, their representatives in Legislatures and the Congress, to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. And that applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers. (Applause)

You who live on the farm or near the farm know well how farmers were exploited by those who controlled Government from the end of the World War down to 1933 -- and by the monopolies they fostered (which) -- monopolies that still give us trouble. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. And industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners.

America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago people who were injured in factories through no fault of their own (in factories) found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for their injuries. A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. (Applause) Ten years later, I, following (his) this man's lead, was helping to pass a workmen's compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is that workmen's compensation laws are not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. They confer a definite benefit on farmers because the injured industrial worker is able to get his compensation promptly and continue to buy food for himself and his family. Do you ever think of that? (Applause)

Later on, a good many years later on, in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a parcel post law on the statute books of the United States. (Applause) And remember that that parcel post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes. But it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of the country.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator

of (earlier) former days.

Many years later it became clearer that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nationwide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured today to millions of our people. (Applause)

I know that, speaking here to you citizens in Denton, to people who are listening in on the radio all over Maryland, I know that I do not have to name that young man. That man, now well along in mature middle age, I do not have to tell you his name. But, my friends, in forty-seven other states there are people, a total of millions of them, who are listening to what I am saying on this Labor Day, and for their benefit, if they do not know, the name of that man is Representative Lewis of Maryland. (Applause) And, incidentally, people, millions of them in all the other states of the Union, are very proud of him. (Applause)

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He has (symbolizes) symbolized for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive to me that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister in Sunday School. And that is why perhaps he has lived the life of the Good Samaritan -- and he has (not) never passed by on the other side. (Applause)

You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes without saying. But may I express the hope that the choice you make will be the choice of all who are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, an "organization" group or an "anti-organization" group, not the choice of only part of the voters either in city or in country districts, but the choice of all who have the right to make the choice.

At a time like this of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security in the United States is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own (country) land. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer. (Applause)

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the Nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been glad to defend agriculture to labor and business. That is part of my public duty.

When I became President I found a country demoralized, (and)

disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787, 151 years ago, when there was grave danger that the states would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to (be) become lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American Union.

A (big) great part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. And the great test for us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

Such progress I need hardly remind you comes ultimately from the rank and file of our citizens, and through the representatives of their free choice -- representatives willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action.

(Applause)

What you do, what I (or any one man may) do, what any man or woman may do is of small moment compared with what the people do. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our Union, I am confident that all who labor in the field and factory will carry on the good work, carry it through to a just and successful end.

(This) That, my friends, that is our high purpose on this Labor Day of 1938. (Prolonged applause)

STATEMENTS FILE
Shorthand by Kanner

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

September 5, 1938

CAUTION: This radio address of the President, to be delivered at Denton, Maryland, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release in all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 2:00 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, September 5, 1938.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION. (10)

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

For two reasons which I think you will approve, I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today.

The first reason is to give you and me a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. That fact is —

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America;

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters nightly in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive and to the Congress of the United States;

that in the Free State of Maryland — happily a part of the Union — the Flag, the Constitution and the President are still as welcome as in all of the other forty-seven States of the Union;

The second, and the original, reason for my coming here is also related to the unity of the Nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in September — Labor Day — is set aside in special honor of those who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and mines. That is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs just as much to those who work with head and hand on farms. There is no distinction between those who run farms or work on farms and those who work in industry. For you and I well know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively recently from farms all over the country, including Maryland, and from farms of the Old World, from which originally we all came.

America has always had — and America still has — a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around to give that minority all it wants and at the same time to give the rest of America — the overwhelming majority of Americans — a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor on the farm as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over this country the unity of interest of all common men and women — warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm — grows steadily more evident. Clearer every day is the one great lesson of history — the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee — that the only road to peace and the only road to civilization is the road to unity — the road called the "Highway of Fellowship".

But as this community of interest becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class feeling among people who instinctively are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other states -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudices and class feeling which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics.

Today above all else that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans just like him.

This is my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary degree by your own historic Washington University.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world. Your products of farm and fishery go to the greatest city markets of the United States. And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values in life.

That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you will, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another".

In order to make that relationship a benefit rather than a curse, in order to keep all of our people abreast of each other and in line with the present, our democratic form of government must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, the Federal Government had not moved forward at all. Life was out of balance and government had failed completely to recognize that important social needs called for action.

In a nation-wide effort to catch up with lost time, to bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of new undertakings had to be launched in 1933. But remember well that these undertakings were on a complete front that included American citizens in every occupation and in every part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people both in private and in public life who did not like to do the things that had to be done. They admitted the existence of certain abuses. But in their hearts they wishfully believed that improvement should come from individual initiative or local initiative without the help of government. If improvement could not come without government action, then they wanted no improvement at all.

People who feel and think like that I call "conservatives", and even "reactionaries". And people who feel that the past should be brought up to the present by using every legitimate instrument to do the job, government included, I call "liberals" or "progressives".

Any man -- any political party -- has a right to be honestly one or the other. But the nation cannot stand for the confusion of having him pretend to be one and not like the other.

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative. I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, "Mr. A" is a composite conservative. He admitted that in 1933 interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks and bonds; he admitted that the hours of work in his factory were too long; he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation made farming and fishing extremely hazardous occupations; and he even admitted that the buying power of farmers and fishermen had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

But conservative "Mr. A" not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems in cooperation with his government, he ~~ever~~ found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

"Mr. B", I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only ~~admitted~~ the needs and the problems like "Mr. A", but he put his shoulder under the load, he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. "Mr. B" did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world.

If we have a Government run by the "Mr. A's" of this life, it is obvious that the nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- bump along from one 1929 crisis to another. Yours is the choice.

Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his great work on the American Commonwealth, said: "An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1900 that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the parties may seem to have erred..... by neglecting to discover and work out any principles capable of solving the problems which now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack the nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has lived by, so far as they are still applicable, and, when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents".

That has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a Party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles.

* The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it remains a liberal party. If it reverts to the situation which Lord Bryce described more than a quarter of a century ago, it will fail.

As the leader of that party, I propose to try to keep it liberal. As President of the United States I conceive that course to begin the best interests not of Democrats alone but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States of America.

Increasingly during those past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown throughout the land. People have continued to ask their representatives to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. That applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers.

You who live on the farm know well how farmers were exploited by those who controlled government from the end of the World War to 1933 -- and by the monopolies they fostered which still give us trouble. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. Industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners. America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago people who were injured through no fault of their own ~~in-faciative~~ found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for their injuries. A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. Ten years later, I, following her lead, was helping to pass a workmen's compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is that workmen's compensation laws are not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. They confer a definite benefit on farmers because the injured industrial worker is able to get his compensation and continue to buy food for himself and his family.

Later on in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a parcel post law on the statute books of the United States. That parcel post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes. But it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of the country.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator of ~~earlier~~ days.

Many years later it became clear that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nationwide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured to millions of our people.

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He symbolized for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister in Sunday School. And that is why perhaps he has lived the life of the Good Samaritan -- and has not passed by on the other side.

You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes without saying. But may I express the hope that the choice will be the choice of all who are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, an "organization" group or an "anti-organization" group, not the choice of only part of the voters either in city or in country, but the choice of all who have the right to make the choice.

At a time of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own ~~members~~. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer.

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been to defend agriculture to labor and business. That is part of my public duty.

When I became President I found a country demoralized and disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787 when there was grave danger that the States would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to be lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American Union.

A big part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. The great test for us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

Such progress comes from the rank and file of our citizens, and through the representatives of their free choice -- representatives willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action.

What I or any one man may do is of small moment compared with what the people do. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our Union, I am confident that all who labor in field and factory will carry on the good work.

This is our high purpose on this Labor Day of 1936.

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FIRST DRAFT

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
LABOR DAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1938

I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today for two reasons which I think you will approve.

Subj. A
[The first is to establish a fact denied by some of your newspapers and in the heat of the campaign, by some candidates for public office--that the President of the United States is still welcome in the Free State of Maryland as he is in all of the other forty-seven states of the Federal Union.]

Subj. B
[The second reason is perhaps a novel one. To the unthinking, the first Monday in September, widely observed as Labor Day, is set aside in special honor of that element in our population which works in mills and factories or at skilled mechanical trades. Such a narrow interpretation does injustice to that large majority of the American population which labors with its hands and heads in other fields.]

That is why I have chosen a region which is essentially agricultural and is therefore, by right, interested in labor under the broad definition of that splendid word.

The progress of civilization is most often hampered, the wheels of ~~government~~ improvement ^{of human living conditions} are most often turned backward, by those few in every community who try to set class

FIRST DRAFT

-2-

against class and to create prejudice between this group and that group. You in the State of Maryland in recent weeks have been treated to a number of examples which can ~~explained~~ be ~~understood~~ only on the theory that they are a part of political hysteria. It does not help the cause of constitutional government, however, to laugh ~~that~~ off on the ^A general theory that anything is fair in love or politics.

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer asked me to define the difference between a liberal and a conservative--and I told her that I could only do so by giving examples covering certain fields of human endeavor which really exemplify all the activities that enter into American life.

For example, I said, Mr. A and Mr. B. have been bankers for many years. Mr. A in earlier days was willing to admit that the interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to build a home were altogether too high. He admitted the need for lower rates for money borrowed by the prospective home builder or farm buyer, but he did absolutely nothing about it. Mr. B, his fellow banker, recognized the need and in banking circles and in

FIRST DRAFT

-3-

cooperation with his government, worked actively for a system of lower interest charges. Mr. A was a conservative and Mr. B was a liberal

There were for instance two brokers, one of them, Mr. A admitted that there were many excesses, many sharp practices and abuses in issuing of transactions in stocks and bonds but he opposed every effort that was suggested to correct the abuses. Mr. B, his fellow broker, did not stop short at admitting abuses but cooperated with his associates and with his government in seeking to put an end to the evils.

Another Mr. A ran a factory with many industrial employees. He knew that sixty or seventy hours of work a week were too long for steady employment at a machine but, when years ago it was suggested that the hours of industrial labor be limited to fifty-four hours a week, he thought his business would suffer and called the plan communistic. His fellow manufacturer, Mr. B, during the same period was willing to cooperate with his liberal associates and with the government of his state or his nation in seeking to put a ceiling on the hours of work in industry. Mr. A, excellent man though he was, was a conservative and Mr. B was a liberal.

XXX -4-

In the great changes which have come over employment in all countries in this century in which we live, the security of American homes has decreased to an alarming extent. Fear of what would happen as old age came on has crept into millions of homes. In our own country and in other nations, the liberal element has sought ways and means of obtaining what has come to be known as a greater social security--some assurance that the poorhouse would not be the end of the road and some assurance that when the job ~~failed~~ folded there would be some method of tiding over the difficult period before another job could be found. Mr. A during these years has admitted the desirability of doing something about it but when any plan was suggested, he has ferreted out all manner of objections to the plan itself and has offered nothing in its place. The voter who is represented by Mr. B--the more liberal of the two--has taken an active and positive interest in developing and putting into operation definite machinery to end the evil.

The same difference applies among farmers. You and I know the ups and downs of farming--not those caused by mere weather conditions but those caused principally by economic conditions which were not remedied because the duly elected

-5-

representatives in state capitols and in Washington, assumed that the farmers were patient people, conservative people who would not starve in any event and, therefore, could be assumed to continue their support of conservative legislators.

Farmer A was of this type--a conservative. He figured out that he and his father and grandfather had always managed to get by with some work; that he and his neighbors could grow most of their own food and sell enough outside to provide some cash for outside things. Farmer B was and is a liberal for he recognized that modern civilization called for more and more of these outside things which could not be made in the locality--things like automobiles and modern farm machinery and radios and movies and telephones. Furthermore, his taxes were going up because new hard-surfaced highways cost a lot of money--and so did better health conditions and store clothes and modern education. In other words, he had to get ~~xxxx~~ cash in the course of a year than his father had found necessary.

He realized that his dollars were not increasing as rapidly as the dollars of many people who went into the big cities. He was a liberal and he began voting for people who would try to bring his income up to the relative position in the nation that it occupied a quarter of a century ago.

FIRST DRAFT

96-

In other words, in these past six years the majority of the farmers of the nation have rightly asked their representatives to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions, not just for farmers alone but for all who labor in America.

~~This~~ Thus Labor Day is just as much the farmers day as the industrial workers day. You who live on the farm know very well how you are exploited by those who controlled government from 1921 to 1933. But I think you realize also that for many long years labor was exploited too. Since 1933 there has been a great awakening to the fact that the interests of the farmer are just about identical with the interests of the city worker and vice versa.

Industrial labor has come to a realization of the fact that unless the farmers of the United States are prosperous they will not be able to buy the products of the factories. And the farmers of America have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous, it will not be able to buy the food and clothing materials produced from the soil and the farmers will feel the immediate effect.

You well know what we have sought to accomplish since 1933. In the field of industry, our goal has been a stabilization

FIRST DRAFT

-7-

of employment, the paying of a fair wage, the shortening of cruelly long hours at the machine and the establishment of collective bargaining in order to protect the worker against ^{the} ~~immorality~~ of employers which is willing to exploit its employees and fails to do the decent thing. In the case of agriculture we have sought to end the exploitation that comes from speculation, from over-production, from unholy middlemen's profits and from financial squeezes of a dozen kinds.

Whenever factory payrolls and consumer income declines, farmers at once feel the shock. When the income of farmers takes a nose dive, the factories begin to lay off men and women.

Economic lesson number one of the last twenty years is that men and women on farms and men and women in the cities are partners. America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

And speaking of that and of the suggestion of some Marylanders that the President of the United States is invading Maryland as an enemy of your freedom if he comes here to speak, I am reminded of what Abraham Lincoln said to a delegation which came to see him in the autumn of 1863. I do not, of

FIRST DRAFT

-8-

course, compare my problems with his problems except that I, like he, am charged with the responsibility of advising people in a time of great difficulty.

Lincoln said, "You appear to come before me as my friends if I agree with you and not otherwise. I do not speak of mere personal friendship. When I speak of my friends I mean those who are friendly * * * to the policy of the government. I am well aware that by many, by some even among this delegation * * * I have been in public speeches and in printed documents charged with 'tyranny and wilfulness', -- 'with the disposition to make my own personal will supreme'. I do not intend to be a tyrant. At all events, I shall take care that in my own eyes I do not become one."

To paraphrase a letter which I received the other day from a small Maryland farmer, I am here to carry out the proper tradition of many of my predecessors -- the right to explain to the voters in forty-eight states--not just in forty-seven states -- what I believe to be the fundamental problems that lie before the nation, what I believe to be the best methods of solving these problems, what I believe to be ignorant or wilful mis-statements of facts, and what I believe to be those who are true friends of those objectives and general

FIRST DRAFT

-9-

policies as distinguished from those who while calling themselves friends are often wolves in sheeps clothing.

Suggestions

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR DAY

SEPTEMBER 5, 1938.

DENTON, MARYLAND

I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today for two reasons which I think you will approve.

The first is to give you and me, together, a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. That fact is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America;

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters mightily in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive of the ^{and to the Congress} _A United States of America;

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A United States of America;

- happy, Mr.

in
that the Free State of Maryland ← ~~is~~

A

~~part of the Union, a~~

~~with one flag, one Constitution and one
President.~~

~~that all three of them -- the Flag, the
Constitution and the President are still
as welcome in the Free State of Maryland~~
as in all of the other forty-seven States
of the ~~one~~ Union.

(The President of the United States an "invader" -- next
door to the Capitol (~~interpolated~~) of the United States, in one
of the thirteen original States of the United States -- well now
isn't that just funny?)

The second -- and the original reason for my coming here
is ~~perhaps~~ ^{as a} ~~now~~ also related to the ~~individuality~~ of
this nation.

The first Monday in September is widely observed as Labor
Day. It is a day set aside in special honor of the millions of
our population who have left farms of Maryland and farms of all
the rest of our United States, and farms of the Old World from
~~at a Yre de~~
which we all came, to work in mills and factories and railroads

in the cities which are the children and the partners of the great
mother -- agriculture.

But if in appraising the significance of this day we interpret narrowly that splendid word "labor" -- if we feel that only urban labor has reason to celebrate the unquestioned improvement in the conditions of urban labor -- we miss much of what Labor Day should mean to the whole nation in 1938.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around ~~to~~ to give that minority all they need and to give the rest of America, ^{at the same time} ~~the~~ a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor with head and hand, on the farm and in the business office as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over this country, all over this world, the ^{unity of} interest of all common men and women, warm-hearted simple men and women, ~~willing to work for others~~ willing to live and let live, whether on factory or on farm, grow steadily more ^{Urgent} ~~important~~ ^{is} every day ~~more~~ the one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee -

that the only road to peace and the only road to civilization is giving men and women the chance to see and then ~~to follow the road which is called the highway leading them to their essential unity of interest.~~
~~of interpretation (misinterpretation), of letting men see and~~
~~of unity."~~

But as that community of interest becomes apparent to they ~~who live on~~
~~the farm and in the city,~~ the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself ~~does~~
~~first and before all other people,~~ just because it conceives its ~~to be~~
interest ~~is~~ opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority ~~is~~ is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this group and that group of the common people of America — ~~to~~
~~create a new class consciousness among people who instinctively~~
are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other States -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class consciousness which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy either in the State of Maryland or in those other States to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love or in politics. ~~Prejudices leave permanent wounds in society when political purposes are long-over and done with.~~

above all else

-5-

Today that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their ~~relations~~ ^{factual} ~~and~~ their partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of ~~that splendid word~~ "labor", ^{in the mind of} the farmer who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who like him labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans like him, Marylanders like him, Eastern Shore ~~people~~ like him, part of our one and indivisible ~~nation~~ ^{people}.

areas of industry will eventually prevail through all industry.

Let every one of us work and hope for such a treaty of industrial peace.

As President of the United States, I have sponsored measures of direct benefit to farmers, to labor, and to business, as well as to other groups of our population. In each case the group benefited directly has given strong support to what has been done. However, some members of each group, while willing for their own group to receive help, have seemed to oppose help for the other groups.

Almost everybody wants to be fair. But for some of us, our vision is sometimes clouded because we do not have all of the facts. The sad truth is that all too often definite efforts are made to see that the people don't get the facts. Special interests, playing their own game without regard for the public good, have followed the tactics of "divide and conquer". Over and over these interests have sought to turn labor group against labor group and farm group against farm group. Over and over, these interests have tried to arouse farmers against labor and city people against farmers. Every time these interests succeed, all business and of us, including the/professional people, the office workers and the housewives, are the victims. We all suffer along with farmers and labor when their disunity hurts the programs that give them added buying power. My strong appeal to agriculture and labor today is not to dissolve their partnership. That partnership is for the lasting good of the nation.

As President, I have ~~been willing and able~~ ^{willing} to defend the interests of each of the nation's great groups to the others, even if the others

were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been to defend agriculture to labor and business.

This is part of my public duty.
This is part of my public duty.

I found a country demoralized and disorganized, with ~~the~~ these groups ~~pushing to serve by taking advantage of the others~~ ^{in 1787} ~~and at war with each other~~. As in the time of George Washington, when there was grave danger that the ~~colonies~~ would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to be lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American union.

My duty
A big part of my ~~job~~ as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. The great test of us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to be tolerant of each other. ~~The test is whether they are willing to work together for continuing progress.~~

The task of restoring our American union can not be done by any one individual. It must be done by the rank and file of our citizens. ~~And by the representatives of their free choice.~~
~~Are we all willing to make the effort to understand each other's problems -- to cooperate in planning and carrying out solutions -- to compromise if necessary in a true spirit of give-and-take? The thing that makes democracies great is not spectacular leadership. It is the willingness of every individual citizen to bear his share of the burden of making democracy work. What I or any one man may do is of small moment compared to what the people do and think. In this test to preserve our democracy and our union, I am confident the people of the United States will measure up.~~

This is our shining goal on this Labor Day of 1938.

SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR DAY

SEPTEMBER 5, 1938

DENTON, MARYLAND

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The first is to give you and me, together, a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. That fact is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America;

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters slightly in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive and to the Congress of the United States, ~~and therefore~~,

that in the Free State of Maryland -- happily
a part of the Union -- the Flag, the Constitu-
tion and the President are still as welcome
as in all of the other forty-seven States of
the Union.

The second -- and the original reason for my coming here
is also related to the unity of this nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in
September -- Labor Day -- is set aside in special honor of those
who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and mines.
That is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs just as much
to those who work with head and hand on farms, ~~and in business~~
~~addressee~~. There is no distinction between those who run farms or
work on farms and those who work in industry, for you and I well
know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively
recently from farms all over the country, including Maryland, and
from farms of the Old World from which originally we all came.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small
minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go
around to give that minority ~~all they need~~^{it wants} and at the same time
to give the rest of America -- the overwhelming majority of America --
a humane and modern standard of living. From today that minority

~~any~~, the ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~past~~. And people who feel that
the past should be brought up to the present by ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing}
~~any~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~past~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~, government included, I call

"Liberal" or "progressive"
~~— the Liberal party —~~
Any ~~two~~ ~~parties~~ ~~have~~ ~~a~~ ~~right~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~honestly~~ ~~one~~
or the other, ~~but~~ the nation cannot ~~stand~~ ^{stand for} the condition
of having two parties to be one and not like the other.

is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{on} business, on the farm and in the business, as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over this country, ~~and~~ ^{over} this land, the unity of interest of all common men and women, warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm, grows steadily more evident. ~~more~~ ^{more} Class ~~conscious~~ ^{conscious} every day is the one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee -- that the only road to peace and the only road to civilization is ^{to give to} ~~giving~~ men and women the chance to see and then to follow that road which is called the "Highway of ~~the~~ ^{to} ~~of~~ ^{the} Follow."

But as this community of interest becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class consciousness itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this group and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class ~~consciousness~~ ^{feeling} among people who instinctively are not class conscious.

SECOND DRAFT

-4-

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other States -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and ~~hatred~~ class ~~consciousness~~ which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy ~~either in~~ anywhere in the State of Maryland or in these other States to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love ~~and~~ politics.

Today above all else that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans ~~just~~ like him, Marylanders like him, Eastern Shore people like him, part of our one and indivisible nation.

SECOND DRAFT

-4-

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other States -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class ~~animosities~~ ^{hatred} which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy ~~either in~~ anywhere in the State of Maryland or in these other States to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in ~~and~~ politics.

Today above all else that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their relatives ^{Y.C.} and their logical partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans ~~just~~ like him, Marylanders like him, Eastern Shore people like him, part of our one and indivisible nation.

A In order to make
that ~~is~~ relationship a
benefit rather than a
curse, in order to keep
all of our people abreast
of each other and ~~each~~^{in his}
~~with the present~~
~~efforts~~, our democratic
form of government must
move forward on many
fronts at the same time.

SECOND DRAFT

-5-

That is why I have wanted for a long time to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland to make a Labor Day speech.

This is my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary ^{Upper South} ~~Historic~~ degree by Washington University, ~~located in your midst.~~

Yours is one of the greatest farming and fishing communities of the United States, rich in wealth and rich in historic tradition.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world.
^{farming & fishing}
Your products go to the greatest ~~urban~~ ^{city} markets of the United States.

And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values in life. That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you will, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another".

^A That means that in any modern society because some form of government is necessary our democratic form of government, in carrying out the principle of unity, must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, ~~the~~ ^{the federal} government

SECOND DRAFT

-6-

had not moved forward at all. ~~our economic life was seriously~~
out of balance and government had completely failed to
recognize that important social needs called for action.

In a nationwide effort to catch up with lost time, to
bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of
in 1933.
new undertakings had to be launched. But remember well
that these undertakings were on a complete front that in-
cluded American citizens in every occupation and in every
part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people
both in private and in public life who did not like ~~improvement~~
~~things that had been done~~
~~bad policy of the government.~~ They admitted the exist-
ence of certain abuses, But in their hearts they thought
widely believed
that improvement should come ~~mainly~~ from individual
initiative or local initiative without the necessity of
~~any kind of government.~~ If improvement
could not come without government action,
then they wanted no improvement at all.

SECOND DRAFT

-7-

People who feel and think like that I call "conservative".
The general term for such people is the word "conservative",
which word includes the word "reactionary", and the broad word for
those who think that Government itself must ~~work harder in making~~
~~not to interfere with business~~
~~the past up to the present in terms of law~~ is the word "liberal"
or perhaps the word "progressive".

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative and I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, Mr. A is a composite conservative.
In 1913
He admitted that interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks and bonds; he admitted that the hours of work in his factory were too long; he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation made farming ~~an~~ extremely hazardous occupations and he even admitted that the farmers' ~~buying power~~ had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

" But conservative Mr. A not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems, in cooperation with his Government, but found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

" Mr. B, I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only admitted the needs and the problems like Mr. A, but he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. " Mr. B did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world.

" If we have a Government run by the Mr. A's of this life, it is obvious that the nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- ~~and if you do you will have another 1929~~. Another chance is there. Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his great work on the American Commonwealth, said: ~~about Parties in America~~ - "An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great Parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the Parties may seem to have erred ~~either by having always~~ ~~too long to wear out ideology~~ and by neglecting to discover and

work out any principles capable of solving the problems which now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a Government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack the nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great Party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has ~~lived up to~~^{by} so far as they are still applicable, and when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents".

That has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a Party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles.

The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it ~~remains~~ remains a liberal party. If it fails, it will revert to the situation which Lord Bryce described a quarter of a century ago.

As the leader of that Party, I propose to ~~use~~^{Try} to keep it liberal. As President of the United States I conceive that course to be in the best interests not of Democrats alone

SECOND DRAFT

-10-

but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States of America.

Increasingly during these past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown throughout the land.
People
~~they~~ have continued to ask their representatives to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. That applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers.

You who live on the farm know well how ~~we~~ were exploited by those who controlled government from the end of the World War to 1933. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. Industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years

SECOND DRAFT

-11-

is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners. America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago ~~our civilization as a whole~~

~~was being hurt by serious accidents that were occurring in factories and mines. In~~ ^{factories} ~~and mines~~ people who were injured through no fault of their own found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for ~~these~~ ^{their} injuries.

A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws, ~~in many states~~. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. ^{Two years} ~~at the same period~~ ^{later}, ~~the same period~~ following his lead, ~~the young legislator~~ ~~of New York~~ was helping to pass a Workmen's Compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is that that ~~workmen's~~ ^{is all} compensation law ~~is~~ not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. ~~It~~ confer~~s~~ a definite benefit on ~~farmers of Maryland~~ because the injured industrial worker

SECOND DRAFT

-12-

able to get his compensation and continue to buy food for himself and his family.

Later on in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a Parcel Post law on the statute books of the United States. That Parcel Post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes, but it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of ~~the country~~.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator of earlier days.

Many years later it became clear that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nationwide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured to millions of our people.

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and

SECOND DRAFT

-13-

of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He symbolizes ^{fr} in the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who ~~maxim~~ rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister (C) in Sunday School. ^A You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes ~~almost~~ without saying. But may I express the hope that the choice will be the choice of all^{who} are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, organization or anti-organization, not the choice of part of the voters ^{Av} either in city or in country, but the choice of all^{who} have have the right to make it.

(Good Samaritan speech)

SECOND DRAFT

-14-

At a time of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own country. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer.

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been to defend agriculture to labor and business.

That is part of my public duty. When I became President, I found a country demoralized and disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787, when there was grave danger that the States would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to be lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American union.

SECOND DRAFT

-15-

A big part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. The great test ~~for~~ of us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

~~The task of restoring our American union cannot be done by any one individual. It must be done by the rank and file of our citizens, and by the representatives of their free choice -- representatives, willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action.~~

~~The thing that makes democracies great is the willingness of every individual citizen to bear his share of the burden of making democracy work.~~

What I or any one man may do is of small moment compared with what the people do, ~~and think~~. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our union, I am confident that all who labor in field and factory will carry on the good work.

high purpose
This is our ~~word~~ on this Labor Day of 1938.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

AT DENTON, MARYLAND,

SEPTEMBER 5, 1938.

For two reasons which I think you will approve, I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today.

The first reason is to give you and me a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. That fact is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America;

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters mightily in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive and to the Congress of the United States;

that in the Free State of Maryland -- happily a part of the Union -- the Flag, the Constitution and the President are still as welcome as in all of the other forty-seven States of the Union.

The second, and the original, reason for my coming here is also related to the unity of this nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in September -- Labor Day -- is set aside in special honor of those who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and mines. That is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs just as much to those who work with head and hand on farms. There is no distinction between those who run farms or work on farms and those who work in industry. For you and I well know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively recently from farms all over the country, including Maryland, and from farms of the Old World from which originally we all came.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around to give that minority all it wants and at the same time to give the rest of America -- the overwhelming majority of America -- a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor on the farm as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over this country the unity of interest of all common men and women -- warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm -- grows steadily more evident. Clearer every day is the one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee -- that the only road to peace and the only road to civilization is the road to unity -- the road called the "Highway of Fellowship".

But as this community of interest becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class feeling among people who instinctively are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other States -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class feeling which can be charitably explained only as political hysteria. But it does not help the cause of Constitutional government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics.

Today above all else that minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on the one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, who above all people has always known what it meant to have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, Americans just like him.

This is my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary degree by your own historic Washington University.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world. Your products of farm and fishery go to the greatest city markets of the United States. And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values in life.

That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you will, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another".

In order to make that relationship a benefit rather than a curse, in order to keep all of our people abreast of each other and in line with the present, our democratic form of government must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, the Federal Government had not moved forward at all. Life was out of balance and government had failed completely to recognize that important social needs called for action.

In a nation-wide effort to catch up with lost time, to bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of new undertakings had to be launched in 1933. But remember well that these undertakings were on a complete front that included American citizens in every occupation and in every part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people both in private and in public life who did not like to do the things that had to be done. They admitted the existence of certain abuses. But in their hearts they wishfully believed that improvement should come from individual initiative or local initiative without the help of government. If improvement could not come without government action, then they wanted no improvement at all.

People who feel and think like that I call "conservatives", and even "reactionaries". And people who feel that the past should be brought up to the present by using every legitimate instrument to do the job, government included, I call "liberals" or "progressives".

Any man -- any political party -- has a right to be honestly one or the other. But the nation cannot stand for the confusion of having him pretend to be one and act like the other.

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative. I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, "Mr. A" is a composite conservative. He admitted that in 1933 interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks and bonds; he admitted that the hours of work in his factory were too long; he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation made farming and fishing extremely hazardous occupations; and he even admitted that the buying power of farmers and fishermen had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

But conservative "Mr. A" not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems in cooperation with his government. He even found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

"Mr. B", I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only admitted the needs and the problems like "Mr. A", but he put his shoulder under the load, he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. "Mr. B" did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world.

If we have a Government run by the "Mr. A's" of this life, it is obvious that the nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- bump along from one 1929 crisis to another. Yours is the choice.

Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his great work on the American Commonwealth, said: "An eminent journalist remarked to me in 1908 that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the parties may seem to have erred by neglecting to discover and work out any principles capable of solving the problems which now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack the nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has lived by, so far as they are still applicable, and when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents".

That has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a Party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles.

The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it remains a liberal party. If it reverts to the situation which Lord Bryce described more than a quarter of a century ago, it will fail.

As the leader of that party, I propose to try to keep it liberal. As President of the United States I conceive that course to be in the best interests not of Democrats alone but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States of America.

Increasingly during these past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown throughout the land. People have continued to ask their representatives to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. That applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers.

You who live on the farm know well how farmers were exploited by those who controlled government from the end of the World War to 1933 -- and by the monopolies they fostered which still give us trouble. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. Industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners. America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago people who were injured through no fault of their own in factories found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for their injuries. A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. Ten years later, I, following his lead, was helping to pass a workmen's compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is that workmen's compensation laws are not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. They confer a definite benefit on farmers because the injured industrial worker is able to get his compensation and continue to buy food for himself and his family.

Later on in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a parcel post law on the statute books of the United States. That parcel post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes. But it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of the country.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator of earlier days.

Many years later it became clear that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nation-wide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured to millions of our people.

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He symbolizes for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister in Sunday School. And that is why perhaps he has lived the life of the Good Samaritan -- and has not passed by on the other side.

You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes without saying. But may I express the hope that the choice will be the choice of all who are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, an "organization" group or an "anti-organization" group, not the choice of only part of the voters either in city or in country, but the choice of all who have the right to make the choice.

At a time of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own country. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer.

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been to defend agriculture to labor and business. That is part of my public duty.

When I became President I found a country demoralized and disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787, when there was grave danger that the States would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to be lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American Union.

A big part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. The great test for us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

Such progress comes from the rank and file of our citizens, and through the representatives of their free choice -- representatives willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action.

What I or any one man may do is of small moment compared with what the people do. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our Union, I am confident that all who labor in field and factory will carry on the good work.

This is our high purpose on this Labor Day of 1938.