

Jan. 7, 1939

[Jackson Day Speech]

1193

FDR Speech File

FIRST DRAFT

JACKSON DAY SPEECH

JANUARY 7, 1939.

Last night I was thinking about this gathering [of  
Democrats and our Party and what we ought to do [about it, they it.  
and I decided to go to headquarters, and consult a patron  
saint. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

[He was busy -- shooting at the shade of Nicholas Biddle.]

"Young man" he said to me, "I don't know what's  
bothering you. But before you tell me, my general advice  
on any problem is to start by shooting".

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem  
I have. [I'm very fond of the Democratic Party, and want to  
talk to you about her.] The more other people say against  
her, the more I want to help her. [What advice should I give  
her?] What should she do?"

The General [paused to give Nicholas Biddle the left  
barrel. Then he] replied:

"My eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away.  
But from what I can see from here, son, the trouble with the  
Democratic Party, that lady you are interested in, is that  
she has been feedin' too well and she's stopped her exercises  
and she's taking too much for granted. That is what I used

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to say to Peggy O'Neill — keep your figger and keep peart  
and you don't need to worry what any woman says about you.  
*And so, young fellows, talk to her*  
Next time you see the Democratic Party tell her  
for me to start doing her exercises again and [keep from  
not get]  
being fat and lazy — [and] then she will be all right.

A political party that would keep the charm of  
perennial youth [so that it does not need] to worry about  
what rival people say [about it] cannot afford to grow fat  
and flabby. And although I am rather sure that I shall love  
the Democratic Party no matter how lazy *she* gets, I am not  
sure that twenty-seven million other admirers who voted  
for *her* in 1936 would say and do under such circumstances.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to  
"examine its conscience" — a grand phrase — to think over  
most seriously what we have done that we should not have  
done — what we have left undone that we should *do* — and to  
*Let us start by being realistically*  
be humble about our present position of power.

[And the most realistic place from which to begin  
our stock-taking seems to me to be this.]

From 1920 on the Republican Party fed too well and  
got fat and lazy. *They* were tired  
of that "do-nothing" government for which they [had had to]

suffer through the terrible days. That was one reason why they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party during summer and autumn had a [policy] program of action and sounded sincere.

In 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. [and] the Democratic Party had carried out its pledges and still had a good figger. Hence [its] overwhelming [support] victory of 1936. Millions who [were previously not] Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party has a claim to continue in power so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power simply because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1834, when Jackson was [in the White House], a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but

Who ~~which~~ anxiously desire~~s~~ to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may\*.

Today the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people want<sup>an</sup> a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve~~the~~ the majority of the people<sup>there</sup> without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party ~~when~~ <sup>when</sup> the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where ~~more effective opposition will be possible~~ than during the past six years. For six long years the minority excused~~itself~~ itself for not having a policy on the ground that it ~~had~~ so few votes. Today it has more votes and, therefore, has no excuse to continue without an alternative program.

[It was this impotence of the Republican Party which during recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful lobbies and other interests, which believed in an American form of Fascism and was opposed to genuine democracy, to seek to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils, in order to gain control and paralyze it.] It is an open secret

that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent

occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to ~~do their~~  
~~work under the cover of~~  
~~get behind~~ the opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of <sup>the</sup> gains made by the Republicans Party  
in the recent elections should be to restore to it ~~those~~ the  
~~open allegiance of those~~ <sup>command</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>with deliberate</sup>  
~~wolves in sheep's clothing who entered our Party that they~~ <sup>intend</sup>  
~~might destroy it.~~ <sup>to destroy</sup> <sup>our</sup> <sup>Party</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>electrify</sup>

~~of these gains real~~  
The second effect should be to bring Democrats to-  
gether and ~~solidify~~ <sup>to line up</sup> with them those from other parties who  
also preach the liberal gospel <sup>so that, firmly allied,</sup> ~~in order that~~ they may continue  
a common constructive service to the people of the country.

~~For if we give~~ <sup>the criticism that</sup>  
~~These independent voters, of the Democratic Party~~

~~will remain~~ <sup>they will be the first to</sup> a liberal party, ~~will recognize that fact and will~~  
~~also continue in an excellent position to prove~~ <sup>what I here</sup>  
and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, con-  
servative at heart, ~~will seek to~~ <sup>running</sup> ~~on both shoulders,~~  
running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, talking  
for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and

~~for~~ <sup>Kittens - note</sup> for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the  
other ~~for~~

<sup>the few extra changes</sup>  
<sup>in this last paragraph</sup>  
<sup>mark all page - Second Draft</sup>  
<sup>or the top of next page</sup>  
<sup>for notation to be</sup>  
<sup>double line</sup>

Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are?

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal - while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of jail and out of bankruptcy... or worse.

The Republicans' second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose ~~the~~ legislation ~~which~~ to put ~~the~~ <sup>Th</sup> into effect.

The Republican third New Deal - the one of 1938, issued this order: "Accept for the voters of your district all the benefits of the New Deal, promise them still greater benefits - any old kind that any old group asks for - but do not assume any obligations that would be necessary to make those benefits <sup>honest</sup> <sup>possible</sup> <sup>wanted by people</sup>"

Those tactics are all right for a party out of power - a party without national government responsibilities. But those tactics, if continued for another two years, cannot give our voters any real feeling of confidence. I knew a certain Senator once who in an effort to please everybody, adopted the habit of giving his endorsement to any resident of his State who sought an office. It was discovered in many instances that he had endorsed several hundred gentlemen for the same office.

The Senator is now dead; physically as well as politically.

and I am reminded of another Senatorial illustration, a gentle-  
We have known legislators  
~~men~~ who boasted that they voted for each and every appropriation  
that came along and against each and every tax proposal that  
was made. That is illustration of what our Republican  
friends were doing today.  
We Democrats, however, are in power. We have to act as a

Party in power. We cannot hold the confidence of the people if  
opposition within the Party combined with opposition without  
the Party reduces the Party to legislative and administrative  
inefficiency

How can we hold the confidence of the people if merely to  
avoid wrangling we have to agree to sit still and do nothing.

I am told that some members of the Democratic Party, secure  
in their local constituencies, would just as lief for their own  
personal convenience be members of a minority instead of a  
majority - less responsibility and more golf. That I do not  
believe. In the past six years we have sloughed off a number of  
Democrats who, disagreeing with the policies of the Party, have  
gone over to the opposition. For every one of these that we

~~have lost we have gained two to take their place.~~ If there are nominal Democrats who ~~are~~ as a matter of principle convinced that the Democratic Party should be a conservative party - Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the Party, and if within the Party they are defeated they might just as well join the Tweedledees. That is an honest thing for them to do, and for every loss of that kind <sup>the</sup> ~~Liberal~~ <sup>I am</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>new</sup> member. ~~the Democratic Party will make no concessions.~~

It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles ~~and~~ <sup>which</sup> the American people have come to look for in us.

If we deliver in full on our contract we need never fear the Republican Party so long as ~~the~~ it commands the support - in fact the underlying, directive support of those who owned it for several generations. And if I am correctly informed, the American Liberty League still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Over the past six years we have built the foundations and

forged the tools for the delivery of the promises we made in [redacted]  
four succeeding elections, beginning in 1932. Do not forget that  
last autumn, even though our majorities were reduced, we did win  
the Election.

I think I am historically correct in saying that if I live  
through my second term, I will be the first President in sixty-two  
years who has served two terms with a Congress of his own Party  
in both branches throughout the whole eight years.  
*by me*

That means that after supporting a President and a  
Congress of the same party in 1932 the electorate has affirmed  
that support in three succeeding general elections.

We in six years have made partial delivery. We have delivered.  
more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the  
time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor  
for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when  
On behalf of <sup>15</sup> we must seek our tenure ~~before~~ the American people once more in  
less than two years.

Wednesday May is a good day on which to talk to his Party  
Jackson  
about delivery on its promises. For he and the Party as he led  
it, delivered on the barrel-head, as few other party leaders or  
parties of any kind have ever delivered. Jackson was

our greatest party leader. ~~But there is something almost pathetic~~  
~~in the way the Party threw away the responsibility he brought to~~  
~~it.~~

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he ~~had~~  
~~they~~ believed in, and for the national unity which he ~~and they~~ did  
so much to create.

*Right down to the very last day of his final term he fought*  
for the common people and for national unity.

*The very last day of his final term*  
On that last day he vetoed a bill supported by many  
of his own party, - a bill which surrendered to the states and to  
a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's  
responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal  
Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

At this point in my manuscript I note the letters N.B. —  
~~which in old~~  
Latin ~~were~~ — ~~an interestingly enough~~ — ~~these letters~~ stand for  
A ~~lire~~  
"Not~~e~~ Bene", or in ~~old~~ English, "take good notice".

Jackson ~~the~~ successor, accounted a smart politician,  
could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they  
drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out  
because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar

and because they failed to deliver what they had promised on  
the barrel-head.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good no-  
tice."

Let this be another thought for 1840. In 1840 the new  
Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, ~~hard~~  
hard cider, "Sky-is-the-limit" campaign, backed by the descendants  
of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made  
his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his  
*When do you suppose - to*  
Cabinet to old Nicholas Biddle himself, the money-changer whom  
Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.  
*Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle*  
From A. ~~to~~ N. B. — four short years. And again I say  
"N. B. — take good notice".

A full generation — twenty years — passed by before the  
principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back with  
the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln — ~~him~~ who, parenthetically,  
was chosen President only through the device of the founding  
of a third party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain  
that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild  
stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson?

To claim that is absurd. Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd.

*My* casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to two further observations.

The first is that fine feathers do not always make a fine bird. We must always go behind the name to discover what usage the name was put to.

*abolition*  
~~The other thought~~ that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this — our — generation. We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days we were greatly influenced by the trappings and the antics of the donkey and the elephant. Today we are more impressed with the ~~ability~~ <sup>government's ability</sup> to perform the tasks that we, the people, set ~~it~~ to do.

In the old days in both parties there was far more manipulation of the actual processes of government by small groups, who, for their own benefit, could find numerous ways of cutting down the strength of the democratic impulse.

In the old days the ideal candidate, which ~~these~~ smart  
~~men~~ always looked for, was, as someone has described a former  
President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious  
but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even  
of thought.

It might be well for both parties in considering their  
candidates for President and Vice President to apply that  
formula to the dozens of Barkises, who, even at this moment,  
seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the  
elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an  
oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic  
and social -- perhaps I should say tea party -- pressures behind  
the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on  
the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent  
and courageous government can solve many problems which the  
average individual cannot face in a world where there are no  
longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move  
made by those who govern them --- whether in the Executive or the  
Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government --- with

clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider of ~~a~~ newspaper owners ~~or~~ or ~~or~~ political orators, <sup>s, who</sup> ~~which in spite of many~~ ~~lawless~~ adhered to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and analyze again, using our own thinking processes and not somebody's else, to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This real interest and belief and willingness to share in a democratically cooperative world lies deepest in that portion of the electorate which the wise leader knows he will longest have with him — the youth of the nation. There is a real difference between men and women who first became conscious of the world about them before and after the World War. This new generation, since the war, believes more than its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper".  
*N.Y.*  
A

It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords. It is more willing to let live because in its education it has more confidence in itself; eagerly and earnestly it believes that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the natural criterion and promise of our national life.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

Ill-fortune will come to any political manager who thinks that by ingenuous manipulation or the advertising of mealy-mouthed issues he can carry the country with him. For someone with a genius to drill down into that great pool below the surface of things -- a younger generation insistent on a new and better order of things -- will bring in a gusher and flood him out.

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I am not much of a believer in the accuracy or the infallibility of polls of sentiment. Much depends on the putting of the question and on the timing. It is not long since many people lost much money by backing an election poll which up to that time had been fairly correct.

But it is of interest that all polls everywhere and segment  
ly ~~all times, prove~~ that the younger generation of Americans  
are ~~making~~ by a very large majority in favor of keeping on going  
places with the New Deal. *Do not overlook this*  
*young generation, its votes are proportionately very*  
Some elder statesmen of my acquaintance in both Parties  
say,

might well repeat the old nursery rhyme:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush;  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all.  
It is four times as big as the bush!"

We, on this Jackson Day, ask again that the Democratic  
Party make Democracy work.

A First, as a National Party we must maintain a truly national  
outlook.

Second, local politicians must disassociate their local  
problems with National problems. As a National Party we hope,  
inasmuch not always successfully, that local political leaders will  
give local good government; but as a National Party handling

National problems we are compelled to disassociate ourselves from local administrations - especially when and where those local administrations become corrupt or fail to give good service.

Third, our Party, which perforce has to depend on ideas and devotion rather than on fat war chests, can no longer survive nationally as a mere group of local militia levy - it must have unity of command, unity of policy and unity of performance. A National movement passing on principles and ideals cannot afford to grow local feet of clay.

Fourth, it is essential to party progress and to National progress that we maintain a continuous search for many leaders who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal and progressive government. Thereby we will combat the forces within the Party and the forces in other parties who would seek to tear down the bulwarks of successful Liberalism.

We have seen the unfortunate results in other nations which have clung to an old leadership without accepting the aid and the advice of the younger generation as it matures.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration ~~inter-~~  
~~relationship and competence in personnel problems~~ with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. We have brought to the Government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their Government -- men and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in holding down a ~~present~~ <sup>lifelong</sup> government salary.

Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the ~~old~~ oldtime political office-holder.

If you believe the backstairs gossip mongers who pass themselves off as dealers in news, you will not believe what I am telling you about the people who today are running the Government of the United States. But then, as election returns have shown,

~~very few people believe the Washington newspaper~~

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. But all of us being from Missouri, we are able to recognize real cooperation when we get it. We are even willing to accept temporary help, always bearing in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum!

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained it to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.

"Shure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give ye my my fullest cooperation. I will lend ye the drum; you couldn't have a daycent parade without it". "But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one

personal condition. Ye'll have to agree to take the dhrum out of the parade when ye get to Queen Street. For that's the corner where we Fenians are goin' to be lay'n for ye."

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the place where the American people will be lay'n for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight the enemies of the American people - inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, oportunism - all the evils that turn man against man.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united ~~democratic~~ Nation.

If we do that - by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our flag.

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SECOND DRAFT

JACKSON DAY ADDRESS

JANUARY 7, 1939.

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Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

"Young man" he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start shooting".

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem I have. I want to talk to you about the Democratic Party. I am very fond of her. The more other people say against her, the more I want to help her. What should she do?"

The General replied: "My eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away. But from what I can see from here, son, the trouble with the Democratic Party, that lady you are interested in, is that she has been feedin' too well and she's stopped her exercises and she's taking too much for granted. That is what I used to say to the ladies -- 'keep (?) your figger and keep peart and you don't need to worry what any other woman says about you'.

And so, young fellow, next time you talk to the Democratic Party tell her for me to start doing her exercises again and not get fat and lazy -- then she will be all right".

A political party that would keep the charm of perennial youth and not have to worry about what rivals say, cannot afford to grow fat and flabby. And although I am rather sure that I shall love the Democratic Party no matter how lazy she gets, I am not sure that twenty-seven million other admirers who voted for her in 1936 would say and do under such circumstances.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience", to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistically humble about our present position of power.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, had carried out its pledges of 1932, ~~and still had a good finger~~. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power simply because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".

Today the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has so few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to do their work under the cover of the opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and Party councils

With deliberate intent to destroy our Party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring real Democrats together and to line up with them those from other parties who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, they may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if we give these independent voters the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are:

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal - while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- or worse.

The Republicans' second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect."

The Republican third New Deal - the one of 1938, issued this

order: "Accept for the voters of your district all the benefits of the New Deal, promise them still greater benefits - any old kind that any old group asks for - but avoid mentioning how those benefits would be paid for".

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We have known legislators who boasted that they voted for each and every appropriation that came along and against each and every tax proposal that was made. That is illustration of what our Republican friends are doing today.

We Democrats, however, are in power. We have to act as a Party in power. We cannot hold the confidence of the people if merely to avoid wrangling we have to agree to sit still and do nothing.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that the Democratic Party should be a conservative party - Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the Party, and if within the Party they are defeated they might just as well join the Tweedledees. That is an honest thing for them to do, and

for every loss of that kind the liberal Democratic Party will gain two new marchers.

It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles which the American people today have come to look for in us.

If we deliver in full on our contract we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support - in fact the underlying, directive support of those who owned it for several generations. And if I am correctly informed, the American Liberty League still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

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I think I am historically correct in saying that if I live through my second term, I will be the first President in sixty-two years who has served two terms with a Congress of his own Party in both branches throughout the whole eight years.

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Congress of the same party in 1932 the electorate has affirmed  
that support in three succeeding general elections.

We in six years have made partial delivery - more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when we must submit our tenure to the American people once more in less than two years.

Jackson and the Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head. Jackson was our greatest party leader.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

The very last day of his final term he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party, - a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

At this point in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. - which in dead Latin stand for "Nota Bene", or in live English, "take good notice".

Jackson's successor, accounted a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised on the barrel-head.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. - take good notice."

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, Sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet to whom do you suppose - to old Nicholas Biddle himself, the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years. And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln -- who, parenthetically, was chosen President only through the device of the founding

of a third party.

Let me ask two obvious question. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd. Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? to claim that is equally absurd.

My casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation. We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days we were greatly influenced by the trappings and the antics of the donkey and the elephant. Today we are more impressed with the government's ability to perform the tasks that we, the people, set it to do.

In the old days the ideal candidate, which smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought.

It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens of Barkises, who, even at this moment, seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say tea party -- pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face in a world where there are no longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government -- with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and analyze again, using our own thinking processes and not somebody's else, to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than its fathers did in the precept "I am my brother's keeper". It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

But it is of interest that the younger generation of Americans are by a very large majority in favor of keeping on going places with the New Deal. Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year.

Some elder statesmen of my acquaintance in both parties might well repeat the old nursery rhyme:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush!  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all.  
It is four times as big as the bush!"

We ask again that the Democratic Party make democracy work.

This government is seeking to maintain a truly national outlook. It is making progress through unity of policy and unity of performance. It is constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal governing.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their government -- men

and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in holding down a lifelong government salary. Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. But all of us being "from Missouri", we are able to recognize real co-operation when we get it. We are even willing to accept temporary help, always bearing in mind the story of the Orange-men's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum!

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained it to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.

"Shure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give ye my fullest cooperation. I will lend ye the drum; you couldn't have a daycent parade without it". "But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. Ye'll have to agree to take the ~~drum~~ out of the parade when ye get to Queen Street. For that's the corner where we Fenians are goin' to be lay'n for ye".

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the place where the American people will be lay'n for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all the evils that turn man against man.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic Nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our flag.

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THIRD DRAFT

JACKSON DAY ADDRESS

JANUARY 7, 1939

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

"Young fellow", he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start shooting".

"General", said I, "I rather hoped I wouldn't have a shooting problem. <sup>You see</sup> It's about the Democratic Party. I'm very fond of it, but the Republicans are saying it's rotting off like a pollywog's tail, <sup>myself away</sup> and some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything we ought to do?"

"Son", replied the General, "~~Just tell your fellows to learn to count, to count on their fingers if they can't count on their heads.~~"

"<sup>My</sup> eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your <sup>old</sup> fellows is that they've been feeding too well and they scare easily."

"Young fellow, do you realize that if you live out the term you now have you'll be the only President of any party

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who's had two full terms with ~~the~~ majority of his own party in both the House and the Senate all the time, since - why, son, since James Monroe - and he left the White House nearly 114 years ago!

"Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as safe as you have now when he first came into office.

"And as for me, son, my Democrats licked old Nick Biddle when we didn't have a majority in the Senate and ~~the~~ <sup>Tell your fellows to stand up</sup> had few votes to spare in the House. <sup>and</sup> ~~you~~ Democrats ~~the~~ today <sup>it</sup> scared and let the other <sup>two</sup> ~~fellow~~ tell you you've lost just because an election ~~but~~ you don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep without sentries.

"There is nothing wrong with you ~~fellow~~ <sup>two</sup> except yourselves. You're getting too soft and fat and eyeing each other from not fighting the other ~~fellow~~ <sup>two</sup> enough. Tell your ~~fellow~~ <sup>two</sup> to learn to count - and <sup>it's</sup> ~~fit~~ shooting again, and they'll be all right".

<sup>I am passing on</sup>  
~~I am passing on the advice~~ <sup>the advice of Old Hickory</sup>  
But despite the General's optimism, I think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience", to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a Party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

*[Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power simply because it is the Democratic Party.]*

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In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".

Today ~~the situation is the same~~, <sup>as in Jackson's day,</sup> ~~for~~ a majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to ~~any~~ personal or political fortunes, ~~or any group of office holders.~~

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has too few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to do their work under cover of the opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and Party councils with deliberate intent to destroy our Party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring real Democrats together and to line up with ~~some~~ <sup>the</sup> those from other parties who belong to no party at all, <sup>and</sup> ~~they~~, <sup>and</sup> may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if ~~we give~~ <sup>we have</sup> these independent voters the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy:

that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are:  
~~See how they have tried to shuffle New Deal cards.~~

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal - while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- or worse.

The Republican second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect".

The Republican third New Deal - 1938 model, issued this order: "get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits - ~~and~~ old kind that any old group asks for - but never mention how those benefits will be paid for".

We have known legislators who boast that they vote according to a system simple and safe: for each and every appropriation, against each and every tax bill. That is the system of our Republican friends today.

Maybe <sup>young men</sup> these tactics are all right for a party out of power, - a party without national government responsibilities,  
and <sup>they</sup> But these tactics, if continued for another two years, can hardly

give our voters any real ~~real~~ confidence in the Republican Party.

We Democrats, however, ~~we do power~~ have to act as a party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we ~~cannot avoid wrangling~~ cannot avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles which the American people today have come to look for in us.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that the ~~Democratic~~ <sup>part</sup> party should be a conservative party - Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the party, that the fight be fought out, and that if the Tweedledums are defeated they join the Tweedledees. That is an honest thing for them to do, and for every loss of that kind I am convinced that the liberal Democratic Party will gain two new members.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of - in fact is down underneath actually directed by - the same people who have owned it for several

generations. For the American Liberty League - unless I am incorrectly informed - still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Over the past six years we have built the foundations and forged the tools for the delivery of the promises we made in four succeeding elections, beginning in 1932. Do not forget that last autumn, even though our majorities were reduced, we did win the Election. And in order to win it, promised to carry on.

We in six years have made partial delivery - more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when we once more in less than two years must submit our tenure to the American people.

Jackson and the party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party, - a bill which

surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

Along side this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. -- which in dead Latin stand for "nota bene", or in live English, "take good notice".

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out at the next national election in 1840, because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice".

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet--to whom do you suppose? To old Nicholas Biddle himself,

the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years. And again I say "H. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln, ~~W<sup>ill</sup> H~~, <sup>the</sup> ~~pxx~~ incidentally, was chosen President only by founding <sup>A</sup> ~~a~~ new ~~party~~.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the Party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd.

Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1865 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd.

My casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation.

We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days the ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought." It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens ~~of~~ Barkin <sup>who like States,</sup> even at this moment, ~~now~~ <sup>back room</sup> to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say ~~now~~ <sup>almost</sup> pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face in a world where there are no longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government -- with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency

and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and re-analyze, using our own thinking processes and not somebody else's to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than did its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper". It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

✓ And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, - to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on going places with the New Deal.

Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year. ~~An older statement of~~

~~acquaintance in both parties might well repeat the old nursery rhyme:~~

~~There was an old man who said, "Hush!~~  
~~I perceive a young bird in this bush!~~  
~~When they said, "Is it small?"~~  
~~He replied, "Not at all.~~  
~~It is four times as big as the bush!"~~

On Jackson Day every true follower of Jackson asks ~~Count me in~~ that the Democratic Party make democracy work.

This government is seeking to maintain a truly national outlook. It is making progress through unity of policy and consistency in performance.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. To do that, we are constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal governing. We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their

government -- men and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in holding down a ~~lifelong government salary.~~ <sup>✓</sup>

Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. We are even willing to accept temporary help.

But we always bear in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum.  
And what is a parade without a bass drum!

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained ~~in~~ it to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.

"Sure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give you my fullest cooperation. I will lend you the drum; you couldn't have a decent parade without it."

"But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. ~~We~~<sup>You'll</sup> have to agree to take the drum out of the parade when ~~you~~<sup>we</sup> get to Queen Street.

"For that's the corner where we Fenians are going to be laying for ~~you~~".

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the corner where the American people will be laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight together against the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all the evils that turn man aga'inst man.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our colors.

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Since November I've been hearing from Democrats and from non-Democrats about Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party. I've been hearing what it has left undone that it ought to have done. I've been hearing what it has done that it ought not have done. 'Tis a gruesome tale.

Sometimes I suspect it's a mite out of proportion. It reminds me of a nursery rhyme I knew many years ago:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush!"  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all."  
It is four times as big as the bush!"

Last night, ~~I~~ I was thinking about this gathering of Democrats and our Party and what we ought to do about it, I decided ~~to go~~ to go to headquarters and consult ~~the~~ patron saint. So I put in a ~~telephone~~ call <sup>radio</sup> for General Jackson. He was ~~very busy~~ <sup>in his office</sup> shooting the shade of Nicholas Biddle, ~~over live decoys.~~ But while he let his guns cool he had

"Young man" said he <sup>gaily</sup> <sup>at first</sup> "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, ~~let me tell you that~~ my general advice on any problem is to start by shooting ~~somebody~~!"

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem I have."

Perhaps I'd better begin this way. One of the things I've most admired

about you was what you did for Peggy O'Neill. The more other people

said about her, the more you protected her. And you did a good job.

~~Non-General~~, I'm very fond of the Democratic Party. ~~and the more other~~

people say ~~about~~ her, the more I want to help her. What advice should

I give her?"

~~There was just a moment while the General~~ <sup>promised to give</sup> ~~gave~~ Nicholas Biddle

the left barrel. ~~then~~ then he replied:

"I used to say to Peggy O'Neill when other women  
were talking about her,

"Young man, no lady has to worry about her. ~~she's been feedin'~~

provided she keeps her figger. ~~I used~~ <sup>and</sup> - Peggy, keep your figger  
and keep peart, ~~you don't need to worry what any woman says about you.~~

"My eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away. But  
from what I can see from here, son, the ~~only~~ trouble ~~is~~ ~~with the Democratic~~

~~Party~~, that lady you're interested in is that she's been feedin' too well and

she's stopped her exercises and she's taking too much for granted.

"Next time you see her, you just tell her for me that if she'll  
only start doing her exercises again and stop being fat and lazy, she'll  
be all right."

But it must have been  
good because the more  
I think about it

Now I'm not sure I had a good connection. ~~but I am sure the~~  
~~keep the charm of~~  
advice was right. A political party that would ~~be~~ perennially youthful

so that it doesn't need to worry about what jealous people say about it  
cannot afford to grow fat and flabby. And although I am sure I shall  
love the Democratic Party no matter how lazy it gets, I am not sure of  
the devotion under those circumstances of 27 million other admirers who  
voted for it in 1936.

barked particularly for

For that reason, while I have never ~~preferred~~ silver linings,  
and while I feel that some of the public officials whom we lost in the  
November elections were among the very best the Party had, I nevertheless  
think that a warning two years before a national election not to take  
ourselves too much for granted may have its convenient side.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its  
conscience" — a grand phrase — to think over most seriously what we have  
done that we should not have done — what we have left undone that we should  
do — and to be humble about our present position of power.

And the most realistic place from which to begin our stock-taking  
seems to me to be this:

The Democratic Party did not create the conditions which brought it into power. It was largely the beneficiary of the fact that from 1920 on the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. The American people in 1932 and 1936 were tired of the do-nothing Government with which and for which they had to suffer through the terrible days of distress in the early thirties.

It was not the Democratic Party alone, but the American people as a whole who demanded a New Deal. Millions who were previously not Democrats gave us power in 1932 and 1936 to get certain things done.

And our Party has a claim to continue in power ~~as~~ so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats put it in power to do.

AS WELL AS DEMOCRATS

*Don't let's fool ourselves*

No government can be dependent that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1854, when Jackson was in the White House, a Philadelphia economist named Congy Raguet <sup>wrote</sup> wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here — one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party — and a very large one — which cares not a straw about who is president but <sup>which</sup> anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of who it may".

Today I ~~suspect~~ the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people ~~desire no particular~~ who is President, on ~~the personal basis of their likes and dislikes, and they do not care what~~ ~~party to be in power, what they do want is~~ a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve the majority of the people, without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.

*2021 Liss*

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats.

than half are Republicans. But more than half ~~of the voters~~ are for the Democratic

Party when the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position of effective opposition just because I love the Democratic Party and democratic government. Both have suffered because the Republican Party was so weak that it could not offer a respectable opposition.

The result of that was to cause interests opposed to the New Deal to try to stir up opposition within the Democratic Party. Powerful lobbyists, powerful interests hostile to the American people, sought to push their way into the Democratic Party in order to gain control and paralyze it. Even the Republican Party shared in these tactics. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party, on many occasions in recent years, has actually called off its own spokesmen and instructed them to play second-fiddle to the opposition within the Democratic Party.

The first effect of the revival of the Republican Party should be to restore to it those converts to democracy who entered our party

only to destroy. The second effect should be to bring Democrats together on the common ground of self-preservation through constructive service.

With the Republican Party restored to effectiveness, its opposition will put the glare of the lights upon us Democrats during the next two years and show us for what we are — ~~whether the party has~~ <sup>a</sup> which has really deserved the confidence which the people have given it, and a renewal of that confidence, ~~or whether it has merely been riding circumstances.~~

[I don't know what the final attitude of the Republicans towards the New Deal will be.] I have been confused lately by reading what the newspaper columnists write about a First, a Second, a Third and a Fourth New Deal. It's been very confusing to me because I thought they were talking about us Democrats, and so far as I know we've only had the same New Deal all along. But just a few days ago I saw the light. I had been so silly. The columnists were talking about the Republicans.

The Republican First New Deal prided itself in going along with our New Deal measures — while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of jail. [bankruptcy]

The Republican Second New Deal was this: "Support New Deal

objectives, but oppose all measures by which the Democrats propose to effectuate those objectives."

The Republican Third New Deal is this: "Accept for your constituents all the benefits of the New Deal and promise them still greater benefits, but do not assume the obligations necessary to make those benefits possible."

*S. Neutelius*  
And the Republican Fourth New Deal will be, "Out-demagogue the Democrats!"

Now those tactics are all right for Republicans, ~~a party of opposition, a party out of office, doesn't have to make good on their promises.~~

But we Democrats, however, are in power, and have to act as a party in power ~~even if we still aren't used to it.~~ *OBM* We have to make good. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people ~~if opposition within~~ the party, combined with opposition from outside the party, reduces the party to legislative and administrative impotence. Nor can we hold the confidence of the people, ~~if, to reach an agreement within the party,~~ *they* ~~it has to be~~ make it an agreement to sit still and do nothing. →

*To & part of with  
preceding sentence*

The Democratic Party cannot serve the country, and cannot serve its own future, if it pretends to close its ranks by abandoning the principles and the promises which the American people have come to look for in us.

If we deserve to remain in power, if we deliver in full on our contract with the American people, we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it manages so successfully to command the support of the American Liberty League and the services of its representatives. I am much more concerned by signs of weakening within the Democratic Party, of a fat and lazy unwillingness within it to meet the letter of <sup>its</sup> the bond, than I am by signs of strengthening within the Republican Party.

Over the last six years we have done much to lay the foundation, to build our tools, and to make a real start upon delivery of the promises we made to the American people, in '32, '34, '36, '38. The <sup>the last</sup> election. <sup>have a right to</sup> American people <sup>(will)</sup> expect the next two years to be <sup>the</sup> harvest years, when they may reap the benefits of all our preparation, of all our new instruments, of all our fine start, in an <sup>increasing</sup> <sup>accelerating</sup> harvest of real delivery on those promises.

We have made partial delivery. We have delivered more than any one ever expected could be delivered in this country within the times we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the ~~per-~~ <sup>continuance</sup> ~~potentation~~ of our power can we be satisfied with partial delivery when our tenure has to be risked before the American people in the national elections of 1940.

Jackson Day is a good day on which to talk to the Democratic Party about delivering on its promises. For Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head as few other party leaders or parties have ever delivered.

Andrew Jackson was perhaps our greatest party leader. And there has always been something most pathetic to me in the way the party threw away the power he brought to it.

Up to the very last, Andrew Jackson delivered for the common people he believed in and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

Right down to the last day of his final term he fought for them. On that last final day he vetoed a bill supported by many of

his own Party which surrendered to the states and to a thousand warring, petty local interests the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole nation.

Then Martin Van Buren, whom everyone accounted a smart politician, succeeded Jackson as the head of the Democratic Party. And Martin Van Buren tried to keep the Democratic Party in power, not by delivering service to the American people, but by delivering party patronage where he thought it would be most effective to hold the party machine in power. To Van Buren belongs the spoils policy for which Jackson has been blamed.

That policy helped to drive John Tyler and other Jacksonians out of the Democratic Party; and four years later the reactionary Whigs ~~and~~ played on the division among the Democrats and ~~demagogued the Democrats and~~ threw them out of power.

There has always been something cruelly ironic to me about what followed. For the successful Whig President, William Henry Harrison, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet to Nicholas Biddle, the money-changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly

thrashed and driven from the temple. From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle in four short years because the Democratic Party had preferred to be smart petty politicians rather than deliverers on the barrel head!

And the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy stayed out of power until the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln, brought them back into power by founding the Republican Party.

It may surprise you -- but I have occasional doings with politics and I spend a considerable part of my time thinking about them. As I look back over my political life ~~of~~ over twenty-five years, I am amazed -- and gladdened -- by an enormous change in the seriousness -- the passionate seriousness -- with which the bulk of the plain American people regard politics and government.

When there was free land for all and easy escape from the tax-gatherer and the complicated civilization of a few seaboard cities, the average American -- particularly the youth -- did not work very hard at politics.

There wasn't much real democracy about early American politics <sup>always</sup> until ~~very recently~~ <sup>always</sup>. A handful of smart men ~~as well~~ understood the use of government as a pred-

tory instrument — as a method — by open steal openly arrived at —  
of transferring a large portion of the wealth belonging to all the people  
into the hands of those who were smart enough to use government as their  
*always comes be found*  
tool. There ~~were~~ all kinds of snubbing posts — now largely disappeared —  
to cut down the strength of the democratic impulse as it could be applied  
to actual government — the electoral college, indirect election of  
Senators, poll taxes and other suffrage qualifications, judge-made bans  
on taxation based on ability to pay, an assumed general veto power of  
judges over legislators.

*which*      *always looked for*  
The ideal candidate ~~of~~ these smart men was, as someone has de-

scribed General Grant, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious  
but unalert integrity, an inability to believe evil of any man he liked,  
a complete absence of plan, of thought, even of cunning." For the bulk  
of the population elections were only a seasonal diversion — ~~—~~

*with*      *with the real job done by*  
~~between a circus and an oratorical sideshow — and on the whole the public~~  
~~quiet economic and social pressures behind the scenes.~~  
~~powered the party that paid for and put on the best torchlight parades.~~

Only when national conditions became intolerable did distress break through the normal apathy around election time. Too often the average American has cast his vote and turned back to his other tasks convinced that the national government and national parties -- with their ever-recurring promises, never to be fulfilled -- were not and could not be his government or his parties and that he could best serve his aim of achieving the greatest happiness by hard work in his own field.

Since the World War things have changed.

Education has had a lot to do with it.

But even more important than an intellectual change is an emotional change. There is emerging today a real passionate belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government is the cooperative solution of many problems which the average individual can no longer face in a world where there are no longer 120 free acres of good land for everybody. The strongest men are no longer sure, as they were thirty years ago, that every able man can get "his" and let the devil take the hindmost.— and no longer feel that it is any fun to try to live that way. They feel better — and safer — for themselves and their children trying to help each other — trying to live and let live. This real interest and belief and willingness to share in a democratically cooperative world, <sup>is</sup> deepest in that portion of the electorate which the wise politician will realize he will longest have with him — ~~the~~ youth. There is a real difference between men who first became conscious of the world about them before and after the World War. The new generation just beginning to vote does think more in the large

than its fathers, does believe that "Am I my brother's keeper?"

"are the most terrible words in the Bible". It does believe in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother to/beneath <sup>so</sup> catchwords; it is more democratic in the deepest human sense — it is willing to let live because in its educated competence it has more self confidence in itself; and it does eagerly and earnestly believe in the greatest happiness of the greatest number as the natural criterion of our national life.

And it is national in its outlook. Few youth today own any state as their emotional home as did their fathers — they have to them states' rights is nothing but a historical interest because they feel at home all over the nation. And they will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics — of a combination of the East and West against the South, or the South and West against the East, or farmers against labor — or business against state!

the  
That is/group that is growing up as the present generation of political managers are growing old. That is the group that has the only <sup>riches</sup> real political ~~function~~ because it has time in its purse.

*fortune*

Let me prophesy ill-(future) to any political manager who thinks that the impact of that great emotional and intellectual attitude toward politics in the American youth -- shared in growing ~~even by~~ <sup>agree</sup> ~~the middle-aged~~ <sup>many who</sup> *are not young* ~~in our present political life~~ -- can be avoided by ingenious manipulation of delegates or candidates or mealy-mouthed issues. For no matter how well the professional fixer may arrange his plans -- someone with a genius ~~and~~ *drill* to ~~strike~~ <sup>bring in</sup> down into that great pool below the surface of things will ~~strike~~ *gusher* and flood him out.

~~Abraham Lincoln used to say that you could fool all of the people some of the time, <sup>and</sup> ~~some of the time~~, but that you couldn't fool all of the people all of the time. That was in 1860.~~

~~I should say that no wise political manager in 1939 or 1940 -- will <sup>had better take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.</sup>~~

The only safe recipe for any party appealing to a modern educated people in 1940 -- and a people passionately stirred to make democracy work in order to protect their personal liberties -- is to make democracy *work*. And what does that ask of the Democratic Party?

First, a truly national outlook.

Local politicians have got to disassociate their local problems from national problems. If the Democratic Party becomes merely a conglomeration of thousands of local political leaders who meet to put forward candidates or problems that are so innocuous that they step on no local toes and, at the same time, point to no positive national program, the Democratic Party will go down to defeat. In the years 1921 to 1933, *not away like a pollywog's tail.* the Republican Party first went up on prosperity and then because of the effort of the Party from 1929 to 1933 to step on nobody's toes -- to let national problems lie on the shelf trusting to local Republican leaders to take care of their own localities -- the nation got itself into the jam of 1932 and had to be rescued by a party with definite leadership and definite policy.

A national party organization must ruthlessly prevent any local chiseling from the ideals and purposes which the party nationally holds out to the American people. In a national election -- unlike an off-year election -- national issues, not local issues, determine even local results.

The party is measured by the voters of any ~~same~~ state not only by the character of its candidates and administration in that state but by the given

character of its candidates and its administration in other states and  
in the nation.

Our party — which has to depend on ideas and devotion rather  
than fat war-chests — can no longer survive as a militia levy from  
forty-eight independent allies — it must have one command, one policy,  
and one standard of performance. A national idealistic movement cannot  
afford to grow local feet of clay.

That national outlook also entails a continuous search for  
leaders intensely and genuinely devoted to the cause of liberal and pro-  
gressive government and courageous enough to combat the forces within the  
party and without the party who would seek to tear down the wall of  
liberalism. In building up that type of leadership, emphasis should be  
placed upon demonstrated loyalty to the liberal cause rather than upon  
the number of years spent at party conventions.

The ability to formulate policies and to execute them is not  
synonymous with mere experience in political manipulations. It is more a  
matter of vision, imagination, close touch with realities of business,  
labor and agriculture and an ability to express the driving will of the

American people. In our Legislature, in our Judiciary and in our Executive, mere association with politics should give way to these real essentials of efficiency and leadership in politics.

The second requisite is a far-sighted resolve not to play a dog-in-the-manger policy with younger men in the party councils.

Those at the top of our organization, national and local, must understand the dynamics of human organisation. Youth with its energy and its constantly better education simply will not be kept in its place for the benefit of older men who would like to preserve a convenient and personally profitable status quo beyond the point where the status quo represents a natural equilibrium of forces.

For that young energy and power simply cannot be kept unnaturally "in line". It will simply burst confinement.

We must not think that we can freeze party councils to what they were eight years ago or even four years ago or even two years ago. To keep alive, to muster maximum strength, the older leaders of a party must accept younger men in their stride. The party history of this country is full of instances of the breakaway of the younger men into a new party — a process

completely unnecessary if there were not a dog-in-the-manger party attitude at the top of old parties to new men and new ideas.

There are more young leaders in the Republican Party today than there are in our own. That is the only portent of danger I see in the November elections. But it is a portent of enormous significance.

And the third great requisite for party continuance in power is to help and to permit the Executive Departments to do first-class administrative job. As I have said in other places we have <sup>foreign</sup> (passed) practically all the <sup>tools</sup> ~~legislation~~ we need to meet the new conception of responsibility in government which the Democratic Party of this generation has brought to the American people. The American people have approved those tools — have even approved our <sup>taking all of</sup> struggling for six years to forge them; now we have no answer to their demands that we make those tools work. The burden of the attack on us from now on will not be our legislative vision but our administrative capacity. With every passing month we lose the ability to rely on the criticism of mistakes of others — the tactics of a party out of power — and we have to bear criticism of our own responsibility for the management of the nation's estate.

At the best we have no easy job. In answering the demands of the American people we have added functions to government — complicated problems of administrative interrelationship and competence in personnel — with which no other party has ever had to try to wrestle. The first requirement of Democratic Party insurance of the ability of its own executives to deliver on party promises is to let the Executive Department have what it needs to do that administrative job,— to have such men, and in such combination and rearrangements, with new faces if necessary in places of old — as the Chief Executive needs to get the job done.

We are a great Party — in power. We have today, after six years in power a greater proportion of the Congress than most Democratic administrations have had in their first year of new power. Our party enemies have no revealed program except a further extension of our own. We have all the assets to build more solidly, and for far longer, <sup>than</sup> Andrew Jackson was able to build if we will not be fat and lazy — if everyone within the party will really cooperate along the common-sense lines and with the long range view of which we have just been talking.

But the cooperation must be more than a pleasant face <sup>over</sup> <sub>one-and</sub>

If we lay for each other we can be sure that 1940 is the place  
where the American people will be laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight the  
enemies of the American people, the enemies of inertia, of greed, of  
ignorance, of shortsightedness, of vanity -- all the evils that turn man  
against man, which have always lowered both the nation's and the party's  
colors.

Andy Jackson fought to the last day of his term for the nation  
and the Party.

Let us remember his example, and, by the Eternal, we shall  
never have to lower our colors.

JACKSON DAY SPEECH  
MAYFLOWER HOTEL  
JANUARY 7, 1939

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Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

"Young fellow", he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you. ~~But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start shooting".~~

"General", said I, "~~I rather hoped I wouldn't have any shooting problem.~~ You see it's about the Democratic Party. I'm very fond of it myself, but the Republicans are saying it's rotting away like a pollywog's tail, and some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything we ought to do?"

"Son", replied the General, my eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your fellows is that they've been feeding too well and they scare easily.

"Young fellow, do you realize that if you live out  
the term you now have, you'll be the only President of any  
Party who's had two full terms with a majority of his own  
Party in both the House and the Senate all the time, since --  
why, son, since James Monroe -- and he left the White House  
nearly one hundred and fourteen years ago!"

"Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as safe as  
you have now when he first came into office."

"And as for me, son, my Democrats licked old Nick  
Biddle when we didn't have a majority in the Senate and had  
few votes to spare in the House. Tell your fellows to learn  
*count up*  
to count. *Now* Democrats today get scared and let the other  
fellows tell you you've lost an election just because you  
don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep  
without sentries."

"There is nothing wrong with you fellows. except  
~~you~~. You're getting too soft and fat and eyeing each  
other from not fighting the other fellows enough. Tell your  
fellows to learn to count -- and get to shooting again, and  
they'll be all right."

I am passing on the advice of Old Hickory.

But despite the General's optimism, I think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience", to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1933, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a Party, get ~~done~~ those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but <sup>which</sup> ~~who~~ anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".

Today, as in Jackson's day, a majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a Party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to personal or political fortunes.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats.

Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has too few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and Party councils with deliberate intent to destroy our Party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring us real Democrats together and to line up with us those from other Parties, those who belong to no Party at all, who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, we may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if these independent voters have the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been --- opportunists they still are: see how they have tried to shuffle New Deal cards.

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal -- while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- or worse.

The Republican second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect".

The Republican third New Deal -- 1938 model -- issued this order: "get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits -- any old kind that any old group asks for -- but never mention how those benefits will be paid for".

Those tactics are wrong even for a party out of power and if continued for another two years, they can hardly give our voters any real confidence in the Republican Party.

We Democrats, however, have to act as a party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we cannot avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that our party should be a conservative party --- a Democratic Tweedledum to a Republican Tweedledee -- it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the party, that the fight be fought out, and that if the Tweedledums are defeated they join the Tweedledees. <sup>F</sup> But the prospects of such a fight are far more remote than members of the opposition would have you believe. The people of the country are not deceived when honest debate and an honest effort to work things out for the good of the country are labeled dissension and bad blood by those outside of the party whose wish is father to the thought. They hate to admit it but the fact remains that <sup>when</sup> <sup>safely removed</sup> such debate over the past six years has borne six crops of good fruit.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of --- in fact ~~is~~ down underneath actually directed by --- the same people who have owned it for several generations. For the American Liberty League -- unless I am

incorrectly informed -- still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Jackson and the party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party -- a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

Along side this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. -- which in dead Latin stand for "nota bene", or in live English, "take good notice".

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out at the next national election in 1840, because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar

and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice".

Let this be another thought for 1840. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet -- to whom do you suppose? To old Nicholas Biddle himself, the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years. And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life with the next real democrat, Abraham Lincoln. He, incidentally, was chosen President only by the founding of a new party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd.

Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd.

My casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation.

We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days the ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought".

It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens who like Barkis seem, even at this moment, to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say back room -- pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face alone in a world where there are no longer one hundred and twenty acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government --

with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and re-analyze, using our own thinking processes and not somebody else's to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in the 1860's. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than did its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper". It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics -- to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on "going places" with the New Deal. Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year.

On Jackson Day every true follower of Jackson asks that the Democratic Party continue to make democracy work.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. To do that, we are constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal governing.

We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their government --- men and women with ~~few~~<sup>fewer</sup> attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in keeping themselves on the payrolls. Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. We are even willing to accept temporary help.

But we always bear in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum.

And what is a parade without a bass drum!

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained his problem to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.

"Sure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give you my fullest cooperation. I will lend you the drum; you couldn't have a decent parade without it".

"But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. You'll have to agree to take the drum out of the parade when you get to Queen Street.

"For that's the corner where we Fenians are going to be laying for you".

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the corner where the American people will be laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight together against the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all the evils that turn man against man.

It is my belief, and the belief of the great majority of those who hear me tonight, that not just for two years to come, but for a generation to come, we will maintain a united front against those enemies of America.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our colors.

\*\*\*\*\*  
Franklin D Roosevelt

Original reading copy.

#1193

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Jackson Day Dinner  
Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.  
January 7, 1939, 9:30 P.M.

CHAIRMAN FARLEY, MR. PICK, PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Tonight is one of those rare occasions when from now on, or  
from half an hour on, I am going to have a good time. Because I am  
comparatively at the beginning of the program, I can enjoy the subse-  
quent speeches.

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. And I decided to go right to headquarters -- not to Jim Farley's headquarters, some-  
thing much further back. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson. (Applause)

"Young fellow," he said to me, "I don't know what's bother-ing you."

I said, "General, (said I, you see) it's about the Demo-cratic Party. I'm very fond of it myself, but the Republicans are saying that it's rotting away like a pollywog's tail, and some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything that we ought to do about it?"

"Son," replied the General, "my eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your fellows is that they've been feeding (too) pretty well and they scare easily. (Laughter)

"And young fellow, do you realize that if you live out the term you now have, you'll be the only President of any party who's had two full terms with a majority of his own party in both the House and the Senate all the time, (applause) the only President since -- who do

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.

and I sincerely hope that a good deal of progress will be made in the next year. I am going to telegraph off to the State Department to see if

any funds are available right now which can be used

to help us get out of the situation we are in. Right off I am going to telegraph off to the State Department to see if there is any money available right now which can be used

to help us get out of the situation we are in.

Right off I am going to telegraph off to the State Department to see if there is any money available right now which can be used

to help us get out of the situation we are in. Right off I am going to telegraph off to the State Department to see if there is any money available right now which can be used

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to help us get out of the situation we are in. Right off I am going to telegraph off to the State Department to see if there is any money available right now which can be used

you suppose? -- why, son, since James Monroe -- and he left the White House nearly one hundred and fourteen years ago! (Applause)

"Why," said General Jackson, "Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as safe as you have now when he first came into office.

"And as for me, son, my Democrats licked old Nick Biddle when we didn't even have a majority in the Senate and had a few votes only to spare in the House. Tell your fellows to (learn to) count. Some of you Democrats today get scared and let the other fellows tell you you've lost an election just because you don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep without sentries.

"Why, there is nothing wrong with you fellows. Tell them to learn how to count and get to shooting at the enemy again and they will be all right." (Applause)

So, I am passing on that (the) advice of Old Hickory.

(Laughter)

But despite the General's optimism, I still think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience," to think over most seriously what we have done that we shouldn't (not) have done, and what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. And the other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere. (Applause)

Four years went by and in the election of 1936 the Republican

Party looked to the country and indeed to all the world like (s) one of those old straddle-bugs I used to see on the pond at Hyde Park.

The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions -- millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in (1936) '36, to get certain things done. And our party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get (done) those things done which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do. (Applause)

I have been looking back through some of the history books.

In 1834, 104 years ago, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter (which) that I think we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put (down) Jackson down, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but (who) which anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may."

Today, as in Jackson's day, a majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to personal or political fortunes.

Less than half (of) the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half the voters of this nation are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people. (Applause)

And I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on

the ground that it has too few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party (in the recent elections) should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and party councils with deliberate intent to destroy our party's unity and effectiveness.

And the second effect of these gains should be to bring us real Democrats together and to line up with us those from other parties, those who belong to no party at all, who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, we may continue a common constructive service to the people of the (country) land.

For if these independent voters have the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking (for) of balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and (for) in favor of opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other. {Applause}

Yes, opportunists they have been -- opportunists they still are: see how they have tried to shuffle New Deal cards.

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal -- in other words, while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- (or) and worse.

The Republican second New Deal a few years ago said to its members, "Support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put

them into effect."

And the Republican third New Deal -- 1938 model -- issued this order: "Get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits -- any old kind of benefits that any old group asks for -- but never mention how those benefits will be paid for." (Applause)

And it seems to me that those tactics, those tactics are wrong even for a party out of power, and if continued for another two years, they can hardly give (our) to the voters of the Nation any real confidence in the Republican Party or its leadership.

We Democrats, however, have to act as a party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we cannot avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that our party should be a conservative party -- a Democratic Tweedledum to a Republican Tweedledee -- it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the party, that the fight be fought out, and that if the Tweedledums are defeated they join the Tweedledees. (Applause) But, my friends, the prospects of such a dragdown and knockout fight are far more remote than members of the opposition would have you believe. The people of the country are not deceived when honest debate and an honest effort to work things out for the good of the country are labeled dissension (and) or called bad blood by those outside of the party whose wish is father to the thought. (They) Those people hate to admit it but the fact remains that such open debate on our part, such open debate over the period of the past six years has borne six crops of good fruit.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of -- in fact (is) down underneath is actually directed by -- the same people who have owned it for several generations. For the American Liberty League -- unless I am incorrectly informed -- still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Jackson and the party as he led it, they delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last (he) Jackson delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity (which) he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill, a bill supported by the opposition and many of his own party -- a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

And, along side this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. -- which in dead Latin stand for "nota bene," or in live English, "take good notice."

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out at the next national election in 1840, because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice." (Laughter)

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire -- note the color -- hard cider, sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet -- to whom do you suppose? To (old) none other than old Nicholas Biddle himself, Nicholas Biddle, the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years. And again I say to you of the country, "N. B. -- take good notice." (Laughter -- applause)

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by, passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life in the White House with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln. (Applause) And, parenthetically, he (incidentally) was chosen President only by the founding of a new party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain -- this is a day and an age in which we do not gloss things over -- does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Thomas Jefferson or of Andrew Jackson? To claim that is absurd.

Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd. (Applause)

My casual acquaintance -- shall I say my casual acquaintance -- with political life (laughter) for twenty-five years, (and a) my more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude towards government in this -- our -- generation.

We of this modern day take our politics less seriously. And we take our government more seriously.

In the old days the ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought." It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula, or to be more strictly accurate, the reverse of that formula -- to apply it to the dozens -- I think there are dozens -- who, like Barkis, seem even at this moment, seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say back room -- pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face alone in a world where there are no longer (one) a hundred and twenty acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or in the Legis-

lative or in the Judicial branches of (the) our Government -- analyzes them with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adheres to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we, we of our generation, have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and reanalyze, using, thank God, our own thinking processes and not somebody else's (to) before we make up our own minds.  
(Applause)

You remember -- you remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in the 1860's. I should say that no wise political leader (in) of 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than did its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper." It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is a nation that is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics -- to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on "going places" with the New Deal. (Applause)  
(Do not) And let us not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately (every) each year.

On Jackson Day every true follower of Jackson asks that the Democratic Party continue to make democracy work.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. To do that, we are constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal (governing) government. We have brought to the Government men and women whose first thought is to be of service, of service to their country through their government -- men and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

(Applause)

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in keeping themselves on the payrolls. Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort (which) that distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder of half a century ago.

We seek and we welcome their cooperation and yours, not only from those who are with us now but from others who come to see the light. We are even willing to accept temporary help.

But we always bear in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum?

(But) So the captain of the Orangemen (had) happened to have as a good personal friend (in) the captain of the Fenians in the same

town.

(So) He explained his problem to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.

"Sure," said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give you my fullest cooperation. I will lend you the drum; you couldn't have a decent parade without it."

"But," he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. You'll have to agree to take the drum out of the parade when you get to Queen Street.

"For that -- that's the corner where we Fenians are going to be laying for you." (Laughter -- applause)

And, if we -- if we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 (is) will be the corner where the American people will be laying for all of us. (Applause)

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight together against the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all of the evils that turn man against man.

It is my belief, and it is the belief of the great majority of those who hear me tonight, that not just for two years to come, but for a generation to come, we will maintain a united front against those enemies of America. (Applause)

And let us -- let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our (colors) flag. (Prolonged, rising applause)

JACKSON DAY SPEECH  
JANUARY 7, 1939.

Last night I was thinking about this gathering of Democrats and our Party and what we ought to do about it, and I decided to go to headquarters and consult a patron saint. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson. He was busy — shooting at the shade of Nicholas Biddle.

"Young man" he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start by shooting".

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem I have. I'm very fond of the Democratic Party and want to talk to you about her. The more other people say against her, the more I want to help her. What advice should I give her?"

The General paused to give Nicholas Biddle the left barrel. Then he replied:

"My eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away. Put from what I can see from here, son, the trouble with the Democratic Party, that lady you are interested in, is that she has been feedin' too well and she's stopped her exercises and she's taking too much for rented. That is what I used



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to say to Peggy O'Neill — keep your finger and keep pearl  
and you don't need to worry what any woman says about you.

Next time you see the Democratic Party tell her  
for me to start doing her exercises again and keep from  
being fat and lazy — and then she will be all right".

A political party that would keep the charm of  
perennial youth so that it does not need to worry about  
what rival people say about it cannot afford to grow fat  
and flabby. And although I am rather sure that I shall love  
the Democratic Party no matter how lazy it gets, I am not  
sure that twenty-seven million other admirers who voted  
for it in 1936 would say and do under such circumstances.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to  
"examine its conscience" — a grand phrase — to think over  
most seriously what we have done that we should not have  
done — what we have left undone that we should do — and to  
be humble about our present position of power.

And the most realistic place from which to begin  
our stock-taking seems to me to be this:

From 1930 on the Republican Party fed too well and  
got fat and lazy. The American people in 1932 were tired  
of that "do-nothing" government for which they had had to



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suffer through the terrible days. That was one reason why they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party that summer and autumn had a policy and sounded sincere.

In 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug and the Democratic party had carried out its pledges and still had a good finger. Hence its overwhelming support.

millions who were previously not Democrats gave us power in 1932 and 1936 to get certain things done. And our party has a claim to continue in power so long as it can, as a party, not done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Republicans, put it in power to do.

Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1834, when Jackson was in the White House, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in its

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but



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which anxiously desires to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".

Today the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people want a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve the majority of the people, without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party than the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where more effective opposition will be possible than during the past six years. For six long years the minority excused itself for not having a policy on the ground that it had so few votes. Today it has more votes and, therefore, has no excuse to continue without an alternative program.

It was this impotence of the Republican Party which caused powerful lobbies and other interests, which believed in an American form of Fascism and was opposed to genuine democracy, to seek to push their way into the Democratic Party in order to gain control and paralyze it. It is an open secret

that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to get behind the opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of gains made by the Republicans in the recent elections should be to restore to it those wolves in sheep's clothing who entered our Party that they might destroy it.

The second effect should be to bring Democrats together and solidify with them those from other parties who preach the liberal gospel in order that they may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

These independent voters, if the Democratic Party remains a liberal party, will recognize that fact and will also continue in an excellent position to prove that I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will seek to carry water on both shoulders, running with the hounds and hunting with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and operating for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other side.



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Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are.

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal - while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of jail and out of bankruptcy.

The Republicans' second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose the legislation which seeks to put those objectives into effect."

The Republican third New Deal - the one of 1938, issued this order: "Accept for the voters of your district all the benefits of the New Deal, promise them still greater benefits - any old kind that any old group asks for - but do not assume any obligations that would be necessary to make those benefits possible."

Those tactics are all right for a party out of power - a party without national government responsibilities. But those tactics, if continued for another two years, cannot give our voters any real feeling of confidence. I knew a certain Senator once who in an effort to please everybody, adopted the habit of giving his endorsement to any resident of his State who sought discovered an office. It was ~~discovered~~ in many instances that he had endorsed several hundred gentlemen for the same office.



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FIRST DRAFT

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The Senator is now dead, physically as well as politically.

And I am reminded of another senatorial illustration, a gentleman who boasted that he voted for each and every appropriation that came along; and against each and every tax proposal that was made.

We Democrats, however, are in power. We have to act as a Party in power. We cannot hold the confidence of the people if opposition within the Party combined with opposition without the Party reduces the Party to legislative and administrative impotence.

Nor can we hold the confidence of the people if merely to avoid wrangling we have to agree to sit still and do nothing.

I am told that some members of the Democratic Party, secure in their local constituencies, would just as lief for their own personal convenience be members of a minority instead of a majority - less responsibility and more golf. That I do not believe. In the past six years we have sloughed off a number of Democrats who, disagreeing with the policies of the Party, have gone over to the opposition. For every one of these that we



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FIRST DRAFT

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have lost we have gained two to take their place. If there are nominal Democrats who are as a matter of principle convinced that the Democratic Party should be a conservative party - Tweedledee to the Republican Tweedledum - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the Party, and if within the Party they are defeated they might just as well join the Tweedledees. That is an honest thing for them to do, and for every loss of that kind the Democratic Party will make two new accessions.

It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles and the promises which the American people have come to look for in us.

If we deliver in full on our contract we need never fear the Republican Party so long as the it commands the support - in fact the underlying, directive support of those who owned it for several generations. And if I am correctly informed, the American Liberty League still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Over the past six years we have built the foundations and



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FIRST DRAFT

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forged the tools for the delivery of the promises we made in the four succeeding elections, beginning in 1933. Do not forget that last autumn, even though our majorities were reduced, we did win the Election.

I think I am historically correct in saying that if I live through my second term, I will be the first President in sixty-two years who has served two terms with a Congress of his own Party in both branches throughout the whole eight years.

That means that after supporting a President and a Congress of the same party in 1933 the electorate has affirmed that support in three succeeding general elections.

We in six years have made partial delivery. We have delivered more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when we must risk our tenure before the American people once more in less than two years.

Jackson Day is a good day on which to talk to his Party about delivery on its promises. For he and the Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head as few other party leaders or parties of any kind have ever delivered. Andrew Jackson was



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our greatest party leader. But there is something almost pathetic in the way the Party threw away the responsibility he brought to it.

Up to the very last he, delivered for the common people he and they believed in, and for the national unity which he and they did so much to create.

Right down to the very last day of his final term he fought for the common people and for national unity.

On that last, final day he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party, - a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

At this point in my manuscript I note the letters N.B.  
Latin being an increasingly dead language those letters stand for "Notre Bene", or in plain English, "take good notice".

After Jackson his successor, accounted a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out because they failed to keep the pork barrel looked up in the cellar



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and because they failed to deliver what they had promised on the barrel-head.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice."

Let this be another thought for 1840. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire and hard cider "Sky is the limit" campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretarship of the Treasury in his Cabinet to old Nicholas Biddle himself, the money-changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From A. J. to N. B. -- four short years. And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln -- him who, parenthetically, was chosen President only through the device of the founding of a third party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson?



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To claim that is absurd. Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd.

A casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to two further observations.

The first is that fine feathers do not always make a fine bird. We must always go behind the name to discover what uses the name was put to.

The other thought is that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this — our — generation. We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days we were greatly influenced by the trappings and the antics of the donkey and the elephant. Today we are more impressed with their abilities to perform the tasks that we, the people, set them to do.

In the old days in both parties there was far more manipulation of the actual processes of government by small groups, who, for their own benefit, could find numerous ways of cutting down the strength of the democratic impulse.



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In the old days the ideal candidate, which these smart men always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity ..... a complete absence of plan or even of thought.

It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens of Barkises, who, even at this moment, seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion — a circus with an oratorical sideshow — with the real job done by quiet economic and social — perhaps I should say tea party — pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face in a world where there are no longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them — whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government — with



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clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider of a newspaper ownership or a political oratory, which in spite of many lessons adheres to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and analyze again, using our own thinking processes and not somebody's else, to make up our own minds.

You remember that Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This real interest and belief and willingness to share in a democratically cooperative world lies deepest in that portion of the electorate which the wise leader knows he will longest have with him — the youth of the nation.

There is a real difference between men and women who first became conscious of the world about them before and after the World War. This new generation, since the war, believes more than its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper".



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It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords. It is more willing to let live because in its education it has more confidence in itself; eagerly and earnestly it believes that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the natural criterion and promise of our national life.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

Ill-fortune will come to any political manager who thinks that by ingenuous manipulation or the advertising of mealy-mouthed issues he can carry the country with him. For someone with a genius to drill down into that great pool below the surface of things — a younger generation insistent on a new and better order of things -- will bring in a gusher and flood him out.



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Crys. —

Since November I've been hearing from Democrats and from non-Democrats about Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party. I've been hearing what it has left undone that it ought to have done. I've been hearing what it has done that it ought not have done. 'Tis a gruesome tale.

[ Sometimes I suspect it's a mite out of proportion. It reminds me of a nursery rhyme I knew many years ago:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush!"  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all.  
It is four times as big as the bush!" ]

Last night, [ I was thinking about this gathering of Democrats and our Party and what we ought to do about it. I decided we ought to go to headquarters and consult the patron saint. So I put in a telephone call for General Jackson. He was very busy, ~~he was~~ shooting the shade of Nicholas Biddle over ~~the~~ money. ~~But while he let his guns cool he had~~  
~~when he had time.~~

"Young man" said he, "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, let me tell you that my general advice on any problem is to start by shooting somebody."

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem I have.

Perhaps I'd better begin this way. One of the things I've ~~said~~ inspired  
about you was what you did for Peggy O'Neill. The more other people  
~~said about her, the more you protected her.~~ And you did a good job.

Now General, I'm very fond of the Democratic Party. And the more other  
people say about her, the more I want to help her. What advice should  
I give her?"

*Jewell J.*  
There was just a moment while the General gave Nicholas Riddle  
A

the left barrel. ~~Set~~ them he replied:

"Young man, no lady has to worry about what's said about her  
provided she keeps her finger. I used to say — Peggy, keep your finger  
and keep pearl,<sup>end</sup> you don't need to worry what any woman says about you.  
A

"~~My~~ eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away. But  
from what I can see from here, son, ~~We only trouble [I can see]~~ with  
that lady you're interested in is that she's been feedin' too well and  
she's stopped her exercises and she's taking too much for granted.

"Next time you see her, you just tell her for me that if she'll  
only start doing her exercises again and stop being fat and lazy, she'll  
be all right."



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(But it must have been good because)

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Now I'm not sure I had a good connection. ~~but it was~~ <sup>the</sup> advice was right. <sup>X. C. W.</sup> A political party that would be permanently youthshod so that it doesn't need to worry about what jealous people say about it cannot afford to grow fat and flabby. And although I am sure I shall love the Democratic Party no matter how lousy it gets, I am not sure of the devotion under those circumstances of 27 million other admirers who voted for it in 1956.

For that reason, while I have never preferred silver linings, <sup>I think</sup> ~~had~~ while I think that some of the public officials who lost in the November elections were among the very best the Party had. I nevertheless think that a warning two years before a national election not to take ourselves too much for granted, may have its convenient side.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience" — a grand phrase — to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done — what we have left undone that we should do — and to be humble about our present position of power.

And the most realistic place from which to begin our stock-taking seems to me to be this.

The Democratic Party did not create the conditions which brought it into power. It was largely the beneficiary of the fact that from 1920 on the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. The American people in 1932 and 1936 were tired of the do-nothing Government with which and for which they had to suffer through the terrible days of distress in the early thirties.

It was not the Democratic Party alone, but the American people as a whole who demanded a New Deal. Millions who were previously not Democrats gave us power in 1932 and 1936 to get certain things done. And our Party has a claim to continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats put it in power to do.



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Don't let's fool ourselves  
~~(or don't get the impression)~~ that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1834, when Jackson was in the White House, a <sup>Philadelphia</sup> economist named Congy Raguet [wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

There are two parties here — one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party — and a very large one — which cares not a straw about who is president but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may.

Today I think the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people [do not care a straw who is President, on the personal basis of their likes and dislikes, and they do not care what party is in power. What they do want is a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve the majority of the people, without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.



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Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half are for the Democratic Party when the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position of effective opposition just because I love the Democratic Party and democratic government. Both have suffered because the Republican Party was so weak that it could not offer a respectable opposition.

The result of that was to cause interests opposed to the New Deal to try to stir up opposition within the Democratic Party. Powerful lobbyists, powerful interests hostile to the American people, sought to push their way into the Democratic Party in order to gain control and paralyze it. Even the Republican Party shared in these tactics. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party, on many occasions in recent years, has actually called off its own spokesman and instructed them to play second-fiddle to the opposition within the Democratic Party.

The first effect of the revival of the Republican Party should be to restore to it those converts to democracy who entered our party

only to destroy. The second effect should be to bring Democrats together on the common ground of self-preservation through constructive service.

With the Republican Party restored to effectiveness, its opposition will put the glare of the lights upon us Democrats during the next two years and show us for what we are — whether <sup>as which has</sup> the party <sup>has</sup> really deserved the confidence which the people have given it, and a reversal of that confidence, <sup>or partly which</sup> or whether <sup>it</sup> has merely been riding circumstances.

[I don't know what the final attitude of the Republicans towards the New Deal will be.] I have been confused lately by reading what the newspaper columnists write about a First, a Second, & Third [and a Fourth] New Deal. It's been very confusing to me because I thought they were talking about us Democrats, and so far as I know we've only had the same New Deal all along. But just a few days ago I saw the light. I had been so silly. The columnists were talking about the Republicans.

The Republican First New Deal prided itself in going along with our New Deal measures — while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of jail. (but why?)

The Republican Second New Deal was this: "Support New Deal



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objectives, but oppose all measures by which the Democrats propose to effectuate those objectives."

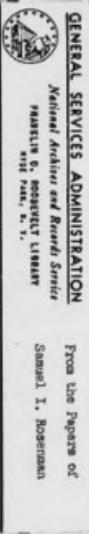
The Republican Third New Deal is this: "Accept for your

constituents all the benefits of the New Deal and promise them still greater benefits, but do not assume the obligations necessary to make those benefits possible."

[And the Republican Fourth New Deal will be, "Out-damascus  
the Democrats!"]

Now those tactics are all right for Republicans, a party of opposition, a party out of office, doesn't have to make good on their promises.

But we Democrats, however, are in power, and have to act as a party in power — (even if we still aren't used to it.) We have to make good. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people of opposition within the party, combined with opposition from outside the party, reduces the party to legislative and administrative impotence. Nor can we hold the confidence of the people if, to reach an agreement within the party, they it has to be, make an agreement to sit still and do nothing.



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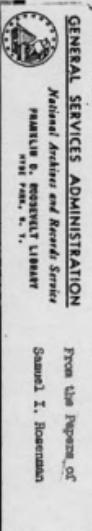
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*N.B. for 1st & 2nd sentence.*

The Democratic Party cannot serve the country, and cannot serve its own future, if it pretends to close its ranks by abandoning the principles and the promises which the American people have come to look for in us.

If we deserve to remain in power, if we deliver in full on our contract with the American people, we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it manages so successfully to command the support of the American Liberty League and the services of its representatives. I am much more concerned by signs of weakening within the Democratic Party, of a fat and lazy unwillingness within it to meet the letter of the bond, than I am by signs of strengthening within the Republican Party.

Over the last six years we have done much to lay the foundation, to build our tools, and to make a real start upon delivery of the promises we made to the American people, in '32, '34, '36, '38. The American people will expect the next two years to be ~~the~~ harvest years, when they may reap the benefits of all our preparation, of all our new instruments, of all our fine start, in an ~~annualizing~~ harvest of real delivery on those promises.





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We have made partial delivery. We have delivered more than any one ever expected could be delivered in this country within the times we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the ~~conveniences~~ <sup>conveniences</sup> potential of our power can we be satisfied with partial delivery when our tenure has to be risked before the American people in the national elections of 1940.

Jackson Day is a good day on which to talk to the Democratic Party about delivering on its promises. For Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head as few other party leaders or parties have ever delivered.

Andrew Jackson was perhaps our greatest party leader. And there has always been something most pathetic to me in the way the party threw away the power he brought to it.

Up to the very last, Andrew Jackson delivered for the common people he believed in and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

Right down to the last day of his final term he fought for them.

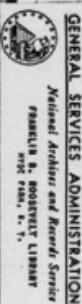
On that last final day he vetoed a bill supported by many of

his own Party which surrendered to the states and to a thousand warring, petty local interests the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole nation.

Then Martin Van Buren, whom everyone accounted a smart politician, succeeded Jackson as the head of the Democratic Party. And Martin Van Buren tried to keep the Democratic Party in power, not by delivering service to the American people, but by delivering party patronage where he thought it would be most effective to hold the party machine in power. To Van Buren belongs the spoils policy for which Jackson has been blamed.

That policy helped to drive John Tyler and other Jacksonians out of the Democratic Party; and four years later the reactionary Whigs out-doxagogued the Democrats and threw them out of power.

There has always been something cruelly ironic to me about what followed. For the successful Whig President, William Henry Harrison, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet to Nicholas Biddle, the money-changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly



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thrashed and driven from the temple. From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas  
Biddle in four short years because the Democratic Party had preferred to be  
smart petty politicians rather than deliverers on the barrel head.

And the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy stayed out  
of power until the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln, brought them back  
into power by founding the Republican Party.

It may surprise you — but I have occasional doings with politics  
and I spend a considerable part of my time thinking about them. As I  
look back over my political life of over twenty-five years, I am amazed —  
and gladdened — by an enormous change in the seriousness — the passionate  
seriousness — with which the bulk of the plain American people regard  
politics and government.

When there was free land for all and easy escape from the tax-  
gatherer and the complicated civilization of a few seaboard cities, the  
average American — particularly the youth — did not work very hard at  
politics.

There wasn't much real democracy about wandy American politics.  
*Un. I very much to*  
*it's*  
A handful of smart men easily understood the use of government as a pred-



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tory instrument — as a method — by open steal openly arrived at — of transferring a large portion of the wealth belonging to all the people into the hands of those who were smart enough to use government as their tool. There were all kinds of snuffing posts — now largely disappeared — to cut down the strength of the democratic impulse as it could be applied to actual government — the electoral college, indirect election of Senators, poll taxes and other suffrage qualifications, judge-made laws on taxation based on ability to pay, an assumed general veto power of judges over legislators.

The ideal candidate of these smart men was, as someone has described General Grant, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity, an inability to believe evil of any man he liked, a complete absence of plan, of thought, even of cunning." For the bulk of the population elections were only a seasonal diversion — a break between a circus and an oratorical sideshow — and on the whole the public rewarded the party that paid for and put on the best torchlight parades.



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Only when national conditions became intolerable did distress break through the general apathy around election time. Too often the average American has cast his vote and turned back to his other tasks convinced that the national government and national parties — with their ever-recurring promises, never to be fulfilled — were not and could not be his government or his parties and that he could best serve his aim of achieving the greatest happiness by hard work in his own field.



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Since the World War things have changed.

Education has had a lot to do with it.

But even more important than an intellectual change is an emotional change. There is emerging today a real passionate belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government is the cooperative solution of many problems which the average individual can no longer face in a world where there are no longer 120 free acres of good land for everybody. The strongest men are no longer sure, as they were thirty years ago, that every able man can get "his" and let the devil take the hindmost,— and no longer feel that it is any fun to try to live that way. They feel better — and safar — for themselves and their children trying to help each other — trying to live and let live. This real interest and belief and willingness to share in a democratically cooperative world goes deepest in that portion of the electorate which the wise politician will realize he will longest have with him — the youth. There is a real difference between men who first became conscious of the world about them before and after the World War. The new generation just beginning to vote does think more in the large



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than its fathers, does believe that "Am I my brother's keeper?"  
"are the most terrible words in the Bible". It does believe in realities,  
economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother to <sup>to</sup>/beneath  
catchwords; it is more democratic in the deepest human sense — it is  
willing to let live because in its educated competence it has more self  
confidence in itself; and it does eagerly and earnestly believe in the  
greatest happiness of the greatest number as the natural criterion of  
our national life.

And it is national in its outlook. Few youth today own any  
state as their emotional home as did their fathers — ~~they know~~ to them  
states' rights is nothing but a historical interest because they feel  
at home all over the nation. And they will not listen to a sectional  
conception of party politics — of a combination of the East and West  
against the South, or the South and West against the East, or farmers  
<sup>and labor</sup> against labor — or business against states!

the  
That is/group that is growing up as the present generation of  
political managers are growing old. That is the group that has the only  
real political <sup>right</sup> ~~right~~ because it has time in its purse.



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*for future*

Let us prophesy ill <sup>(future)</sup> to any political manager who thinks that the impact of that great emotional and intellectual attitude toward politics in the American youth — shared in growing <sup>depth</sup> ~~seen by the middle class~~ in our present polity — can be avoided by ingenious manipulation of delegates or candidates or neatly-mutated issues. For no matter how well the professional fixer may arrange his plans — someone with a genius <sup>bring in</sup> to <sup>and</sup> ~~fall~~ <sup>fall</sup> down into that great pool below the surface of things will strike a gusher and flood him out.

Abraham Lincoln used to say that you could fool all of the people some of the time <sup>and</sup> ~~some~~ of the people all of the time, but that you couldn't fool all of the people all of the time. That was in 1860.

I should say that no wise political manager in 1938 or 1940 — <sup>will</sup> ~~had better~~ take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

The only safe recipe for any party appealing to a modern educated people in 1940 — and a people passionately stirred to make democracy work in order to protect their personal liberties — is to make democracy work. And what does that ask of the Democratic Party?



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First, a truly national outlook.

Local politicians have got to disassociate their local problems

from national problems. If the Democratic Party becomes merely a conglomeration of thousands of local political leaders who seek to put forward candidates or problems that are so innocuous that they step on no local

toes and, at the same time, point to no positive national program, the Democratic Party will ~~not stay like a Hollywood star~~. In the years 1932 to 1935,

the Republicans first went up on prosperity and then because of the effort of the Party from 1932 to 1937 to step on nobody's toes -- to let national problems lie on the shelf trusting to local Republican leaders to take care of their own localities -- the nation got itself into the jam of 1932 and had to be rescued by a party with definite leadership and definite policy.

A national party organization must ruthlessly prevent any local chiseling from the ideals and purposes which the party nationally holds out to the American people. In a national election -- unlike an off-year election -- national issues, not local issues, determine even local results.

The party is measured by the voters of any <sup>given</sup> state not only by the character of its candidates and administration in that state.



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character of its candidates and its administration in other states and  
in the nation.

Our party — which has to depend on ideas and devotion rather than fat war-chests — can no longer survive as a militia levy from forty-eight independent allies — it must have one command, one policy, and one standard of performance. A national idealistic movement cannot afford to grow local feet of clay.

That national outlook also entails a continuous search for leaders intensely and genuinely devoted to the cause of liberal and progressive government and courageous enough to combat the forces within the party and without the party who would seek to tear down the wall of liberalism. In building up that type of leadership, emphasis should be placed upon demonstrated loyalty to the liberal cause rather than upon the number of years spent at party conventions.

The ability to formulate policies and to execute them is not synonymous with mere experience in political manipulations. It is more a matter of vision, imagination, close touch with realities of business, labor and agriculture and an ability to express the driving will of the



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American people. In our Legislature, in our Judiciary and in our Executive, mere association with politics should give way to those real essentials of efficiency and leadership in politics.

The second requisite is a far-sighted resolve not to play a dog-in-the-manger policy with younger men in the party councils.

Those at the top of our organization, national and local, must understand the dynamics of human organization. Youth with its energy and its constantly better education simply will not be kept in its place for the benefit of older men who would like to preserve a convenient and personally profitable status quo beyond the point where the status quo represents a natural equilibrium of forces.

For that young energy and power simply cannot be kept unnaturally "in line". It will simply burst confinement.

We must not think that we can freeze party councils to what they were eight years ago or even four years ago or even two years ago. To keep alive, to muster maximum strength, the older leaders of a party must accept younger men in their stride. The party history of this country is full of instances of the breakaway of the younger men into a new party — a process



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1940

completely unnecessary if there were not a dog-in-the-manger party attitude at the top of old parties to new men and new ideas.

There are more young leaders in the Republican Party today than there are in our own. That is the only portent of danger I see in the November elections. But it is a portent of enormous significance.

And the third great requisite for party continuance in power is to help and to permit the Executive Departments to do first-class administrative job. As I have said in other places we have needed practically <sup>frigid</sup> ~~all the~~ <sup>Yea/r</sup> ~~legislati~~ <sup>taking all of</sup> ~~time~~ <sup>one</sup> six years to forge them; now we have no answer to their demands that we make those tools work. The burden of the attack on us from now on will not be our legislative vision but our administrative capacity. With every passing month we lose the ability to rely on the criticism of mistakes of others — the tactics of a party out of power — and we have to bear criticism of our own responsibility for the management of the nation's estate.



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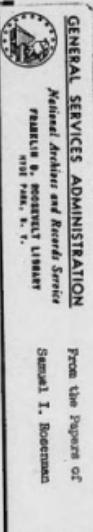
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Samuel I. Rosenman  
1941-1945

At the best we have no easy job. In answering the demands of the American people we have added functions to government -- complicated problems of administrative interrelationship and competence in personnel -- with which no other party has ever had to try to wrestle. The first requirement of Democratic Party insurance of the ability of its own executives to deliver on party promises is to let the Executive Department have what it needs to do that administrative job, -- to have such men, and in such combination and rearrangements, with new faces if necessary in places of old -- as the Chief Executive needs to get the job done.

We are a great Party -- in power. We have today, after six years in power a greater proportion of the Congress than most Democratic administrations have had in their first year of new power. Our party enemies have no revealed program except a further extension of our own. We have all the assets to build more solidly and for far longer <sup>(longer than Andrew Jackson</sup>) <sub>than Andrew Jackson</sub> was able to build if we will not be fat and lazy -- if everyone within the party will really cooperate along the common-sense lines and with the long range view of which we have just been talking.

But the cooperation must be more than a pleasant face ~~and~~ and

over <sup>for</sup> <sub>for</sub>



surface maneuvering.

When I receive certain promises of cooperation I remember one of the best Irish stories I know. - ~~wowly even~~ of Mr. Dusley.

The Orangemen of one of the counties right along the Southern border of Northern Ireland wanted to parade on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. But alas! they had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum?

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same district.

So the captain of the Orangemen explained to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, the ignominy of a parade without a bass drum and asked that the Fenians cooperate by lending their drum for the Orangemen's parade.

The captain of the Fenians was warm and friendly. "Shure" said he, "I'll give ye my fullest cooperation. Of course I'll lend ye the dhram; you couldn't have a daycent parade without it. But since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the dhram you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. I'll have to agree to take the dhram out of the parade when ye get to Canal Street. Because that's where we'll be laying

for ye."



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From the People of  
General T. Roosevelt

If we lay for each other we can be sure that 1940 is the place where the American people will be laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight the enemies of the American people, the enemies of inertia, of greed, of ignorance, of shortsightedness, of vanity — all the evils that turn men against men, which have always lowered both the nation's and the party's colors.

Andy Jackson fought to the last day of his term for the nation and the Party.

Let us remember his example, and, by the Eternal, we shall never have to lower our colors.



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Jackson Day Speech 1/7/34  
Tom, Ben & I. Jan 5, 6 + 7, 1939



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years after acquiring power and two years before a national election which will determine whether that power will be regranted.

No individual, however high his position, can take himself for granted; no party, however powerful, can take itself for granted. "Pride goeth forth on horseback, proud and gay; But cometh back on foot, and beg its way."

My mind goes back a little over twenty-five years ago at the beginning of the World War. Business was bad and business men in many fields were feeling the strain. Then came the war orders. Circumstances began to pile up profits -- profits for poor management as well as for good management. Men who before had found difficulty in making both ends meet, suddenly found themselves rolling in wealth. And such is mankind -- these poor managers took very seriously their luck -- or their isolated stroke of shrewdness -- or their satellite association with good managers. They began to take themselves for granted -- estate business men of affairs -- pillars of the nation -- even if

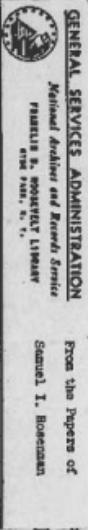
y political party  
conscience, honestly  
, list its assets  
for that like six

Anecdote of Andrew Jackson

There comes a time in the life of every political party when it ought to take stock, examine its conscience, honestly review its accomplishments and its failures, list its assets and its liabilities. And there is no time for that like six years after acquiring power and two years before a national election which will determine whether that power will be regranted.

No individual, however high his position, can take himself for granted; no party, however powerful, can take itself for granted. "Pride goeth forth on horseback, proud and gay; But cometh back on foot, and beg its way."

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their only achievement was local sharpshooting with an option on real estate near an arms factory. But when the War ended, and business success began again to require business judgment and understanding, many fell by the wayside.



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In some respects the success of the Democratic Party in 1932 was quite similar. Our place in the sun is not a war baby -- but it has discernible lineaments of being a depression baby. We were the beneficiaries of the neglects and mistakes of the Republican Party through the years of false boom after the World War. When the bubble of the twenties burst and the people of the United States were able to see the straw-like props upon which their prosperity had been built, and when the Republican government in power did nothing to relieve their distress, they were ready to turn away from false gods to any party holding out a promise of a really new deal. Ours was the party which reaped the benefits of the political profits which were ready to be plucked from the jazz wars during the decade following the World War.

Let us, gathered among yourselves, be very realistic

Let us frankly recognize that the Democratic Party did not create the conditions which brought it into power, that millions who were previously not Democrats gave it power to get certain things done, and that the Democratic Party has a claim to continue in power

only so long as it can, as a Party, get done those things which non-Democrats put it in power to do.

The American people in 1932 and in 1936 were tired of the do-nothing Government with which and for which they had to suffer through the terrible days of distress in the early thirties. It was not the Democratic Party alone, but the American people as a whole who demanded a New Deal.

Now, in more recent years, our Republican friends, have sometimes with sincerity and sometimes without sincerity, claimed that they were equally and unequally for a New Deal.

[Indeed there have been not less than three successive attitudes towards the New Deal in the Republican Party.]

<sup>Very interesting</sup> There was the First Republican New Deal. That was when the Republicans prided themselves on going along with our New Deal measures.

Then there was the Second Republican New Deal. Its motto was: "Support New Deal objectives, but oppose any means which the Democrats propose to effectuate those objectives".

And now there seems to be developing a third Republican New Deal. Its motto is: "Accept for your constituents all the benefits of the New Deal and promise them still greater benefits, but do not



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assume the obligations which must be assumed to make those benefits possible".

But I am really not concerned with the Republicans tonight.

If we deserve to remain in power, if we deliver in full on our contract with the American people, we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it manages so successfully to command the support of the American Liberty League and the services of its representatives. I am much more concerned by signs of weakening within the Democratic Party, of an unwillingness within it to meet ~~to~~ the letter of the bond, than I am by signs of strengthening within the Republican Party.

Indeed I go further, I feel that some sort of revival of an opposition in the Republican Party was really essential to keep the Democratic Party from gradually disintegrating from over-confidence, internal weakness and dissension.

Some effective opposition party is essential to the maintenance of our democratic system. If the Republican party does not succeed in liberalizing itself sufficiently to become an effective party of opposition, it would be almost inevitable that the Democratic party resolve itself into two parties. A one party system does not meet the needs of democratic government.



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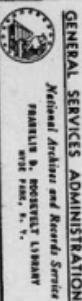
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It was natural that when the Republican party was so weak that it could not present a respectable opposition, interests opposed to the New Deal should try to stir up opposition within the Democratic party and should also strive to have that opposition led by Democrats rather than by Republicans. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party on many occasions in recent years has actually called off its own spokesmen and instructed them to play second-fiddle to the opposition within the Democratic ranks.

I welcome signs of an effective competition from the Republican party. The American people have much to gain from competition between the parties to advance the common welfare. Competition is the life of democratic government.

That opposition is going to put the glare of the lights upon us Democrats during the next two years and show us for what we are -- whether the party has really deserved the confidence which the people have given it, and a renewal of that confidence, or whether it has merely been riding circumstances, like many of the business men during the war. Have we been only political profiteers as they were war profiteers? You remember Abraham Lincoln -- a good Democrat -- you can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some

*like them D. N. C. by a damn*



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of the time -- but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Over the last six years we have done much to lay the foundation, to build our tools, and to make a real start upon delivery of the promises we made to the American people, in '32, '34, '36, '38. The American people will expect the next two years to be the harvest years, when they may reap the benefits of all the preparation, of all the new instruments, of all the fine stocks, in an accelerating harvest of real delivery on those promises.

We have made a good start upon many things. We have made partial delivery. We have delivered more than any one ever expected could be delivered in this country within the times we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the perpetuation of our power can we be satisfied with partial delivery when our tenure has to be risked before the American people in the national elections of 1940.

Jackson Day is a good day on which to talk to the Democratic party about delivering on its promises. For Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head as few other party leaders or parties have ever delivered.

There was a time in the era of the flashlight parade and the political clubhouse when politics was a serious business only to



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the little group who made a livelihood from it and to a few big interests conscious of the economic value of government to them, who used that group for their own purposes. For the rest of the population politics was either a matter of fun, a sporting proposition -- or something to be avoided as too dirty for any decent man's interest except around election day, and not even then, if the weather was good for golf.

Today it is a deadly serious business to a great majority of the people who have learned from big interests the importance of government as a factor in the division of economic power and of economic benefits in the country -- who are as conscious of their special interest in government as the high tariff or the low tariff advocates were conscious of their special interests twenty years ago -- and who are no longer satisfied with torch light parades and oratorical good-show -- and who now maintain an increasingly watchful organization as only the most realistic commercial interests did in the past. In addition there is an increasingly important group of men of good will -- really concerned for the future destiny of this country who, while they do not like politics as a game, nevertheless recognize it as the ultimate power today in a modern society.



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and who are willing therefore to give their time and energy to it now as they were not willing to do in former years.

What is important for any party at this time is therefore to understand that the whole country is increasingly watchful of political developments every day in the year -- and increasingly watchful of political developments every day in the year -- and increasingly cynical of professional politics divorced from political principles. That means that in the future an increasing number of people will be ready to jump party lines -- to follow individuals rather than party organizations, constantly ready to be alienated rather than impressed by slick political maneuver. It is that new and healthy attitude of the vast majority of our people towards political parties which has led many born Republicans, particularly in the West and Middle West to come into the ranks of the New Deal in recent years. The Democratic Party, if it is wise, will not permit political professionalism to alienate those who have been attracted by what they have thought to be its political principles.

Now what does it take to enable a party to deliver on its promises under modern conditions?



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Among other things certainly the party must let and help the President do a first-class administrative job. As I have said in other places we have forged new tools to meet a new conception of responsibility of government which the Democratic Party of this generation has brought to the American people. Now we have got to make those tools work, constantly better and better. At best that is not an easy job -- no government before in history has had to wrestle with such complicated problems of administrative inter-relationship and morale in personnel. As an administration reaches the point where it must soon risk its tenure in an election it becomes harder and harder to hold in its administrative service men who risk their personal interest by holding on. Therefore, the first requirement of party insurance of its own ability to deliver is frankly to let the executive department do an administrative job, to have such men and in such combination and rearrangement -- with new faces, if necessary, in place of old faces--as the Chief Executive may need to do the job.

~~The second guarantee of victory for a party is to  
A nation's party must  
prevent ruthlessly any chiseling locality from the ideals~~

and purposes which the party nationally holds out to the



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American people. In a national election -- unlike an off-year election -- national issues, not local issues, determine even local results. The party is measured by the voters of any one state not only by the character of its candidates and its administration in other states and in the <sup>nominating</sup> nation. A <sup>local</sup> idealistic movement cannot afford to grow feet of clay. There is nothing more important for people who have been in the game of politics a long time, than to realize that the temper and the rules of the game have not only changed already, but that they are going to continue to change, and change faster than they have ever changed before.

The third requisite of ability to deliver in a modern party therefore is a ruthless examination of its own objective honesty as it is seen from the outside -- an examination of its own conscience to know what causes it is standing and where it is straddling so that it will have the power of self-conviction behind the selling argument it is putting up to the un believer.

And a fourth condition of the ability of a party to deliver and to perpetuate itself is a realization by those at the top<sup>es</sup>.



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of the dynamics of human organization -- that youth with its energy and its constantly better education cannot be kept in its place for the benefit of older men who would like to preserve a status quo beyond the point where the status quo represents a natural equilibrium of forces. For that energy and power simply cannot be kept unnaturally "in line." If it is not let out of confinement it will simply burst confinement. We must not think that we can freeze party councils to what they were eight years ago or even 4 years ago or even 2 years ago. To keep alive, to muster maximum strength the older leaders of ~~the~~ party must accept younger men in their stride. The party history of this country is full of instances of the breakaway of the younger men into a new party -- a process completely unnecessary if there were not a dog in the manger party attitude at the tops of old parties to new men and new ideas.

The fourth requisite of maintaining a vibrant force for  
~~that continues without~~ does not contain a continuous search  
~~laboring government to~~ our party continue to seek out  
leaders intensely and genuinely devoted to the cause of  
liberal and progressive government and equipped with fortitude to combat the forces within the party and without the



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party who would seek to tear down the wall of liberalism.

In building up that type of leadership, emphasis should be placed upon demonstrated loyalty to the liberal cause rather than upon the number of years spent at party conventions.

The ability to formulate policies and to execute them is not synonymous with mere experience in political manipulations.

It is more a matter of vision, imagination, close touch with realities of business, labor and agriculture and an ability to express the driving will of the American people. In our Legislature, in our Judiciary and in our Executive, mere association with politics should give way to these real essentials of efficiency and leadership.



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I suppose that some columnists will say that I am continuing what they call "the purge" — that convenient newspaper invention which misrepresents what actually happened last Fall in the same way as the nickname "brain trust" misrepresents what has happened since 1932. What happened last Fall was very simple and very proper. There always have been, and still are, in the Democratic Party a good many people who are local party and political leaders in their own particular states or regions. Definitely conservative, these people in their heart of hearts would prefer to have the Democratic Party return to the policies which dominated it in 1904, 1924 and 1928. They have every right to their beliefs and any efforts they may make to have the majority of the Democratic Party follow their objectives.

On the other hand there are a great many other leaders -- in all probability a large majority of them -- who not only believe that the Democratic Party ought to be a liberal party, but who believe also that it cannot win national elections as a conservative party.

Last year, as the titular head of the Party and very definitely a member of the latter group, I called the attention of voters in several states to that fact. The



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voters in those states had a perfect right to vote as they did and to choose whom they wished. The good people whom they have chosen, who wish for a conservative party, have a perfect right, in the public offices which they occupy, to try to make the Democratic Party conservative in 1940. And I and my friends who believe as I do have a perfect right to try just as hard as we possibly can to keep the Democratic Party a liberal party in 1940.



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SECOND DRAFT

JACKSON DAY ADDRESS

JANUARY 7, 1939.

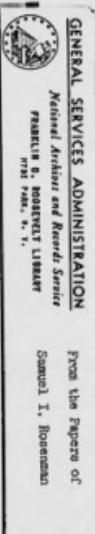
*S. J. Rosen*

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

"Young man" he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you. But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start shooting".

"General", said I, "That isn't the kind of a problem I have. I want to talk to you about the Democratic Party. I am very fond of her. The more other people say against her, the more I want to help her. What should she do?"

The General replied: "My eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away. But from what I can see from here, son, the trouble with the Democratic Party, that lady you are interested in, is that she has been feedin' too well and she's stopped her exercises and she's taking too much for granted. That is what I used to say to the ladies --"keep (?) your finger and keep peart and you don't need to worry what any other woman says about you!"



And so, young fellow, next time you talk to the Democratic Party tell her for me to start doing her exercises again and not get fat and lazy -- then she will be all right".

A political party that would keep the charm of perennial youth and not have to worry about what rivals say, cannot afford to grow fat and flabby. And although I am rather sure that I shall love the Democratic Party no matter how lazy she gets, I am not sure that twenty-seven million other admirers who voted for her in 1936 could say and do under such circumstances.

This is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience", to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistically humble about our present position of power.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.



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In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, had carried out its pledges of 1932 and still had a good figger. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power simply because it is the Democratic Party.

In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shread observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".



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## SECOND DRAFT

-4-

Today the situation is very much as it was in Jackson's day. A majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to the personal or political fortunes of any group of office-holders.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats.

Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has so few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to do their work under the cover of the opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and Party councils



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With deliberate intent to destroy our Party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring real Democrats together and to line up with those from other parties who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, they may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if we give these independent voters the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are: The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal -- while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- or worse.

The Republicans' second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect."

The Republican third New Deal - the one of 1938, issued this



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orders "Accept for the voters of your district all the benefits of the New Deal, promise them still greater benefits - any old kind that any old group asks for - but avoid mentioning how those benefits would be paid for".

Those tactics are all right for a party out of power - a party without national government responsibilities. But those tactics, if continued for another two years, cannot give our voters any real feeling of confidence.

We have known legislators who boasted that they voted for each and every appropriation that came along and against each and every tax proposal that was made. That is illustration of what our Republican friends are doing today.

We Democrats, however, are in power. We have to act as a Party in power. We cannot hold the confidence of the people if merely to avoid wrangling we have to agree to sit still and do nothing.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that the Democratic Party should be a conservative party - Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the Party, and if within the Party they are defeated they might just as well join the facedledees. That is an honest thing for them to do, and



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for every loss of that kind the liberal Democratic Party will gain two new marchers.

It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles which the American people today have come to look for in us.

If we deliver in full on our contract we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support - in fact the underlying, directive support of those who owned it for several generations. And if I am correctly informed, the American Liberty League still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Over the past six years we have built the foundations and forged the tools for the delivery of the promises we made in four succeeding elections, beginning in 1932. Do not forget that last autumn, even though our majorities were reduced, we did win the Election.

I think I am historically correct in saying that if I live through my second term, I will be the first President in sixty-two years who has served two terms with a Congress of his own Party in both branches throughout the whole eight years.

That means that after supporting a President and a



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Congress of the same party in 1932 the electorate has affirmed  
that support in three succeeding general elections.

We in six years have made partial delivery - more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when we must submit our tenure to the American people once more in less than two years.

Jackson and the Party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head. [Jackson was our greatest party leader.]

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

The very last day of his final term he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party, - a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

At this point in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. - which in dead Latin stand for "Nota Bene", or in live English, "take good notice".



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(B)

Jackson's successor, accounted a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised ~~on~~ the barrel-head.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. - take good notice."

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet - to whom do you suppose - to old Nicholas Biddle himself, the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years.

And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln, <sup>and</sup> ~~who~~, parenthetically, was chosen President only through the device of the founding



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of a third party.

Let me ask two obvious question. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd. Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? to claim that is equally absurd.

My casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation. We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days we were greatly influenced by the trappings and the antics of the donkey and the elephant. Today we are more impressed with the government's ability to perform the tasks that we, the people, set it to do.

In the old days the ideal candidate, which smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought."



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Samuel I. Rosenberg  
From the Producer  
to sender with mail

It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens of Burkises, who, even at this moment, seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say tea party -- pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face in a world where there are no longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government -- with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.



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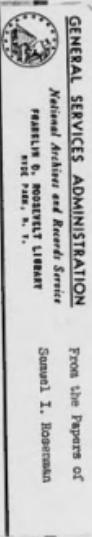
Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the lands and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and analyze again, using our own thinking processes and not somebody's else, to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than its fathers did in the precept "I am my brother's keeper". It believes in realities, economic and spiritual, ~~and~~ <sup>A</sup>abilities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.



[But it is of interest that] the younger generation of Americans are by a very large majority in favor of keeping on going places with the New Deal. Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year.

Some elder statesmen of my acquaintance in both parties might well repeat the old nursery rhyme:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush!"  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all.  
It is four times as big as the bush!"

We ask again that the Democratic Party make democracy work.

This government is seeking to maintain a truly national outlook. It is making progress through unity of policy and unity of performance. It is constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal governing.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their government -- men



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and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in holding down a lifelong government salary. Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. But all of us being "from Missouri", we are able to recognize real co-operation when we get it. We are even willing to accept temporary help, always bearing in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne. The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum?

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained it to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.



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"Shure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give ye my fullest cooperation. I will lend ye the drum; you couldn't have a daycent parade without it". "But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. Ye'll have to agree to take the drum out of the parade when ye get to Queen Street. For that's the corner where we Fenians are goin' to be lay'in for ye".

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the place where the American people will be lay'in for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all the evils that turn man against man.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our flag!

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THIRD DRAFT

JACKSON DAY ADDRESS

JANUARY 7, 1939

SJR:res

Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson.

"Young fellow," he said to me, "I don't know what's botherin' you. But before you tell me, my general advice on any problem is to start shootin'."

"General", said I, "I rather hoped I wouldn't have a shooting problem. It's about the Democratic Party. I'm very fond of it, but the Republicans are saying it's rotting off like a pollywog's tail. Is there anything we ought to do?"

"Son", replied the General, "just tell your fellas to learn to count, to count on their fingers if they can't count in their heads."

"My eyes are gittin' old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your fellas is that they've been feedin' too well and they scare easy."

"Young fellow, do you realize that if you live out the term you now have you'll be the only President of any party



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From the People to  
Samuel I. Rosenberg

## THIRD DRAFT

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who's had two full terms with the majority of his own party in both the House and the Senate all the time, since - why, son, since James Monroe - and he left the White House nearly 114 years ago!

"Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as safe as you have now when he first came into office.

"And as for me son, my Democrats licked old Nick Biddle when we didn't have a majority in the Senate and only a few votes to spare in the House. And you Democratic fellors today git scared and let the other fellors tell you you've lost an election if you don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep without sentries.

"There is nothing wrong with you fellors except yourselves. You're gittin' too soft and fat and eyin' each other from not fighting the other fellors enough. Tell your fellors to learn to count - and git shooting again, and they'll be all right".

I'm passing on the advice.

Despite the General's optimism I think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience", to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.



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## THIRD DRAFT

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Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fed too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a strudle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our Party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a Party, get done those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

[ Don't let's fool ourselves that the people of the United States want the Democratic Party to remain in power simply because it is the Democratic Party. ]



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In 1834, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put down Jackson, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may".

Today [the situation is the same] as in Jackson's day, A majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to [the] personal or political fortunes, [of any group of office-holders].

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has too few votes.



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During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their way into the Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils. It is an open secret that the high command of the Republican Party on many recent occasions called off its own spokesmen and ordered them to do their work under cover of opposition within Democratic ranks.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party in the recent elections should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and Party councils with deliberate intent to destroy our Party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring real Democrats together and to line up with them those from other parties, who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, they may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if we give these independent voters the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy:



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that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking for balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and for opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been - opportunists they still are!

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal - while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- or worse.

The Republican second New Deal said, "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect".

The Republican third New Deal - 1938 model - issued this order: "get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits - and old kind that any old group asks for - but never mention how those benefits will be paid for".

[We have known legislators who boast that they vote according to a system simple and safe: for each and every appropriation, against each and every tax bill. That is the system of our Republican friends today.]

Maybe those tactics are all right for a party out of power, [a party without national government responsibilities. But [those tactics, if continued for another two years, can hardly



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give our voters any real [feeling of] confidence in the Republican party.

We Democrats, however, [are] in power. [We] have to act as a Party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we [cannot] avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

[It is my very firm conviction that the Democratic Party cannot serve the country and thereby serve its own future, if it abandons the principles which the American people today have come to look for in us.]

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that the Democratic Party should be a conservative party - Tweedledum to the Republican Tweedledee - it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the Party, that the fight be fought out, and that if the tweedledees are defeated they join the tweedledums. That is an honest thing for them to do, and for every loss of that kind I am convinced that the liberal Democratic Party will gain two new members.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of - in fact it is down underneath actually directed by - the same people who have owned it for several



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generations. For the American Liberty League - unless I am incorrectly informed - still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

[ Over the past six years we have built the foundations and forged the tools for the delivery of the promises we made in four succeeding elections, beginning in 1932. Do not forget that last autumn, even though our majorities were reduced, we did win the election. And in order to win it, promised to carry on. ]

We in six years have made partial delivery - more than anyone ever expected could be delivered within the time we set ourselves. But neither for our own satisfaction nor for the good of the country can we rest on partial delivery when we once more in less than two years must submit our tenure to the American people. ]

Jackson and the party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party, - a bill which



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John F. Kennedy

## THIRD DRAFT

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surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

Along side this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. -- which in dead Latin stand for "note bene", or in live English, "take good notice".

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out at the next national election in 1840 because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice".

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, Fillian Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, sky-is-the limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretaryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet--to whom do you suppose? To old Nicholas Biddle himself,



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## THIRD DRAFT

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the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced  
and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years.  
And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice".

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the  
principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life  
with the next real Democrat, Abraham Lincoln,<sup>and he,xxx</sup>  
<sup>he</sup> incidentally, was chosen President only by founding a new Party.

Let me ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain  
that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild  
stretch of the imagination the Party of Jefferson or Jackson?  
To claim that is absurd.

But does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from  
1868 to 1936 (with the possible exception of a few years under  
Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim  
that is equally absurd.

My casual acquaintance with political life for twenty-  
five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads  
me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in  
their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation.  
We take our politics less seriously. We take our government  
more seriously.



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Samuel L. Rosenberg  
From the People of

In the old days the ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for, was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalert integrity .... a complete absence of plan or even of thought." It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to the dozens of Darkie[s], who, even at this moment, seem to be very, very willing.

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say back room -- treasures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face in a world where there are no longer 120 acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government -- with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency.



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and honesty.

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Today in that analyzing; they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and re-analyze, using our own thinking processes and not somebody else's, to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in 1860. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than did its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper". It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics, - to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor, or business against the state.



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The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on going places with the New Deal. Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year. [Some elder statesmen of my acquaintance in both Parties might well repeat the old nursery rhymes:

There was an old man who said, "Hush!  
I perceive a young bird in this bush!"  
When they said, "Is it small?"  
He replied, "Not at all.  
It is four times as big as the bush!" ]

On Jackson Day every true follower of Jackson asks again that the Democratic Party make democracy work.

[This government is seeking to maintain a truly national outlook. It is making progress through unity of policy and consistency in performance.]

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. To do that, we are constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal governing. We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their



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From the Papers of

government -- men and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in holding down a [lifelong government] salary.

Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. We are even willing to accept temporary help.

But we always bear in mind the story of the Orangemen's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum?

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

So he explained it to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangemen's parade.



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"Sure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give you—  
my fullest cooperation. I will lend you the drum; you couldn't  
have a decent parade without it."

"But", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm  
personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll under-  
stand if I have to make one personal condition. You'll have to  
agree to take the drum out of the parade when you get to Queen  
Street.

For that's the corner where we Fenians are going to  
be laying for you."

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be  
sure that 1940 is the corner where the American people will be  
laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight  
together against the enemies of the American people — inertia,  
greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism — all  
the evils that turn man against man.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who  
fought to the last for a united Democratic nation.

If we do that — by the Eternal, we shall never have  
to strike our colors.

RECORDED ON 10/10/1968



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

STATEMENTS FILE  
ShorthandBy Kanner

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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January 7, 1939

The following address of the President, to be delivered at the Jackson Day Dinner, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., this evening, is FOR RELEASE in editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 o'clock P.M., E.S.T., January 7, 1939.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

X Last night I was thinking about this gathering, about our Democratic Party, and what we ought to do to help it. I decided to go right to headquarters. So I put in a radio call for General Andrew Jackson. (S) *7-4 1/4 - 9 ~ 1/2*

"Young fellow", he said to me, "I don't know what's bothering you."

"General", said I, "you see it's about the Democratic Party. I'm very fond of it myself, but the Republicans are saying it's rotting away like a pollywog's tail, and some of our fellows are worried. Is there anything we ought to do?"

"Son", replied the General, "my eyes are getting old and I'm some distance away, but from what I can see from here the only trouble with your fellows is that they've been feeding them well and they score easily." (S)

Young fellow, do you realize that if you live out the term you now have, you'll be the only President of any party who's had two full terms with a majority of his own party in both the House and the Senate all the time? Since why, son, since James Monroe -- and he left the White House nearly one hundred and fourteen years ago! (S)

"Uh-huh", Woodrow Wilson didn't have majorities as safe as you have now when he first came into office.

"And as for me, son, my Democrats licked old Nick Biddle when we didn't have a majority in the Senate and had few votes to spare in the House. Tell your fellows to ~~keep~~ to count. You Democrats today get scared and let the other fellows tell you you've lost an election just because you don't have majorities so big that you can go to sleep without metrics."

*2 May 1937 - WPA*

I am passing on the advice of Old Hickory.

But despite the General's optimism, I think this is a good time for the Democratic Party to "examine its conscience," to think over most seriously what we have done that we should not have done, what we have left undone that we should have done.

Let us start by being realistic.

From 1920 on, the Republican Party fel too well and got fat and lazy. It gave the American people a "do-nothing" government for which they suffered through the terrible days. That was one reason why in 1932 they turned to the Democratic Party. The other reason was that the Democratic Party, during that summer and autumn, had a program of action and sounded sincere.

In the election of 1936 the Republican Party looked like a straddle-bug. The Democratic Party, however, was carrying out its pledges of 1932 and was still fighting. Hence the overwhelming victory of 1936.

Millions who had never been Democrats gave us the power in 1932, and again in 1936, to get certain things done. And our party can continue in power only so long as it can, as a party, get ~~done~~ those things which non-Democrats, as well as Democrats, put it in power to do.

In 1837, when Jackson was President, a shrewd observer wrote a letter which we ought to read and take to heart today. He said in it:

"There are two parties here -- one which would do anything to put ~~Jackson~~, and the other anything to sustain him. But there is a third party -- and a very large one -- which cares not a straw about who is President but ~~who~~ anxiously desires to see some measure of relief for the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may."

Today, as in Jackson's day, a majority of the people want only a President who honestly cares for them and a party anxiously and unitedly seeking a way to serve them without regard to personal or political fortunes.

Less than half of the voters of America are Democrats. Less than half are Republicans. But more than half of the voters are for the Democratic Party whenever the Democratic Party is for the majority of the people.

I welcome the return of the Republican Party to a position where it can no longer excuse itself for not having a program on the ground that it has too few votes.

During recent years, Republican impotence has caused powerful interests, opposed to genuine democracy, to push their ~~way into the~~ Democratic Party, hoping to paralyze it by dividing its councils.

The first effect of the gains made by the Republican Party ~~in the recent elections~~ should be to restore to it the open allegiance of those who entered our primaries and party councils with deliberate intent to destroy our party's unity and effectiveness.

The second effect of these gains should be to bring us real Democrats together and to line up with us those from other parties, those who belong to no party at all, who also preach the liberal gospel, so that, firmly allied, we may continue a common constructive service to the people of the country.

For if these independent voters have the conviction that the Democratic Party will remain a liberal party, they will be the first to perceive what I here and now prophesy: that the Republican leadership, conservative at heart, will still seek to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, talking ~~for~~ balanced budgets out of one side of its mouth and ~~for~~ opportunist raids on the Treasury out of the other.

Opportunists they have been -- opportunists they still are: see how they have tried to shuffle New Deal cards.

The Republican first New Deal joyfully went along with our New Deal -- while we were getting them off the spot and keeping them out of bankruptcy -- ~~or~~ worse.

The Republican second New Deal said "support New Deal objectives but oppose legislation to put them into effect."

The Republican third New Deal -- 1938 model -- issued this order: "get for the voters of your district all the New Deal benefits, promise them bigger and better benefits - any old kind" that any old group asks for - but never mention how those benefits will be paid for.

These tactics are wrong even for a party out of power, and if continued for another two years, they can hardly give our voters any real confidence in the Republican Party.

We Democrats, however, have to act as a party in power. And we cannot hold the confidence of the people if we cannot avoid wrangling except by agreeing to sit still and do nothing.

If there are nominal Democrats who as a matter of principle are convinced that our party should be a conservative party -- a Democratic Tweedle dum to a Republican Tweedledee -- it is on the whole better that the issue be drawn within the party, that the fight be fought out, and that if the Tweedledees are defeated they join the Tweedledees. ~~but~~ the prospects of such a fight are far more remote than members of the opposition would have you believe. The people of the country are not deceived when honest debate and an honest effort to work things out for the good of the country are labeled dissension and bad blood by those outside of the party whose wish is futher to the thought. ~~we~~ have to admit it but the fact remains that such debate over the past six years has borne six crops of good fruit.

If we deliver in full on our contract to the American people we need never fear the Republican Party so long as it commands the support of -- in fact is down underneath actually directed by -- the same people who have caused it for several generations. For the American Liberty League -- unless I am incorrectly informed -- still functions as a vehicle for political contributions and the spreading of shopworn propaganda.

Jackson and the party as he led it, delivered on the barrel-head.

Up to the very last he delivered for the common people he believed in, and for the national unity which he did so much to create.

On his very last day in the White House he vetoed a bill supported by many of his own party -- a bill which surrendered to the states and to a thousand, warring, petty local interests, the Federal Government's responsibility for husbanding the surplus funds in the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the whole Nation.

Along side this statement in my manuscript I note the letters N. B. -- which in dead Latin stand for "nota bene", or in live English, "take good notice." *(initials)*

Jackson's successor, reputedly a smart politician, could not keep the Democratic Party in power because he and they drifted from principles to politics. He and they were turned out at the next national election in 1840, because they failed to keep the pork barrel locked up in the cellar and because they failed to deliver what they had promised to anyone except themselves.

And again my manuscript bids me say "N. B. -- take good notice." *(initials)*

Let this be another thought for 1940. In 1840 the new Whig President, William Henry Harrison, elected on a red fire, hard cider, sky-is-the-limit campaign, backed by the descendants of Hamiltonian aristocrats and by disgruntled Democrats, made his first tender of the Secretoryship of the Treasury in his Cabinet -- to whom do you suppose? To ~~W. H.~~ Nicholas Biddle himself, the money changer whom Andrew Jackson had so soundly trounced and driven from the Temple.

From Andrew Jackson to Nicholas Biddle -- four short years. And again I say "N. B. -- take good notice." *(initials)*

A full generation -- twenty years -- passed by before the principle of Andrew Jackson's true democracy came back to life with the next real democrat, Abraham Lincoln. He, incidentally, was chosen President only by the founding of a new party. *(initials)*

Let us ask two obvious questions. Does anyone maintain that the Democratic Party from 1840 to 1876 was by any wild stretch of the imagination the party of Jefferson or Jackson? To claim that is absurd. *(initials)*

Does anyone maintain that the Republican Party from 1868 to 1938 (with the possible exception of a few years under Theodore Roosevelt) was the party of Abraham Lincoln? To claim that is equally absurd. *(initials)*

My unusual acquaintance with political life for twenty-five years, and a more serious reading of prior history, leads me to observe that the American people have greatly changed in their attitude toward government in this -- our -- generation. *(initials)*

We take our politics less seriously. We take our government more seriously.

In the old days the ideal candidate, whom smart managers always looked for was, as someone has described a former President, a man with "a protective reputation, an obvious but unalloyed integrity . . . a complete absence of plan or even of thought." It might be well for both parties in considering their candidates for President and Vice President to apply that formula to ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Democrats~~ who like Burke ~~were~~, even at this moment, to be very, very willing.

11-7-1940  
11-16, 1940

In the old days, for the bulk of the population, the elections were only a seasonal diversion -- a circus with an oratorical sideshow -- with the real job done by quiet economic and social -- perhaps I should say back room -- pressures behind the scenes.

Today there is emerging a real and forceful belief on the part of the great mass of the people that honest, intelligent and courageous government can solve many problems which the average individual cannot face alone in a world where there are no longer even hundred and twenty acres of good land free for everybody.

Today the voting public watches and analyzes every move made by those who govern them -- whether in the Executive or the Legislative or the Judicial branches of the government -- with clearer perception and greater insistence on efficiency and honesty.

Today in that analyzing they are less and less influenced by the red fire and the hard cider ballyhoo of newspaper owners or political orators who adhere to the practices of a century ago.

Yes, we have learned to go behind the headlines and behind the leads and behind the glittering generalities in order to analyze and re-analyze, using our own thinking processes and not somebody else's to make up our own minds.

You remember what Abraham Lincoln said about fooling the people. That was in the 1860's. I should say that no wise political leader in 1939 will take it as a safe working rule that you can fool many of the people any of the time.

This new generation, since the war, believes more than did its fathers in the precept "I am my brother's keeper." It believes in realities, economic and spiritual realities, where its fathers did not bother much to go beneath catchwords.

And it is national in its outlook. Youth today will not listen to a sectional conception of party politics -- to a combination of two or three parts of the country against another part, or farmers against labor or business against the state.

The younger generation of Americans, by a very large majority, intend to keep on "going places" with the New Deal. Do not overlook this rising generation. Its vote rises proportionately every year.

On Jackson Day every true follower of Jackson asks that the Democratic Party continue to make democracy work.

In answer to the demands of the American people we have expanded the functions of the Government of the United States. We are handling complicated problems of administration with which no other party has ever had to wrestle. To do that, we are constantly recruiting lieutenants who will give intense and genuine devotion to the cause of liberal government. We have brought to the government men and women whose first thought is to be of service to their country through their government -- men and women with fewer attributes of selfishness and more objectives of clean service than any group I have ever come in contact with in a somewhat long career.

Almost without exception they are more intent on doing a good job than in keeping themselves on the payrolls. Almost without exception they possess that quality of cooperative effort which distinguishes them from the oldtime political office-holder.

We seek and welcome cooperation, not only from those who are with us now but from others who see the light. We are even willing to accept temporary help.

But we always bear in mind the story of the Orangeman's parade in North Ireland on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.

The parade was set but the Orangemen had no bass drum. And what is a parade without a bass drum?

But the captain of the Orangemen had a good personal friend in the captain of the Fenians in the same town.

He explained his problem to his friend, the captain of the Fenians, and asked him to cooperate by lending the Fenian drum for the Orangeman's parade.

"Sure" said the captain of the Fenians, "I'll give you my fullest cooperation. I will lend you the drum; you couldn't have a Second parade without it."

"Sure", he added, with a twinkle in his eye, "since I'm personally responsible for the safety of the drum you'll understand if I have to make one personal condition. You'll have to agree to take the drum out of the parade when you get to Queen Street.

"For that's the corner where we Fenians are going to be laying for you."

If we Democrats lay for each other now, we can be sure that 1940 is the corner where the American people will be laying for us.

The way to avoid fighting among ourselves is to fight together against the enemies of the American people -- inertia, greed, ignorance, shortsightedness, vanity, opportunism -- all the evils that turn man against man.

It is my belief, and the belief of the great majority of those who hear me tonight, that not just for two years to come, but for a generation to come, we will maintain a united front against those enemies of America.

Let us remember the example of Andrew Jackson, who fought to the last for a united democratic nation.

If we do that -- by the Eternal, we shall never have to strike our colors.