The Senate met at 11:30 o'clock a.m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Zeb Barney T. Phillips, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in whose keeping are the destinies of men and nations, incline Thine ear and hearken unto our prayer on behalf of the people of these United States, that we may prove ourselves ever mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Save us from violence, discord, and confusions, from pride and arrogancy, and from every evil way. Grant to us dignity in our own eyes by taking us into Thy service, humble us by laying bare before us our littleness and our sin, and then exalt us by revealing Thyselv to us as our Counselor, our Father, and our Friend.

Befoul upon the Members of the Congress Thy special blessing, open their eyes to receive new light, open their ears that they may hear the voices that are calling for a world made new by the power of love, and do Thou send them forth this day as springs of strength and concord to this people whom they have pledged themselves to serve. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 4630) making appropriations for the Military Establishment for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. LEWIS. I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask for a roll call.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

King, Mead, Miller, Miller, Lodge, Logan, Lucas, Lundeen, McNary, Maloney, Maloney

Mr. LEWIS. I announce that the Senator from California (Mr. Downey) and the Senator from Montana (Mr. Wheeler) are detained from the Senate because of illness.

The Senate from Virginia (Mr. Byrd) is detained on public business.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Ninety-one Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

SOIL CONSERVATION AND DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT, AND AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACTS—PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting suggested amendments to the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

PETITIONS

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following joint memorial of the Legislature of Colorado, which was ordered to lie on the table:

Senate Joint Memorial 11

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States, legislation which will provide for the taxing of the incomes of employees of all State, county, city, school district, and other political subdivisions of the States by the Federal Government; and

Whereas said legislation also provides for the taxing of incomes of all Federal employees, within the jurisdiction of the several States, by the States; and

Whereas it is to the best interests of the people of the State of Colorado that said measures be enacted into law: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the Thirty-second General Assembly of the State of Colorado (the House of Representatives concurring herein), That the Congress of the United States is hereby urged to enact into law measures providing for the reciprocal taxation of the incomes of State and Federal employees by the States and the Federal Government; be it further

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—MARCH 4

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred, as follows:

S. 1849. A bill to terminate the power of the Senate of the United States under the provisions of section 43, article 9, of the act of May 12, 1833, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TRUMAN: S. 1850. A bill to provide for the increase of pension to Mary E. Conkling; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TRUMAN: S. 1851. A bill for the relief of Alfred Y. Davenport; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

HOUSE BILL ADOPTED

The bill (H. R. 4633) making appropriations for the military establishment, for the year ending June 30, 1943, and for other purposes, was read twice by title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

EXEMPTION OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS FROM SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Mr. BAILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Appendix a statement recommending an amendment to the Social Security Act made by John B. Lampen, president of the Board of Directors, Manufacturers Life Insurance Company, Louisville, Ky., which appears in the Appendix.

LARGE СABLES TRANSMITTED—BY REYNOLDS

Hn. BANKHEAD asked leave to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Reforming Reform," written by Frank L. Stern of the New York Times, which appears in the Appendix.

MR. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, an interesting and historical event took place this morning in the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives in connection with the ceremony commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, in the presence of the Vice President, the Honorable James M. Glasson, the Secretary of the Senate, Mr. Hiram W. Bingham, and the Speaker of the House, Mr. Henry Clay, of Georgetown University to the Congress of the United States, assembled to Washington, D.C., on the first session of the Federal Congress held in New York on March 4, 1789.

The special appropriateness of Georgetown University extending greetings is set forth in the scroll containing the greetings, as follows:

"1789—CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION—1789

The president, the directors, the faculty, and students of Georgetown University, to the Congress of the United States, assembled in Washington, March 4, 1789, to commemorate the first session of the Federal Congress held in New York on March 4, 1789.

Greetings in the Scroll:

"In the year of our Lord 1789, the first session of Congress was convened in New York. It is gathered therefore, as a natural and appropriate action, to extend our congratulatory greetings to the present Congress on the centennial anniversary of the historic occasion.

We also wish to express our appreciation of the many symbols of American patriotism which have come from the largest of the District of Columbia to the least affected spot to deepen such efforts is contrary to the spirit of the American ideal. We therefore appeal to the Government to purchase and certify certificates andFr. 1789, to observe the one hundredth anniversary of this great event in American history.

On the occasion of the bicentennial of the establishment of the United States Congress, the Georgetown University Board of Trustees and the Georgetown University century celebration committee of the society for the advancement of learning, by the Georgetown University Board of Trustees and to the Georgetown University Board of Trustees.

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We are a God-fearing and God-loving people and the desire of our foreign government has been accurately and truthfully informed.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to be present to announce the Chief Executive on his 6 years' worth of accomplishment for the general welfare of the nation in order to maintain democracy that made such leadership possible.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to be present today to this committee on the same bill, and the House of Representatives and the Senate, to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to be present today to announce the Chief Executive on his 6 years' worth of accomplishment for the general welfare of the nation in order to maintain democracy that made such leadership possible.

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Mr. Speaker, I am happy to be present today to announce the Chief Executive on his 6 years' worth of accomplishment for the general welfare of the nation in order to maintain democracy that made such leadership possible.
The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Elias Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Most gracious Lord of mankind, Thou wert our fathers' God. In Thee they trusted and were not cast to shame. In darkness Thou didst give them light, in danger succor, and in perplexity guidance. O blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord. Today we seek to do homage to it because of its ideals. Our soul bears the footprint of the glorious company of apostles of liberty and humanity. They closed their eyes to the darkness of ignorance, that by declaring the rights of God and man: may we ever live under those laws that have the true wisdom, the same sacred devotion, and the same ambition for freedom. May the true meaning of their lives, in their train all earthly good.

We love and cherish our homeland and rejoice in the great asset of a soil that has revealed beneath its benignant skin, Grant, blessed Lord, that a fervent and unwavering love of country may be so sincere that tyranny and their roads may never be able to beseige the republican foundation of our democracy. Preserve us from all revolutionary passions and the rolling tide of war. Amen.

The message of the Senate was read on Tuesday of last week, and the House of Representatives, on the same day, passed the bill, declaring the Fourth of July, 1876, the anniversary of the independence of the United States, a day of national celebration.

COMMENCEMENT CEREMONY IN HONOR OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH AND FUTURE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONFEDERATION OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

The House of Representatives will convene at 12 o'clock noon and be called to order by the Speaker, the Honorable W. D. Oakes, Speaker.

The President of the Senate will take the seat at the left of the Speaker, and all other officers and guests of honor will be announced, and the following guests will be seated at the side of the House:

The Secretary of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives.


The Honorable Mrs. W. D. Oakes, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Honorable Mr. A. H. Burns, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The Speaker addressed the House on the occasion and the President of the Senate addressed the Members of the House.

The House will then assemble in the Senate Chamber, and the Members of the House of Representatives will take their seats.

The House will then be called to order by the Speaker, who will announce the roll of the Members of the House of Representatives.

The Speaker will then address the Members of the House, and the President of the Senate will announce the names of the visitors who have been present during the session of the House.

The Speaker will then call for the adjournment of the House, and the Members of the House will then retire to their respective places.

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would we of this Congress obtain if we could see and hear many of those statesmen of the last generation, who so excellently represented that separation of political functions, the independence of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments and the free discussions of the old-class legislators? It is the true spirit of the old Congress that has reappeared in this. It has been called the spirit of the old Congress of Washington, but the spirit is not the same; it is the spirit of the old Congress of Washington for many Presidents.

For 138 years such Representatives and Senators have carried on their duties, and in their efforts to bring about the government of the United States consistent with the Constitution, have been part of the drama of representative government, made their contributions of service to the causes of the Union, to the development, and there are seen none more—either "beckoned by the pallid messenger with the inverted torch to depart" or returned to the walks of private life from whence they came. They served their day and generation.

To me in the split in both branches of Congress this should be embraced as an occasion of rededication to the best interests of our Republic. Despite the limitations of our intellects and inferences—be cautious as to your judgment under any administration, have we infinitely measured up to the fulness of the drama of our Constitution? In the drawing of the Constitution there were the principles of our constitutionality and the symphony of government.

There are a few of the people who believe the laws of God, the Constitution and the laws of the Constitution of this nation.

I want to speak to the House for the good of the President and Senators to the House for the President from the House—what is the consequence of the day?

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I want to speak to the House for the good of the President and Senators to the House for the President from the House—what is the consequence of the day?
I believe that it has been held by the Supreme Court that the authority of the Congress Constitution confers on March 4, 1895.

This constitutional was based on the theory of representative government, two of the branches of the government by the House of Representatives, by the House of Representatives in the case of the Vice President, and the President. It is true that in many States the franchise was widely extended, yet the political principles of the free choice by the people prevailed. I emphasize the words "free choice" because until a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps I should call it this ideology of democracy, was in the scramble throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its practice of what the American Constitution had established there in advance of the rest of the world.

The safety of the system of representative democracy is in the last analysis based on two conditions: First, that there be a free election; and a free choice of the new President; and second, that this choice be made by an electorate so large that it is a force against or in favor of the power over the decision of his personal and political desires.

Today, with many democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our processes are perfect, or that we will apparently watch the return of forms of government which for 2,000 years have proved their worth and their moral value.

With the direct control of the free choice of public servants by the free choice of the American people, this type of government cannot long remain in the hands of those who do not make it clear that whether they act as individuals, or as a group, we shall always be able to point to the strength of our free institutions. We shall be able to point to the strength of our institutions. We shall be able to point to the strength of our institutions. We shall be able to point to the strength of our institutions.

The Vice President. Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.

The Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States.

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Senator, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. 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The Senate and the House of Representatives, the Congress of the United States. The Senate and the House of Representative...
PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and referred as follows:

By Mr. DEMPSEY:
H. R. 4572. A bill relating to certain payments in connection with the 1937 Ryan Ingram under the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BORDEN:
H. R. 4746. A bill to vest in the circuit courts of appeals of the United States original and exclusive jurisdiction to review the order of denial of any alien bond oralien bond enforcement against the United States in which a defendant is a foreign national and a defendant in a civil suit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of citizens of the town of Westwood, Calif., praying that the National Labor Relations Board remove the office of the Board, and John T. McNamara, attorney for said regional office for the termination of the励对于; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

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PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and referred as follows:

Mr. SPENCER of Wisconsin introduced a bill (H. R. 4516) for the relief of John Winkler, which was referred to the Committee on Internal Revenue.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1238. By Mr. ENGELBRECHT: Petition of 123 citizens of the town of Westville, Lassen County, Calif., praying that the National Labor Relations Board remove Mrs. Alice M. Rosser, director of the twentieth regional office of that Board, and John T. McNamara, attorney for said regional office for the termination of their duties; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1239. Also, petition of citizens of the town of Westwood, Calif., praying that the National Labor Relations Board remove Mrs. Alice M. Rosser, director of the twentieth regional office of that Board, and John T. McNamara, attorney for said regional office for the termination of their duties; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1240. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSEN: Petition of House of Representatives of the State of Texas, opposing the Nye resolution; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1241. By Mr. HOUSTON: Petition of members of the First Baptist Church of Watauga, Texas, opposing the President of the United States and Congress, in accordance with the principles of the good neighbor and in the interests of the people of the United States, China, and Japan, to take every practicable means, direct or indirect, to bring to an end a traffic from our country which is compelling us to be a partner in the destruction of the Chinese people; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1242. By Mr. SCHILLER: Petition of Rev. Joseph L. Gregory, of Camden, W. Va., urging that ministers be excluded from the provisions of the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1243. By Mr. WELCH: Petition of Mr. Tom O'Leary and nine others, of Kinde, Mich., extending the Neutrality Act of August 21, 1939, to include civil as well as international conflicts, and to ratify the statement on Turkish legislation, and to remain the principles enunciated in the act of May 1, 1937; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1244. Also, petition of H. L. Tibbets and 49 others, of Vassar, Calif., Tampa, Mexico, for the continuance of the Disarmament investigation; to the Committee on Bills, Resolution, and Petitions.
The Historical Romance of the Foreign and American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. SIROVICH OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 22, 1929

SPEECH OF HON. WILLIAM J. SIROVICH OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 22, 1929

MR. SIROVICH. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks upon the extension of the American merchant marine, I now continue the following speech which I delivered in the House of Representatives on June 22, 1929:

In this House of Representatives, I have the honor to present the views of the American merchant marine. I am grateful for the opportunity to speak on this important subject.

The American merchant marine has played a significant role in the history of this nation. From its humble beginnings, the merchant marine has grown to become a major part of our economy and national security.

The merchant marine is not just about transporting goods. It is also about the safety of our citizens and the nation's security. During times of war, the merchant marine provides essential support to the military and the economy. The merchant marine is a vital part of our national defense.

The American merchant marine is a diverse and dynamic industry. It includes both large and small ships, and it employs people from all walks of life. The merchant marine is a critical part of our economy, providing jobs and opportunities for many Americans.

The merchant marine is also an important cultural and historical resource. The stories of the merchant marine, from the early days of sailing ships to the modern age of container ships, are a part of our nation's history.

In conclusion, I urge the House of Representatives to support the extension of the American merchant marine. It is a vital industry that serves the nation's interests and contributes to our economy and security.

Thank you.
### CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

**Standing and Select Committees of the Senate**

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| **Armed Services** |...
| **Finance** |...
| **Foreign Relations** |...
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| **Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions** |...
| **Judiciary** |...
| **Rules and Administration** |...

**Standing Committees of the House of Representatives**

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| **Agriculture** |...
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| **Financial Institutions and Joint Committee on the Library** |...
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## Congressional Record

*For the week of [insert date]*

**Military Affairs**

- Rosen, Dave, (Florida)
- Lowey, Nydia, (New York)
- Sestak, Jim, (Pennsylvania)
- Bentsen, Bob, (Texas)
- Reed, Joseph, (New York)
- Carper, Ben, (Delaware)
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- Menendez, Robert, (New Jersey)
- Baca, Xavier, (California)
- Shadegg, J. D., (Arizona)
- Breaux, David, (Louisiana)
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**Armed Services**

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- Newport, James, (Kentucky)
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**Judiciary**

- Geithner, Timothy, (New York)
- Bentsen, Bob, (Texas)
- Levin, Sander, (Michigan)
- Wolf, Zell, (California)
- Casalino, John, (New York)
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**Rules and Administration**

- Capps, Scott, (California)
- Walorski, Kristi, (Indiana)
- Ford, Ben, (Michigan)
- Sweat, Jason, (South Carolina)
- Broun, Jack, (Georgia)
- Fitzpatrick, Susan, (Pennsylvania)

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- Broun, Jack, (Georgia)
- Fitzpatrick, Susan, (Pennsylvania)
Well, even if these years of the confederation are called the critical period of American history, but for crisis — in this case a crisis of peace — there would have been no Union. You, the members of the Senate and the House, you, the chief justice and the President of the United States, would not be here on this 4th of March, a century and a half later.

It is well to remember that from March 1781 to March 1789 the thirteen states existed as a nation by the sole power of Congress, without an executive or a judicial branch. This permanent assembly of representatives, however, was compelled to act not by a majority but by the States, and in the more important functions by the requirement that nine States must consent to the action.

In actual authority, the Congress of the Confederation were principally limited to the fields of external relations and the national defense. The fatal defect was of course the lack of power to raise revenue for the maintenance of the system, and vice versa.
may be called at the least optimistic if they strived that the true sovereign Republics would promptly pay even to the Confederation in the small sums which were assessed against them for the general maintenance of the Congress and its functions.

Furthermore, the effect of the existing methods of transportation and communication confined the development of a truly national government far more greatly than we realize today—and that was truer throughout the first half-century of our union. Your hand broad the frontier the dense and buggy age. We see it not in the justice of the men who had to spend weeks on the rough highways before they could establish a quarter of the Congress, not in implication of inferiority on the part of those who perforce could not visit their neighbors in other states and visualize at first hand the problems of the whole of the infant nation. We see it rather in explaining the delays and the local antagonisms and jealousies which best serve early paths.
and no use it perhaps to remind our citizens of today that the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, the electrical impulse over the wires and through the ether have to no citizen an excuse for sectionalism, for failure in the execution of the public duties or for a failure to maintain a full understanding of the acceleration of the process of civilization.

While fundamentals of government can properly be maintained, the processes seem to speed up with the greater speed of human contacts which have kept pace with an amazing sea of invention unparalleled in the history of mankind.

Thus the crisis which faced the new nation through its lack of national leaders was recognized as early as 1783, and the many abuses of contracts prevented a sufficient general perception of the danger until 1787 when the Confederation Congress issued a call for the holding of a constitutional convention in May.

We are familiar with immortal document.
which issued from that convention; and the ratification of it by sufficient States to give it effect; of the action of the Convention Congress which terminated its own existence in calling on the first Federal Congress to assemble on March 4, 1789.

In three or four months' delay before a worm could be attained; of the counting of the ballots unannounced; of the fact for General Washington; of his first inauguration; his triumphal procession from Mt. Vernon to New York; and of his inauguration as first President on April 30th.

So ended the crisis. From a society of thirteen republics was born a nation with the attributes of nationality and the framework of permanence.

I believe that it has been held by the Supreme Court that the adoption of the Constitution ended on March 3, 1789. Therefore the Constitution went into effect the next day. That Constitution was based on the theory of representation government, two of the three branches of its government being chosen.
by the people, directly in the case of the House of Representatives, by elected deputations in the case of Senators, and by elected electors in the case of the President and Vice President. It is true that in many states the franchise was greatly limited, but the cardinal principle of free choice by the body politic prevailed. I emphasize the words “free choice” because until a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps I should call it this ideology of democracy, was in the ascendant throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its practice of what the American Constitution had established here so firmly and so well.

The safety of the system of representative democracy is in the last analysis based on two essentials: first that at frequent periods the sitting Congress is replaced by a newly elected and voter must choose a new Congress and a new President; and second that this choice must be made freely, that is to say without any undue influence.
or influence over the voter in the expression of his personal and sincere opinion. That after all is the greatest difference between what we know as democracy and their other forms of government which, though they seem less free, are essentially old, for they revert to those systems of concentrated self-perpetuating power against which the Western World successfully represents its democratic system was successfully launched centuries ago. Today, with many other democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our resources are unlimited, or that we will approvingly watch the return of forms of government which for two thousand years have proved their tyranny and their instability alike.
With the direct control of the thinking of public sentiment by a free electorate, the Constitution has proved that this type of government cannot long remain in the hands of those who seek personal aggrandizement for selfish ends, whether they act as individuals or classes, or as groups. It is therefore in the spirit of our system that our elections are freer, positions in their mandate, rather than passions in their acquiescence. Many other nations may as the result win, the attack, the will ever statements, the falsehood interwoven with the truth that marks our general elections. Because they are firmly followed by acquiescence in the result and a return to normal waters as soon as the bullets are counted.

no celebrate the completion of the building of the house. But one essential was lacking - it had to be made habitable and seen in the period after the building. Those who put their signatures there who voted to accept it from the
and personal as well as public of the place.

As such, it's important to emphasize the

value and importance of the people in this
group. I, therefore, believe that the people in
this group are significant.

In addition, the significant public figures
and their contributions to the

progress of the area.

In summary, the

value and importance of the people in this
group cannot be underestimated.

In the light of this,

the potential for the

progress of the area.

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71. incarnated the "justice" of the dark ages? The taking of private property without due compensation — would we willingly abandon our security against that in the face of the events of recent years? The right to be safe against unwarrantable search and seizures — that year newspaper and rejoice that our fissions and our households are still safe.

Freedom to assemble and petition. The Congress for a redress of grievances — the mail and the telegraph being daily proof to every Senator and every Representative that that right is not the right of an uncontrolled popularity.

Freedom of speech — yes, that that is uncontrolled for never has there been so much of it. Every topic of every subject. It is indeed a freedom which because of the will of our town is that and slander goes unvarnished. Yet the good sense of the American people, my person is constitutionally entitled to criticize and call to account.
the highest and the lowest on the land — have only one exception. For be it noted that the Constitution itself protects Senators and Representatives and provides that "for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place," and that protection is most carefully not extended to either the Chief Justice or the President.

Freedom of the Press — I take it that no sensible man or woman believes that it has been contended or threatened or that it should be. The influence of the printed word will always depend on its veracity, and the nation can safely depend on the discrimination of a reading public which with the increase in the general education is able to sort truth from fiction. Representative democracy will never tolerate oppression of true ideas at the behest of government.

Freedom of Religion — That essential of the rights of mankind everywhere goes back also to the rights of representative government. Where democracy is verifiable
...but there is no right to worship God in an unitary way is circumscribed or abrogated. Shall we, by our passiveness, by our silence, by assuming the attitude of the Pharisees, who pulled their对象 together and passed by in the other side? And encouragement to those today dissenting, to reject or deny it?

The answer to that is "no," just as in the days of the first Congress of the United States it was "no."

Not for freedom of religion alone, nor this nation contend by every peaceful means. We believe in the other freedoms of the bill of rights. The other freedoms that are inherent in the right of free choice by free men and women. That means democracy to us under the Constitution, not democracy by direct action of the people, but democracy exercised by representatives chosen by the people of the nation themselves.

Here in this great hall are assembled the present members of the government...
the United States of America - the Congress, the Supreme Court and the Executive. Our fathers rightly believed that this government which they set up would work as a whole to act as a whole for the good governing of the nation. It is in the same spirit that we are met here today, 150 years later, to carry on their task. May God continue to (aid upon us the right of this Constitution) guide us all.
MARCH 4th Speech

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Supreme Court, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives,

We near the end of a three year commemoration of the founding of the government of the United States. It has been aptly suggested that its successful organizing should rank as the eighth wonder of the world — for surely the evolution of permanent substance out of nebulous chaos justifies us in the use of superlatives.

Thus, we may increase our oratory and please our vanity by picturing the period of the War of the Revolution as crowded with a unanimous population of heroes dramatized by the admitted existence of only traitors to fill the necessary role of villain. Nevertheless we are aware today that a more serious reading of history a far less pleasant scene.

It should not detract from our satisfaction in the result to acknowledge that a very large number of inhabitants of the thirteen revolting colonies were opposed to rebellion and to independence; that there was constant friction between the Continental Congress and the Commander-in-Chief and his
Generals in the field; that inefficiency, regardless of the
cause of it, was a rule rather than the exception in the
long drawn out war; and finally that there is grave doubt
as to whether independence would have been won at all if
Great Britain herself had not been confronted with wars in
Europe which diverted her attention to maintaining her own
existence in the nearer arena.

We can at least give thanks in the first chapter that
all was well that ended well; and we can at least give thanks
to those outstanding figures who strove against great odds
for the maintenance of the national ideal (who knew full
well that thirteen independent sovereignties would hang
separately if they did not hang together).

The opening of the new chapter in 1783 discloses very
definitely that assurance of continued independence could
be guaranteed by none. That dissension and discord were so widely distributed among the thirteen new
states was partly due to the impossibility of setting up
Insert A

for the maintenance of the national ideal which their vision and courage had created.

(Omit balance of paragraph)

Insert B

be guaranteed by none. The years between the victory at Yorktown and the establishment of government under the Constitution have rightly been called the critical period of American history because dissension and discord were inevitable under a Confederation so loosely held together.

(Omit balance of page 2 and page 3)
a union more strong or permanent than that loose-end, shaky
debating society provided for under the Articles of Confederation.

That survived for six years is more a tribute to the
ability to do nothing gracefully, and to the exhaustion that
followed the end of the War rather than to any outstanding
statesmanship or even leadership. Again, we can properly
say of the period of Confederation, that all was well that
ended well.
Those years have been called "the critical period of American history." But for crisis — in this case a crisis of peace — there would have been no Union; you the members of the Senate and the House; you the Chief Justice and I, the President of the United States, would not be here on this 4th of March, a century and a half later.

It is well to remember that from the 1781 to 1789, the thirteen States existed as a nation by the thread of Congressional government, and without an Executive or a Judicial branch. This annual assembly of representatives, moreover, was compelled to act not by a majority but by States, and in the more important functions by the requirement that nine States must consent to the action.

In actual authority the Congresses of the Confederation were principally limited to the fields of external relations and the national defense. The fatal defect was of course the lack of power to raise revenue for the maintenance of the system; and our ancestors may be called at the least optimistic if they...
believed that thirteen sovereign Republics would promptly pay
over to the Confederation even the small sums which were
assessed against them for the annual maintenance of the
Congress and its functions.

Furthermore, the effect of the existing methods of trans-
portation and communication retarded the development of a
truly national government far more greatly than we realize today —
and that was true throughout the first half century of our
union. You have heard the phrase the "horse and buggy age."
We use it not in derogation of the men who had to spend weeks
on the rough highways before they could establish a quorum of
the Congress, not in implication of inferiority on the part of
those who perhaps could not visit their neighbors in other
States and visualize at first hand the problems of the whole
of an infant nation.

We use it rather to explain the tedious delays and the
local antagonisms and jealousies which beset our early paths,
and we use it perhaps to remind our citizens of today that
the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, the electrical
impulse over the wire and through the ether leave to no
citizen an excuse for sectionalism, for delay in the execution
of the public business or for a failure to maintain a full
understanding of the acceleration of the processes of civilization.

While fundamentals of government can properly be maintained,
the processes seem to speed up with the greater speed of human
contacts which have kept pace with an amazing sea of inventions:
unparalleled in the history of mankind.

Thus the crisis which faced the new nation though its lack
of national powers was recognized as early as 1783, but the
very slowness of contacts prevented a sufficient general perception
of the danger until 1787 when the Confederation Congress issued
a call for the holding of a Constitutional Convention in May.

We are familiar with the immortal document which issued
from that convention; of the ratification of it by sufficient
States to give it effect; of the action of the Confederation Congress which terminated its own existence in calling on the first Federal Congress to assemble on March 4th, 1789.

We know of the months' delay before a quorum could be attained; of the counting of the ballots unanimously cast for General Washington; of his notification, his triumphal journey from Mount Vernon to New York; and of his inauguration as first President on April 30th.

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chosen by the people, directly in the case of the House of Representatives, by elected Legislatures in the case of Senators, and by elected electors in the case of the President and Vice President. It is true that in many States the franchise was greatly limited, yet the cardinal principal of free choice by the body politic prevailed. I emphasize the words "free choice" because until a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps I should call it this ideology of democracy, was in the ascendant throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its practice of what the American Constitution had established here so firmly and so well.

The safety of the system of representative democracy is in the last analysis based on two essentials: first, that at frequent periods the voters must choose a new Congress and a new President; and second, that this choice must be made freely, that is to say without any undue force against or influence over the voter in the expression of his personal and sincere opinion.
That after all is the greatest difference between what we know as democracy, and those other forms of government which, though they seem new to us, are essentially old, for they revert to those systems of concentrated self perpetuating power against which the representative democratic system was successfully launched centuries ago.

Today, with many other democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our processes are outworn, or that we will approvingly watch the return of forms of government which for two thousand years have proved their tyranny and their instability alike.

With the direct control of the free choosing of public servants by a free electorate, the Constitution has proved that this type of government cannot long remain in the hands of those who seek personal aggrandizement for selfish ends, whether they act as individuals, as classes, or as groups.
It is therefore in the spirit of our system that our elections are positive in their mandate, rather than passive in their acquiescence. Many other nations envy us the enthusiasm, the attacks, the wild over-statements, the falsehood intermingled gayly with the truth that marks our general elections, because they are promptly followed by acquiescence in the result and a return to calmer waters as soon as the ballots are counted.

We celebrate the completion of the building of the house, constitutional.

But one essential was lacking — the house had to be made habitable.

And even in the period of the building, those who put stone upon stone, those who voted to accept it from the hands of the builders knew that life within the house needed other things for its inhabitants. Without those things, indeed, they could never be secure in their tenure, happy in their toil and in their rest.

And so there came about that tacit understanding that to the Constitution would be added a Bill of Rights. Well and
truly did the first Congress of the United States fulfill that first unwritten pledge; and the personal guarantees thus given to our individual citizens have established, we trust for all time, what has become as ingrained in our American natures as the free elective choice of our representatives itself.

In that Bill of Rights lies another vast chasm between our representative democracy and those reversions to personal rule which have characterized these recent years.

Jury trial - do the people of our own land ever stop to compare that blessed right of ours with some processes of trial and punishment which of late have re-incarnated the "justice" of the dark ages?

The taking of private property without due compensation - would we willingly abandon our security against that in the face of the events of recent years?
The right to be safe against unwarrantable searches and seizures - read your newspapers and rejoice that our firesides and our households are still safe.

Freedom to assemble and petition the Congress for a redress of grievances - the mail and the telegraph being daily proof to every Senator and every Representative that that right is at the height of an unrestrained popularity.

Freedom of speech - yes, that too is unchecked, for never has there been so much of it on every side of every subject. It is indeed a freedom which because of the mildness of our laws of libel and slander, goes unchecked except by the good sense of the American people. Any person is constitutionally entitled to criticize and call to account the highest and the lowest in the land - save only in one exception. For be it noted that the Constitution itself protects Senators and Representatives and provides that "for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place."
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Freedom of Religion - that essential of the rights of mankind everywhere goes back also to the origins of representative government. Where democracy is snuffed out there, too, the right to worship God in one's own way is circumscribed or abrogated.

Shall we by our passiveness, by our silence, by assuming the attitude of the Pharisee, who pulled his skirts together and passed by on the other side, lend encouragement to those who
today persecute religion or deny it?

The answer to that is "no", just as in the days of the first Congress of the United States it was "no".

Not for freedom of religion alone does this nation contend by every peaceful means. We believe in the other freedoms of the bill of rights, the other freedoms that are inherent in the right of free choice by free men and women.

That means democracy to us under the constitution, not democracy by direct action of the mob; but democracy exercised by representatives chosen by the people of the nation themselves.

Here in this great hall are assembled the present members of the government of the United States of America - the Congress, the Supreme Court and the Executive. Our fathers rightly believed that this government which they set up would seek as a whole to act as a whole for the good governing of the nation. It is in the same spirit that we are met here, today, 150 years later, to carry on their task. May God continue to
(shed upon as the light of His Presence) guide our steps.
MARCH 4th Speech

We near the end of a three year commemoration of the founding of the government of the United States. It has been aptly suggested that its successful organizing should rank as the eighth wonder of the world -- for surely the evolution of permanent substance out of nebulous chaos justifies us in the use of superlatives.

Thus, we may increase our oratory and please our vanity by picturing the period of the War of the Revolution as crowded with a unanimous population of heroes dramatized by the admitted existence of only two or three traitors to fill the necessary role of villain, nevertheless we are aware today that a more serious reading of history proves a far less pleasant scene.

It should not detract from our satisfaction in the result to acknowledge that a very large number of inhabitants of the thirteen revolting colonies were opposed to rebellion and to independence; that there was constant friction between the Continental Congress and the Commander-in-Chief and his
Generals in the field; that inefficiency, regardless of the the cause of it, was a rule rather than the exception in the long drawn out war; and finally that there is grave doubt as to whether independence would have been won at all if Great Britain herself had not been confronted by wars in Europe which diverted her attention to maintaining her own existence in the nearer arena.

We can at least give thanks in the first chapter that all was well that ended well and we can at least give thanks to those outstanding figures who strove against great odds for the maintenance of the national ideal -- who knew full well that thirteen independent sovereignties would hang separately if they did not hang together.

The opening of the new chapter in 1783 discloses very definitely that assurance of continued independence could be guaranteed by none. The very fact that dissension and discord were so widely distributed among the thirteen new states was proven by the impossibility of setting up
a union more strong or permanent than that house-end, many
debating society provided for under the Articles of Confederation.
That it survived for six years is more a tribute to its
ability to do nothing gracefully and to the exhaustion that
followed the end of the War rather than to any outstanding
statesmanship or even leadership. Again, we can properly
say of the period of Confederation, that all was well that
ended well.
We'll have those years been called "the critical period of American history." But for crisis - in this case a crisis of peace - there would have been no Union; you the members of the Senate and the House; you the Chief Justice and I the President of the United States would not be here on this 4th of March, a century and a half later.

It is well to remember that from March 1781 to March 1789 the thirteen States existed as a nation by the sole thread of Congressional government, and without an Executive or a Judicial branch. This annual assembly of representatives, moreover was compelled to act not by a majority but by States, and in the more important functions by the requirement that nine States must consent to the action.

In actual authority the Congresses of the Confederation were principally limited to the fields of external relations and the national defense. The fatal defect was of course the lack of power to raise revenue for the maintenance of the system, and our ancestors may be called at the least optimistic if they
believed that thirteen sovereign Republics would promptly pay over to the Confederation even the small sums which were assessed against them for the annual maintenance of the Congress and its functions.

Furthermore, the effect of the existing methods of transportation and communication retarded the development of a truly national government far more greatly than we realize today — and that was true throughout the first half century of our union. You have heard the phrase the "horse and buggy age." We use it not in derogation of the men who had to spend weeks on the rough highways before they could establish a quorum of the Congress, not in implication of inferiority on the part of those who performed could not visit their neighbors in other States and visualize at first hand the problems of the whole of an infant nation.

We use it rather to explain the tedious delays and the local antagonisms and jealousies which beset our early paths,
and we use it perhaps to remind our citizens of today that the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, the electrical impulse over the wire and through the ether leave to no citizen an excuse for sectionalism, for delay in the execution of the public business or for a failure to maintain a full understanding of the acceleration of the processes of civilization.

While fundamentals of government can properly be maintained, the processes seem to speed up with the greater speed of human contacts which have kept pace with an amazing sea of inventions unparalleled in the history of mankind.

Thus the crisis which faced the new nation though its lack of national powers was recognized as early as 1785, but the very slowness of contacts prevented a sufficient general perception of the danger until 1787 when the Confederation Congress issued a call for the holding of a Constitutional Convention in May.

We are familiar with the immortal document which issued from that convention; of the ratification of it by sufficient
States to give it effect; of the action of the Confederation
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first Federal Congress to assemble on March 4th, 1789.

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So ended the crisis. So, from a society of thirteen
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I believe that it has been held by the Supreme Court
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That Constitution was based on the theory of representative
government, two of the three branches of its government being
chosen by the people, directly in the case of the House of Representatives, by elected Legislatures in the case of Senators, and by elected electors in the case of the President and Vice President. It is true that in many States the franchise was greatly limited, yet the cardinal principal of free choice by the body politic prevailed. I emphasize the words "free choice" because until a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps I should call it this ideology of democracy, was in the ascendant throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its practice of what the American Constitution had established here so firmly and so well.

The safety of the system of representative democracy is in the last analysis based on two essentials: first that at frequent periods the voters must choose a new Congress and a new President; and second that this choice must be made freely, that is to say without any undue force against or influence over the voter in the expression of his personal and sincere opinion.
That after all is the greatest difference between what we know as democracy, and those other forms of government which, though they seem new to us, are essentially old, for they revert to those systems of concentrated self perpetuating power against which the representative democratic system was successfully launched centuries ago.

Today, with many other democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our processes are outworn, or that we will approvingly watch the return of forms of government which for two thousand years have proved their tyranny and their instability alike.

With the direct control of the free choosing of public servants by a free electorate, the Constitution has proved that this type of government cannot long remain in the hands of those who seek personal aggrandisement for selfish ends, whether they act as individuals, as classes, or as groups.
It is therefore in the spirit of our system that our elections are positive in their mandate, rather than passive in their acquiescence. Many other nations envy us the enthusiasm, the attacks, the wild over-statements, the falsehood intermingled gayly with the truth that marks our general elections, because they are promptly followed by acquiescence in the result and a return to calmer waters as soon as the ballots are counted.

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Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Supreme court, Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered at the Capitol before a Joint Session of the Congress
On the occasion of the 150th Anniversary of Congress
March 4, 1939, 12:30 P. M., E. S. T.

MR. VICE PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME
COURT, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
TIVES, GENTLEMEN OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS:

We near the end of a three year commemoration of
the founding of the government of the United States. It
has been aptly suggested that its successful organizing
should rank as the eighth wonder of the world -- for surely
the evolution of permanent substance out of nebulous chaos
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Thus, we may increase our oratory and please our
vanity by picturing the period of the War of the Revolution
as crowded with a unanimous population of heroes dramatized
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less pleasing scene.

It should not detract from our satisfaction in
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inhabitants of the thirteen revolting colonies were opposed
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Commander-in-Chief and his Generals in the field; that in-
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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.

To bear the way of a future cooperation to the

founding of the government of the nations and the

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cooperation of the nations is one of the preeminent

functions of this generation and that the future

may increase our responsibilities and challenge our

capacity to respond to the New World in the

Revolution as we found, with a magnificent occasion to

acclaim the extraordinary and to appeal to the

spiritual experience of a high and to the

agreement to the necessary role of all within. Nevertheless we are

together give a more serious treatment of present

A task of serious consequence in

the realm of economic that a vital part of the

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of the"
rather than the exception in the long (drawn out) eight years of the war; and finally that there is grave doubt as to whether independence would have been won at all if Great Britain herself had not been confronted with wars in Europe which diverted her attention to the maintenance of her own existence in the nearer arena.

We can at least give thanks that (in) the first chapter -- the Revolution -- that in that chapter all was well that ended well; and we can at least give thanks to those outstanding figures who strove against great odds for the maintenance of the national ideal which their vision and courage had created.

The opening of the new chapter in 1783 discloses very definitely that assurance of continued independence could be guaranteed by none. Dissension and discord were so widely distributed among the thirteen new states that it was impossible to set up a union more strong or permanent than that loose-end, shaky, debating society provided for under the Articles of Confederation. That we survived for six years is more a tribute to the ability of the Confederation Congress gracefully to do nothing and to the exhaustion of the Nation that followed the (end of the) War, rather than to any outstanding statesmanship or even leadership during the first of those years. So, again, speaking truthfully and frankly, we can properly say of the period of Confederation, that all was well that ended well.
Those years have rightly been called "the critical period of American history." But for crisis - in this case a crisis of peace - there would have been no Union: you the members of the Senate and (the) House; you the Chief Justice, (and) the Associate Justices and I, the President of the United States, would not be here on this Fourth of March, a century and a half later.

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a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps in more modern language I should call it this ideology of democracy, until a few years ago was in the ascendant throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its practice of what the American Constitution had established here so firmly and so well.

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That after all is the greatest difference between what we know as democracy, and those other forms of government which, though they seem new to us, are essentially old -- for they revert to those systems of concentrated self-perpetuating power against which the representatives of the democratic system (was) were successfully (launched several) striving many centuries ago.

Today, with many other democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our processes are outworn, or that we will approvingly watch the return of forms of government which for two thousand years have proved their tyranny and their instability alike. (Applause)
Yes, with the direct control of the free choosing of public servants by a free electorate, (the) our Constitution has proved that (this) our type of government cannot long remain in the hands of (those) any who seek personal aggrandisement for selfish ends, whether they act as individuals, as classes, or as groups.

It is therefore in the spirit of our system that our elections are positive in their mandate, rather than passive in their acquiescence. Many other nations envy us the enthusiasm, the attacks, the wild over-statements, the falsehood gaily intermingled (gaily) with the truth that marks our general elections. Yes, they envy us because (they) all of these things are promptly followed by acquiescence in the result and (a) the return to calmer waters as soon as the ballots are counted.

We celebrate today the completion of the building of the constitutional house. But one essential was lacking -- for the structure called the house had to be made habitable. And even in the period of the building, those who put stone upon stone, those who voted to accept (it) the structure from the hands of the builders knew that life within the house needed other things for its inhabitants. Without those things, indeed, they could never be secure in their tenure, happy in their toil (and) or in their rest.

And so there came about that tacit understanding that to the Constitution would be added a Bill of Rights.
Well and truly did the first Congress of the United States fulfill that first unwritten pledge; and the personal guarantees thus given to our individual citizens have established, we trust for all time, what has become as ingrained in our American natures as the free elective choice of our representatives itself.

In that Bill of Rights lies another vast chasm between our representative democracy and those reversions to personal rule which have characterized these (recent) later years.

Jury trial -- do the people of our own land ever stop to compare (that) the blessed right of ours with some processes of trial and punishment which of late have reincarnated the so-called "justice" of the dark ages?

The taking of private property without due compensation -- would we willingly abandon our security against that in the face of the events of recent years?

The right to be safe against unwarrantable searches and seizures -- read your newspapers and rejoice that our firesides and our households are still safe. (Applause)

Freedom to assemble and petition the Congress for a redress of grievances -- why, the mail and the telegraph bring daily proof to every Senator and every Representative that that right is at the height of (an) unrestrained popularity. (Applause -- laughter)

Freedom of speech -- yes, that too is unchecked
(laughter -- applause) for never in all history has there been so much of it on every side of every subject. It is indeed a freedom which because of the mildness of our laws of libel and slander, goes unchecked except by the good sense of the American people. Any person -- any person is constitutionally entitled to criticize and call to account the highest and the lowest in the land -- save only in one exception. For be it noted that the Constitution of the United States itself protects Senators and Representatives and provides that "for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place."

(Applause drowned out the last few words) And I know also that that immunity is most carefully not extended (to) either to the Chief Justice of the United States or the President. (Laughter)

Freedom of the press -- I take it that no sensible man or woman believes that it has been curtailed or threatened or that it should be. The influence of the printed word will always depend on its veracity, and the nation can safely rely on the wise discrimination of a reading public which with the increase in the general education is well able to sort truth from fiction. Representative democracy will never tolerate suppression of true news at the behest of government. (Applause)

Freedom of religion -- that essential of the rights of mankind everywhere goes back also to the origins of repre-
sentative government. Where democracy is snuffed out, where it is curtailed, there, too, the right to worship God in one's own way is circumscribed or abrogated. Shall we by our passiveness, by our silence, by assuming the attitude of the Levite who pulled his skirts together and passed by on the other side, shall we thus lend encouragement to those who today persecute religion or deny it?

The answer to that is "no" today, just as in the days of the first Congress of the United States it was also "no". (Applause)

Not for freedom of religion alone does this nation contend by every peaceful means. We believe in the other freedoms of the Bill of Rights, the other freedoms that are inherent in the right of free choice by free men and women. That means democracy to us under the Constitution, not democracy by direct action of the mob; but democracy exercised by representatives chosen by the people themselves.

Here, in this great hall, are assembled the present members of the government of the United States (of America) -- the Congress, the Supreme Court and the Executive. Our fathers rightly believed that this government which they set up would seek as a whole to act as a whole for the good governing of the nation. It is in the same spirit that we are met here, today, 150 years later, met to carry on their task. May God continue to guide our steps. (Prolonged applause)
CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered before a Joint Session of the Congress, MUST BE HELD FOR RELEASE UNTIL DELIVERY BEGINS (Expected about 12.30 P.M., E.S.T., March 4th, 1929).
PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EAGLY,
Secretary to the President.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

We near the end of a three year commemoration of the founding of the government of the United States. It has been aptly suggested that its successful organizing should rank as the eighth wonder of the world -- for surely the evolution of permanent substance out of nebulous chaos justifies us in the use of superlatives.

Thus, we may increase our oratory and please our vanity by picturing the period of the War of the Revolution as crowded with a unanimous population of heroes dramatized by the admitted existence of a handful of traitors to fill the necessary role of villain. Nevertheless, we are aware today that a more serious reading of history depicts a far less pleasing scene.

It should not detract from our satisfaction in the result to acknowledge that a very large number of inhabitants of the thirteen revolting colonies were opposed to rebellion and to independence; that there was constant friction between the Continental Congress and the Commander-in-Chief and his generals in the field; that inefficiency, regardless of the cause of it, was the rule rather than the exception in the long drawn out war; and finally that there is grave doubt as to whether Independence would have been won at all if Great Britain herself had not been confronted with wars in Europe which diverted her attention to the maintenance of her own existence in the nearer arena.

We can at least give thanks that in the first chapter all was well that ended well; and we can at least give thanks to those outstanding figures who strove against great odds for the maintenance of the national ideal which their vision and courage had created.

The opening of the new chapter in 1783 discloses very definitely that assurance of continued independence could be guaranteed by none. Dissension and discord were so widely distributed among the thirteen now states that it was impossible to set up a union more strong or permanent than that loose-and, shakily beginning society provided for under the Articles of Confederation. That we survived for six years is more a tribute to the ability of the Confederation Congress peacefully to do nothing, and to the exhaustion that followed the end of the War, rather than to any outstanding statesmanship or even leadership. Again, we can properly say of the period of Confederation, that all was well that ended well.

Those years have rightly been called "the critical period of American history." But for crisis -- in this case a crisis of peace -- there would have been no Union; you the members of the Senate and the House; you the Chief Justices and Associate Justices and I, the President of the United States, would not be here on this 4th of March, a century and a half later.
It is well to remember that from 1781 to 1789 the thirteen original states existed as a nation by the single thread of Congressional government, and without an Executive or a Judicial branch. This annual assembly of representatives, moreover, was compelled to act not by a majority but by states, and in the more important functions by the requirement that nine states must consent to the action.

In actual authority the Congresses of the Confederation were principally limited to the fields of external relations and the national defense. The fatal defect was of course the lack of power to raise revenue for the maintenance of the system; and our ancestors may be called at the least optimistic if they believed that thirteen sovereign republics would promptly pay over to the Confederation even the small sums which were assessed against them for the annual maintenance of the Congress and its functions.

Furthermore, the effect of the existing methods of transportation and communication retarded the development of a truly national government for more greatly than we realize today -- and that was true throughout the first half century of our union. You have heard the phrase the "horse and buggy age." We use it not in derogation of the man who had to spend weeks on the rough highways before they could establish a quorum of the Congress, not in implication of inferiority on the part of those who performed could not visit their neighbors in other states and visualize at first hand the problems of the whole of an infant nation.

We use it rather to explain the tedious delays and the local antagonisms and jealousies which beset our early paths, and we use it perhaps to remind our citizens of today that the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, the electrical impulse over the wire and through the ether leave to no citizen an excuse for sectionalism, for delay in the execution of the public business or for a failure to maintain a full understanding of the acceleration of the processes of civilization.

Thus the crisis which faced the new nation through its lack of national powers was recognized as early as 1783, but the very slowness of contacts prevented a sufficient general perception of the danger until 1787 when the Congress of the Confederation issued a call for the holding of a Constitutional Convention in May.

We are familiar with the immortal document which issued from that convention; of the ratification of it by sufficient states to give it effect; of the action of the Confederation Congress which terminated its own existence in calling on the first Federal Congress to assemble on March 4th, 1789.

We know of the month's delay before a quorum could be attained; of the counting of the ballots unanimously cast for General Washington; of his notification; of his triumphal journey from Mount Vernon to New York; and of his inauguration as first President on April 30th.

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I believe that it has been held by the Supreme Court that the authority of the Articles of Confederation ended on March 3, 1789. Therefore the Constitution went into effect the next day.
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The safety of the system of representative democracy is in the last analysis based on two essentials: First, that at frequent periods the voters must choose a new Congress and a new President; and second, that this choice must be made freely, that is to say without any undue force against or influence over the voter in the expression of his personal and sincere opinion.

That after all is the greatest difference between what we know as democracy, and those other forms of government which, though they seem new to us, are essentially old -- for they revert to those systems of concentrated self-perpetuating power against which the representative democratic system was successfully launched several centuries ago.

Today, with many other democracies, the United States will give no encouragement to the belief that our processes are outworn, or that we will approvingly watch the return of forms of government which for two thousand years have proved their tyranny and their instability alike. [Applause]
With the direct control of the free choosing of public servants by a free electorate, the Constitution has proved that this type of government cannot long remain in the hands of any who seek personal aggrandisement for selfish ends, whether they act as individuals, as classes, or as groups.

It is therefore in the spirit of our system that our elections are positive in their mandate, rather than passive in their acquiescence. Many other nations envy us the enthusiasm, the attacks, the wild over-statements, the falsehood intermingled (gayly) with the truth that marks our general elections, because (they) are promptly followed by acquiescence in the result and a return to calmer waters as soon as the ballots are counted.

We celebrate the completion of the building of the constitutional house. But one essential was lacking -- for the house had to be made habitable. And even in the period of the building, those who put stone upon stone, those who voted to accept from the hands of the builders knew that life within the house needed other things for its inhabitants.
Without those things, indeed, they could never be secure in their tenure, happy in their toil in their rest.

And so there came about that tacit understanding that to the Constitution would be added a Bill of Rights. Well and truly did the first Congress of the United States fulfill that first unwritten pledge; and the personal guarantees thus given to our individual citizens have established, we trust for all time, what has become as ingrained in our American natures as the free elective choice of our representatives itself.

In that Bill of Rights lies another vast chasm between our representative democracy and those reversions to personal rule which have characterized these recent years.

Jury trial -- do the people of our own land ever stop to compare that blessed right of ours with some processes of trial and punishment which of late have re-incarnated the "justice" of the dark ages?
The taking of private property without due compensation — would we willingly abandon our security against that in the face of the events of recent years?

The right to be safe against unwarrantable searches and seizures — read your newspapers and rejoice that your firesides and our households are still safe. (Applause)

Freedom to assemble and petition the Congress for a redress of grievances — the mail and the telegraph bring daily proof to every Senator and every Representative that that right is at the height of unrestrained popularity. (Applause — laughter)

Freedom of speech — yes, that too is unchecked, for never has there been so much of it on every side of every subject. It is indeed a freedom which because of the mildness of our laws of libel and slander, goes unchecked except by the good sense of the American people. Any person is constitutionally entitled to criticize and call to account the highest and the lowest in the land — save only in one exception. For be it noted that the
Constitution itself protects Senators and Representatives and provides that "for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place." And that immunity is most carefully not extended (to) either the Chief Justice of the United States or the President.

Freedom of the press -- I take it that no sensible man or woman believes that it has been curtailed or threatened or that it should be. The influence of the printed word will always depend on its veracity, and the nation can safely rely on the wise discrimination of a reading public which with the increase in the general education is able to sort truth from fiction. Representative democracy will never tolerate suppression of true news at the behest of government.

Freedom of religion -- that essential of the rights of mankind everywhere goes back also to the origins of representative government. Where democracy is snuffed out there, too, the right to worship God in one's own way is circumscribed or abrogated.
Shall we by our passiveness, by our silence, by assuming the attitude of the Levite who pulled his skirts together and passed by on the other side, lend encouragement to those who today persecute religion or deny it?

The answer to that is "no." Just as in the days of the first Congress of the United States it was "no." (Applause)

Not for freedom of religion alone does this nation contend by every peaceful means. We believe in the other freedoms of the Bill of Rights, the other freedoms that are inherent in the right of free choice by free men and women. That means democracy to us under the Constitution, not democracy by direct action of the mob; but democracy exercised by representatives chosen by the people themselves.

Here, in this great hall, are assembled the present member of the government of the United States (of America) -- the Congress, the Supreme Court and the Executive. Our fathers rightly believe that this government which they set up would seek as a whole to act as a whole for the good governing of the nation.
It is in the same spirit that we are met here, today, 150 years later, to carry on their task. May God continue to guide our steps.  

(Prolonged applause)
FOR THE PRESS

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March 3, 1939.

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered before a Joint Session of the Congress, MUST BE HELD FOR RELEASE UNTIL DELIVERY BEGINS (Expected about 12.30 P.M., E.S.T., March 4th, 1939).

PLEASE SAFEGUARD AGAINST PREMATURE RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY,
Secretary to the President.


MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, GEN. LEON C. THE SUPREME COURT,
MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

We near the end of a three year commemoration of the founding of the government of the United States. It has been aptly suggested that its successful organizing should rank as the eighth wonder of the world -- for surely the evolution of permanent substance out of nebulous chaos justifies us in the use of superlatives.

Thus, we may increase our oratory and please our vanity by picturing the period of the War of the Revolution as crowded with a unanimous population of heroes dramatized by the admitted existence of a handful of traitors to fill the necessary role of villain. Nevertheless, we are aware today that a more serious reading of history depicts a far less pleasuring scene.

It should not detract from our satisfaction in the result to acknowledge that a very large number of inhabitants of the thirteen revolting colonies were opposed to rebellion and to independence; that there was constant friction between the Continental Congress and the Commander-in-Chief and his generals in the field; that inefficiency, regardless of the cause of it, was the rule rather than the exception in the long drawn out war; and finally that there is grave doubt as to whether independence would have been won at all if Great Britain herself had not been confronted with wars in Europe which diverted her attention to the maintenance of her own existence in the nearer arena.

We can at least give thanks that in the first chapter all was well that ended well; and we can at least give thanks to those outstanding figures who strove against great odds for the maintenance of the national ideal which their vision and courage had created.

The opening of the new chapter in 1783 discloses very definitely that assurance of continued independence could be guaranteed by none. Dissension and discord were so widely distributed among the thirteen new states that it was impossible to set up a union more strong or permanent than that loose-end, shaky debating society provided for under the Articles of Confederation. That we survived for six years is more a tribute to the ability of the Confederation Congress to peacefully to do nothing, and to the exhaustion that followed the end of the war, rather than to any outstanding statesmanship or even leadership. Again, we can properly say of the period of Confederation, that all was well that ended well.

Those years have rightly been called "the critical period of American history." But for crisis -- in this case a crisis of peace -- there would have been no Union: you the members of the Senate and the House; you the Chief Justice and Associate Justices and I, the President of the United States, would not be here on this 4th of March, a century and a half later.
It is well to remember that from 1781 to 1789 the thirteen original states existed as a nation by the single thread of Congressional government, and without an Executive or a Judicial branch. This annual assembly of representatives, moreover, was compelled to act not by a majority but by states, and in the more important functions by the requirement that nine states must consent to the action.

In actual authority the Congresses of the Confederation were principally limited to the fields of external relations and the national defense. The fatal defect was of course the lack of power to raise revenue for the maintenance of the system; and our ancestors may be called at the least optimistic if they believed that thirteen sovereign republics would promptly pay over to the Confederation even the small sums which were assessed against them for the annual maintenance of the Congress and its functions.

Furthermore, the effect of the existing methods of transportation and communication retarded the development of a truly national government far more greatly than we realize today -- and that was true throughout the first half century of our union. You have heard the phrase the "horse and buggy age." We use it not in derogation of the men who had to spend weeks on the rough highways before they could establish a quorum of the Congress, not in implication of inferiority on the part of those who perform could not visit their neighbors in other states and visualize at first hand the problems of the whole of an infant nation.

We use it rather to explain the tedious delays and the local antagonisms and jealousies which beset our early paths, and we use it perhaps to remind our citizens of today that the automobile, the railroad, the airplane, the electrical impulse over the wire, and through the ether leave to no citizen an excuse for sectionalism, for delay in the execution of the public business or for a failure to maintain a full understanding of the acceleration of the processes of civilization.

Thus the crisis which faced the new nation through its lack of national powers was recognized as early as 1783, but the very slowness of contacts prevented a sufficient general perception of the danger until 1787 when the Congress of the Confederation issued a call for the holding of a Constitutional Convention in May.

We are familiar with the immortal document which issued from that convention; of the ratification of it by sufficient states to give it effect; of the action of the Confederation Congress which terminated its own existence in calling on the first Federal Congress to assemble on March 4th, 1789.

We know of the month's delay before a quorum could be attained; of the counting of the ballots unanimously cast for General Washington; of his notification; of his triumphal journey from Mount Vernon to New York; and of his inauguration as first President on April 30th.

So ended the crisis. So, from a society of thirteen republics was born a nation with the attributes of nationality and the framework of permanence.

I believe that it has been held by the Supreme Court that the authority of the Articles of Confederation ended on March 3, 1789. Therefore the Constitution went into effect the next day.
He is going to be good.
That Constitution was based on the theory of representative
government, two of the three branches of its government being
chosen by the people, directly in the case of the House of
Representatives, by elected Legislatures in the case of senators,
and by elected electors in the case of the President and the Vice
President. It is true that in many states the franchise was
greatly limited, yet the cardinal principle of free choice by
the body politic prevailed. I emphasize the words "free choice"
because until a very few years ago this fundamental, or perhaps
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throughout the world, and nation after nation was broadening its
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