

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

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On each national day of Inauguration since 1789,  
the people have renewed their sense of dedication to  
the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was  
to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to  
preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save  
that nation and its institutions from disruption from  
without.

To us there has come a time, in the midst of  
swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock --  
to recall what our place in history has been, and to  
rediscover what we are and what we may be. If we do  
not, we risk the real peril of inaction.

*(I misread this word as "isolation". Then added "and inaction". All of which improved it!)*  
LJR

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is three-score years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate--that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future -- and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.

These later years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of this democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

Democracy is not dying.

We know it because we have seen it revive --  
and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built  
on the unhampered initiative of individual men and  
women joined together in a common enterprise -- an  
enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free  
expression of a free majority.

We know it because democracy alone, of all  
forms of government, enlists the full force of men's  
enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has  
constructed an unlimited civilization capable of  
infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the  
surface, we sense it still spreading on every continent --  
for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in  
the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human  
society.

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the objectives of our time.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

And a nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single, simple word.

And yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit -- the faith of America. It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our own Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth.

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished.

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States.

It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ..... deeply, ..... finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people".

If we lose that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense.

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God.

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*  
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*The original reading copy*

CONFIDENTIAL

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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FOR THE PRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

The following, the Third Inaugural Address to be delivered by Franklin D. Roosevelt, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE and no portion, synopsis or intimation shall be released until its delivery actually has begun. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EMLY  
Secretary to the President

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To us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock — to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be. If we do not, we risk the real peril of inaction.

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We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

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In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God.

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Always it is worth while in the midst of swift happenings to pause for a moment to take stock of our thoughts. If we do not we risk a pitfall or a wrong turning.

Eight years ago a danger hung over our land; we were in the midst of it; we knew its shack and its actual immediate bearing upon our daily lives as individuals and as a nation. We sensed its close &, and we were in agreement that quick action, unresisted action, bold action, was not merely desirable but urgently requisite!

These eight years have been long years, crowded with new things. They have been fruitful years for the people of our land, for they have brought to us a more marked security and, I dare to say, a better understanding of life's ideal than we had had in times before.

Most vital to our present and our future stands out the picture of a democracy which has won over a crisis at home, put away many evil things, built new structures on enduring lines and at the same time has preserved the fact of its democracy. For return has been taken within the framework of the

Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of our government give every evidence of continuing to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate; the freedom of elections is wholly maintained; and the dis-separatists of the downfall of America have seen their evil predictions come to fruition.

A nation has a soul. As like a person a nation has a body too — a body that must be fed and clothed and housed and given the means of locomotion that fit our day.

Like a person a nation has a mind — a mind ~~which~~ too that must fit our day in its relation to those minds of other nations which are so near to us ~~now~~ in the whole circle of the world.

But it is the soul of a nation which matters the most to its future, which calls forth the most sacred guardings in its present.

Our soul is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitude of souls living in many lands, souls of some of high degree, but mostly souls of very plain profile who brought in

thing called freedom - who sought it  
under several forms of government in  
other lands but came hither early and  
late to attain freedom more freely.

FIRST DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

in history barren  
and remembering  
what it has been,  
discuss what it  
is to-day.

There come times in the life of any nation when  
Always it is worth-while in the midst of swift happenings to pause for a moment to take stock of our thoughts. If

we do not, we risk a pitfall or a wrong turning. ~~There is such a time~~

~~about~~ Eight years ago a danger hung over our land; we were in the midst of it. We knew its shock and its actual immediate bearing upon our daily lives as individuals and as a nation.

We sensed its causes, and we were in agreement that quick action, unwonted action, bold action, was not merely desirable but urgently requisite.]

These eight years have been long years, crowded with new things. They have been fruitful years for the people of our land; for they have brought (to) us a more marked security, and, I dare to say, a better understanding of life's ideals are not measured by wholly material things, than we had had in times before.

Most vital to our present and our future stands out the picture of a democracy which [has] conquered a crisis at home; put away many evil doings; built new structures on enduring lines; and at the same time [has] preserved the fact and the essence of its democracy. For action has been taken within the

framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of our government [give every evidence of continuing] to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained<sup>certain</sup> and the dire prophets of the downfall of America have seen their evil predictions come to naught.

B > A nation has a soul.

Like a person a nation has a body [too] -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed and given the means of locomotion that fit our day.

Like a person a nation has a mind -- a mind too that must fit our day in its relation to those minds of other nations which are so near to us now in the whole circle of the world.

Like a person,  
It is the soul of a nation which matters the most to its future, which calls for[th] the most sacred guarding in the [its] present.

Our soul is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitude of souls living in many lands, souls of some birth and descent of high degree, but mostly souls of very plain people who sought a thing called freedom -- who sought it under several forms of governing in other lands, but came hither early and late to attain freedom more freely.

In the three centuries and more since those who came here to carry out [certain] longings of the spirit, [they] and the millions who followed and the stock that sprang from them, - all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which has followed, <sup>become higher and cleverer</sup> which in itself has moved onward with each generation.

To-day the body of this nation - in <sup>being</sup> In body, this improving civilization of ours is cared for in its comforts and in its health to a degree far beyond the knowledge and, therefore, the ideals of the early days. We still have much to do. We continue to seek security and also in the progress that science tells us is still an undisclosed probability of the future. The mind of nation and of our people has gained in equal measure.

One pride of America is in the universality of its education, the wide dissemination of information, its thirst for facts, its craving to search the unknown, and the scope of its opportunity for the free play and interchange of ideas.

Too many of us, I fear, are prone to think of the our land of today, in terms of the body and [terms] of the mind.

[That means that] too many of us seek a future for the nation that lies in the continued progress of the [health and the] health and security and the learning of the individual [and of the individual's family and friends] -- the physical and the

FIRST DRAFT

-4-

*This is but natural. It was*  
mental comforts of life. *It is* the instantaneous instinct  
of the earliest [orders of] human beings to seek shelter  
*Physical* *in the same way,* against impending attack. *We with higher culture* *of to-day,*  
be criticized if we [seek to take or make] weapons to protect  
our minds and bodies against threatened danger.

[That is a natural motive.] In the light of what we  
read from day to day and week to week, *that search for survival and protection*, it is a proper motive  
for all we do.

But in the hearts of America there lies for most of us another motive -- a higher, nobler motive [perhaps].

It is the motive that urges us to protect the soul of America as well.

It is no new thing -- this soul *America* *born* [it was here full-fledged] in the conquering of the wilderness. It grew to manhood with the growth of the democratic ideal. It has been mature among us for a century and a half.

It speaks to us in our daily lives in ways which are often forgotten [because they seem so assured; *unwritten*] It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation; It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States; It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our villages and in our towns. Sometimes

FIRST DRAFT

-5-

we do not hear it -- this voice of freedom -- because its  
voice is an accepted and unquestioned privilege.

The America we know could not live on if its <sup>body were chained or maimed</sup> mind  
and its body <sup>or its mind</sup> were imprisoned or circumscribed <sup>for wounded or</sup> killed.]

But [it is likewise the truth that] if the mind and  
the body lived, and the very soul of America were cut off,  
America would not live. That is why in days of clear danger  
it is the part of right and of righteousness that in our <sup>for</sup> preparation  
for defense we place the maintenance of the soul first and  
always first; for if we keep wholly safe, the frame of our  
democracy, the ideals of our ancient freedom, and all the  
other things that go with it will still be ours.

Into this splendid evolution of our free institutions,  
into the long success of a people's government, fits the  
undying belief in Divine Guidance. This is the reason that  
in the face of peril we have never visaged before, we place  
first the motive of protecting the everlasting freedom of  
the institutions we have learned to call "government", and  
call for the help of God for the soul of America.

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SECOND DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

There come times in the life of every nation when  
in the midst of swift happenings it must pause for a moment  
to take stock -- to recall ~~the~~ mind what its place in history  
has been and remembering what it has been, rediscover what  
it is today. If we do not, we risk a pitfall or a wrong  
turning. Ours is such a time.

The lives of nations are determined, not as the  
lives of men are by a count of years, but by the measure of  
the human spirit. The life of a man is three score years  
and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation  
is the lifetime of its will to live. Of all living and  
continuing things, only a nation lives and continues, not  
by natural law or by some arbitrary term of years, but by  
the strong endurance of its inward purpose.

For three hundred years the word, America, has meant  
in every tongue, to every people, the New World. It has  
meant this not because this continent was newly found but  
for a different reason: because all those who came here,  
men and women out of many places, believed that they would

find here, or would make here, a new life -- a fuller life.

Three centuries of history have justified and fortified this belief. We now know that a new life, a free life for free men such as never yet existed in the world, can be created on this continent. We still believe that the New World is America, and America is building here in this place a new life, larger and more generous than any life that men have lived before us.

Eight years ago a danger hung over our land -- a danger which concerned material things. As I stood here then, we were in the midst of it. We knew its shock and its threat to our daily lives as individuals and to our existence as a nation. We sensed its causes. We knew that quick action, unwonted action, bold action had to be the order of the day.

These last eight years have been long years, crowded with new things. They have been fruitful years for the people of our land; they have brought us a greater measure of security; and a better understanding that life's ideals are not to be measured only in wholly material things.

Most vital to our present and our future is this picture of a democracy which conquered this almost overwhelming crisis at home; put away many evil doings; built new structures on enduring lines; and at the same time preserved the fact and the essence of its democracy. For action has been taken within the framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of our government continue to function as a three horse team. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. The dire prophets of the downfall of America and democracy have seen their evil predictions come to naught.

Democracy has been proven to be the most powerful of man's creations. Its strength lies not in material resources alone. It lies rather in the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise, a common will. That kind of initiative and that kind of will have constructed a civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of man's lot. And it is because, of all the forms of government, democracy and democracy alone enlists the full force of

free man's enlightened will rather than the brute strength of slaves that government so conceived cannot perish.

Like a person a nation has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed and given the means of locomotion that fit our day.

Like a person a nation has a mind -- a mind too that must fit our day in its relation to those minds of other nations which are so near to us now in the whole circle of the world.

Like a person a nation has a soul. It is the soul of a nation which matters the most to its future, which calls for the most sacred guarding in the present.

Our soul is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitude of souls living in many lands, souls of some of high birth, but mostly souls of very plain and common people who sought a thing called freedom -- who had sought it in vain under other forms of governing in other lands.

In the three centuries and more which have followed, those who came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and

consistently toward an ideal which in itself has become higher and clearer with each generation.

Today the body of this nation -- in this improving civilization of ours -- is being cared for in its comforts and in its health to a degree far beyond the knowledge or dreams of the early days. We still have far to go.

We have still to overcome some of the lag which the preceding generation permitted in meeting the social and economic needs of the twentieth century. For we know how much the survival of democracy depends upon its ability to provide opportunity and security commensurate with our resources and capacities. Democracy cannot forever tolerate wealth without service, or poverty without fault. We continue to seek the attainment of a wider security and the progress in the standard of living that science tells us is still a probability of the future.

The mind of our nation and of our people has gained in equal measure.

One pride of America is in the universality of its education, the wide and unrestricted dissemination of information, its thirst for facts, its craving to search the unknown and to extend the frontiers of science; and

the scope of its opportunity for the free play and interchange of ideas.

Too many of us, I fear, are prone to think of our land of today, in terms only of the body and of the mind. Too many of us seek a future for the nation that lies only in the continued progress of the security and health and learning of the individual -- the physical and the mental comforts of life.

This is but natural. It was the instantaneous instinct of the earliest human beings to seek shelter against impending physical attack. In the same way, we with the higher culture of today, seek weapons to protect our minds and bodies against threatened danger.

In the light of what we read from day to day and week to week, that search for survival and protection is a proper motive for all we do.

But in the hearts of America there lies for most of us another motive -- a higher, nobler motive.

It is the motive that urges us to protect the soul of America as well.

It is no new thing -- this soul of America. It was born here in the conquering of the wilderness. It grew to manhood with the growth of the democratic ideal. It has been mature among us for a century and a half.

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THIRD DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

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*Mark 1.*  
In the life of [every] nation there comes a time, in  
the midst of swift happenings, for all of us to pause for a  
moment to take stock -- to recall what our place in history  
has been, and thereby to rediscover what it is today. If we  
do not, we risk a pitfall or a wrong turning.

The life of a man is three score years and ten: a  
little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the  
fullness of the measure of its will to live.

For centuries the New World, in every tongue, to  
every people, has meant more than new discovery; for all  
who have come here, men and women out of many places,  
trusted that they would find here -- or make here -- a new  
and fuller life.

History has justified and fortified that belief.  
For we know that a larger and more generous living for free  
men than ever existed yet in the world, was created on this  
continent, and [lives here] *abides* in us and with us now.

Eight years ago a danger hung over this land -- a  
danger which concerned material things. As I stood here

on the steps of the Capitol, we were in the midst of it. We knew its shock,<sup>to</sup> too -- its threat against -- our daily lives as individuals and as parts of the nation. We sensed its causes. We were in agreement with <sup>that</sup> quick action, unwonted action, bold action had to be the order of the day.

These eight years have been long years, crowded with new things. They have been fruitful years for the people of our land; for they have brought us greater security, and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in more than material things.

*First* (A) > Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, <sup>through it all, maintained</sup> at the same time, preserved the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. These coordinate branches of our government continue to give evidence of continuing to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. The dire prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their evil predictions come to naught.

Democracy has given proof on every continent that it is, in the long run, the most humane, the most advanced, and the most powerful of all of man's creations.

It survives and spreads, because it relies not on material resources alone. It is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women, joined together in common enterprise, undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. A civilization thus constructed is capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

And of all forms of government, democracy alone enlists the full force of man's enlightened will. [for] Government so conceived must never be permitted to perish at the [behest] <sup>in slough</sup> of the brute strength of slaves.

Insert C.

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed, and clothed, and housed, and given the means of recreation and communication <sup>in a manner</sup> that fits our day.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind, too, <sup>to kept informed and alert</sup> that must fit our day in its understanding and knowledge of all the other nations within the narrowing circle of the world, <sup>in a manner that fits our day.</sup>

*Substitute* [Qualities] a nation, like a person, has a soul, — and it is the soul which matters the most to its future, which calls forth the most sacred guarding in its present.

Our soul is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitude of souls living in many lands, souls of some of high degree, but mostly souls of very plain people, who sought <sup>this</sup> thing called freedom — who came hither, early and late, to gain it more freely.]

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them — all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal, which in itself <sup>of the</sup> ~~has gained height~~ <sup>of stature</sup> and clarity with each generation.

Today, in this ~~improving~~ <sup>civilization</sup> life of ours, the body of our nation ~~is~~ being cared for in its comforts and in its health to a degree far beyond the knowledge or the ~~terms~~ dreams of the early days.

Yet, we still have far to go. We must make up for the lost time of the past. We must provide the opportunity and attain the security that can run with our resources and our capacity. The ideals of the Republic cannot forever

tolerate poverty without fault, or wealth without service.

The mind of our nation, and of our people, has gained  
in equal measure.

A pride of America is in the universality of its  
education -- the wide uncensored dissemination of information,  
the thirst for facts, the craving to search the unknown and  
extend the frontiers of science, the width of life opportunity.

Should all of these represent the sum of America?

[Too many of us, I fear, are prone to think in terms only of the body  
and of the mind.] Too many of us seek a future for the nation that  
lies only in the physical and the mental comforts of life.

That is to be expected, for we inherit the instantaneous  
instinct of our earliest ancestors to seek shelter against  
impending physical attack. We, with the higher culture of  
~~still~~  
today, seek weapons to protect our minds and bodies against  
the sudden threat. This search for survival in the glare  
~~present day~~  
of destruction that lights the heavens is a motive proper  
~~not~~  
for all we do.

But in the hearts of America there lies for most of  
us another motive -- higher, nobler.

It is the purpose that urges us to protect the soul of America as well.

*Insert 2* It is no new thing -- this soul of America. Its strength was proved here in the conquering of the wilderness. It grew to manhood with the growth of the democratic ideal. It has been mature among us for a century and a half.

It speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed because they seem so assured. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our villages and in our towns. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed this voice of freedom because the privilege of it is such an old, old story.

*Insert 3* The America we know could not live on, if its body were chained or mutilated or if its mind were imprisoned or steretyfied. circumscribed.

But it is equal truth that if the mind and the body lived and the soul of America were cut off, America could not survive, live on. That is why in days of clear danger it is [a part of] right and righteousness that in our purpose of defense we place the maintenance of the soul first and always first; for

if we succeed in keeping wholly safe the foundation stones of our democracy, then the ideals of our ancient freedoms will always [still] be ours.

Into the web of the evolution of our institutions, into the long success of a people's government, fits the undying belief in Divine Guidance. This being so, and in the face of great perils we have never visaged before, our strong purpose is to protect the integrity of ~~our institutions~~, and, for the <sup>Nameth</sup> ~~soul~~ of America, to call on the help of God,

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FOURTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS  
JANUARY 20, 1941

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On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disintegration from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from assault from without.

To us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment <sup>and</sup> ~~to~~ take stock -- to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are. If we do not, we risk a pitfall or a wrong turning.

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is three-score years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

FOURTH DRAFT

-2-

There are men abroad - and here - who [Others may] doubt this. [Others may] believe that democracy as a form of government and a ~~way~~<sup>frank</sup> of life is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate: that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become ~~new~~<sup>the order of the world</sup> and freedom old. ~~We in this country know~~ <sup>But the vast majority of Americans</sup> and outmoded. that this is not true.

when Eight years ago the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this ~~wad~~ is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, <sup>that followed</sup> [newly], boldly, ~~and beyonds the limits of tradition,~~ The better years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of this democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other [more] than material things.

Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. These coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. [Dira]

D prophets of the downfall of American Democracy have seen their evil predictions come to [naught] nothing.

The [existence] <sup>presence</sup> of defeatists in our midst is nothing new. They tell us now that democracy cannot survive the impact of world events, just as they told us before that it could not survive the flood of domestic disaster.

They are wrong now, as they were then.

Democracy is not [dead], dying.

We know it because we have seen it [survive] --

and grow.

~~cannot die~~ —

We know it because it is built on the unhampered

initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority.

We know it because, of all forms of government,  
democracy <sup>directly</sup> ~~enlists~~ the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed  
a civilization capable of infinite progress in the im-  
provement of human life.

We know it because, if you <sup>look</sup> below the surface, we sense  
it [is] still spreading on every continent -- for it is  
the most advanced, the most humane and the most powerful, of all [of man's  
creations], forms of human society.

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that  
must be fed and clothed and housed, and <sup>watered,</sup> given the means  
of recreation and communication in a manner that fits  
our day.

A nation, like a person, has a mind <sup>— a mind</sup> that must be  
kept informed and alert, that must know itself, and under-  
stand the hopes and the needs of the peoples of all the  
other nations that live within the narrowing circle of  
the world.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 5 -

And a nation, like a person, has something deeper,  
something more permanent, something even more worthwhile.

It is that something which matters most to its future --  
~~of the~~  
which calls forth the most sacred guarding in its present.

It is a thing which we find it difficult -- even  
~~but when~~  
impossible to find a single simple word for.

~~But yet we all understand what it is. We understand that this is~~  
I think you will understand if I call it the spirit --

the faith of America. It is the product of centuries.

It was born in the multitudes of those who came from  
many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain  
people -- who sought here, early and late, to find  
freedom more freely.

The democratic <sup>aspiration</sup> faith is no mere recent phase in  
human history. It is human history. It permeated the  
ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the  
middle ages. It is written in Magna Carta.

*Point A* [ In the New World its impact has been so strong  
that we live not in a new world of discovery but in a  
new world of freedom.]

Its vitality was written into our own Mayflower  
Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into

INSERT A - PAGE #5

In the Americas also its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

[Now, in this improving civilization of ours, the minds and the bodies of our nation -- our comfort, our health, our education, our information, ~~and~~ are being cared for to a degree far beyond the knowledge or the dreams of the earlier days.]

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in order that they may more truly run with our resources and our capacity.

The ideals of the Republic cannot forever tolerate poverty without fault, or wealth without service.

In the glare of present day destruction that lights the heavens, our search for survival that springs from the ancestral instinct to protect our <sup>hands</sup> minds and bodies is a motive proper for all that we do.

But if the mind and the body lived on, constricted  
in an alien world, and the spirit of America were cut off  
and died, the America we know could not survive.

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our  
daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem  
so [certain].  
It speaks to us here in the Capital of the  
nation. It speaks to us through the processes of govern-  
ing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks  
to us in our counties, in our cities, in our villages,  
and in our towns. It speaks to us from the other nations  
of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas --  
the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail  
to hear or heed these voices of freedom because the  
privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

That is the faith which has been entrusted to us,  
[to preserve]. That has been the destiny of America.

They were words of prophecy which our first President  
used at his first Inaugural -- words directed, it would  
seem, [almost] to this year of 1941: "The preservation  
of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the  
republican model of government are justly considered,  
perhaps, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment  
intrusted to the hands of the American people".

Because, if we should lose what Washington called ~~that~~  
~~fire and that~~  
~~our~~ destiny<sup>h</sup>, nothing else would greatly matter. The  
preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does  
and will furnish the highest, the supreme motive for [our]  
defense.

[ Into the web of the evolution of our institutions,  
into the long success of a people's government, fits  
the undying belief in Divine-Guidance. This being so,  
P ] and in the face of great perils ~~we have never vi~~  
~~encountered~~  
before, our strong purpose is to protect the integrity  
of democracy, and, for the spirit of America, to call  
on the help of God.

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FIFTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941.

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On each national day of Inauguration since 1789,  
the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the  
United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to  
create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to  
preserve that nation from ~~disintegration~~ disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that  
nation and its institutions from ~~assault~~ disruption from without.

To us there has come a time, in the midst of  
swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock --  
to recall what our place in history has been, and to re-  
discover what we are. If we do not, we risk ~~a fatal~~ <sup>and what we may be.</sup> ~~inaction,~~  
~~or a wrong turning.~~

Lives of nations are determined not by the count  
of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The  
life of a man is three-score years and ten: a little more,  
a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of  
the measure of its will to live.

There are men ~~abroad~~ ~~and here~~ who doubt this.

There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate: that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the purging wave of the future — ~~that is an abiding fact~~ <sup>the new order of the world and freedom old and outworn</sup>.

But ~~the vast majority of~~ Americans know that this is not true.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we ~~acted~~ <sup>divisively,</sup> We acted quickly, boldly, ~~and beyond the limits~~ ~~of tradition.~~

*so later*  
The years ~~that followed~~ have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of this democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all,

maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to nothing.<sup>naught</sup>.

The presence of defeatists in our midst is nothing new. They tell us now that democracy cannot survive the impact of world events, just as they told us before that it could not survive the flood of domestic disaster.

They are wrong now, as they were wrong then.

Democracy is not dying.

We know it because we have seen it revive -- and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise -- an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority.

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an ~~unlimited~~ civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it still spreading on every continent -- for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and the most powerful, of all forms of human society.

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, <sup>invigorated</sup> and rested in a manner that fits our day.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, and understand the hopes and the needs of ~~the people of~~ <sup>its neighbors</sup> — all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

And a nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something ~~which~~ <sup>larger than the sum of all its parts</sup>. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding ~~of the~~ <sup>of its</sup> present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single simple word.

And yet we all understand what it is. ~~We understand~~  
~~that it is~~ the spirit -- the faith of America. It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas ~~the~~ its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our own Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into

the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate poverty ~~and~~ <sup>either undeserved</sup> self-judging ~~and~~ wealth, ~~or~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~.

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the nation.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, and instruct and inform its mind. <sup>for there is also</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> spirit, ~~she has its part~~, and of the three, the greatest is the spirit. Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the nation could not live. <sup>But it is true also that if</sup> ~~the nation's body and its mind lived on, constricted in~~ ~~an alien world, and the spirit of America were killed,~~ ~~the America we know would perish.~~

Substitute

A

PROPOSED INSERT A - PAGE #6

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished.

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

[That is the faith which has been instilled in us, and proclaimed in that has been] the destiny of America. [They were] words of prophecy spoken by our first President [and] at his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ~~perhaps~~ deeply, <sup>as</sup> finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people".

If we lost that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the ~~cause~~ <sup>Cause</sup> of national defense.

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this ~~cause~~, we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, <sup>by the will</sup> ~~with the guidance~~ of God.

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SIXTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

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On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from disruption from without.

To us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock -- to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be. If we do not, we risk the real peril of inaction.

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is three-score years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is

the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate: that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future -- and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.

These later years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of this democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that Life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all,

maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

Democracy is not dying.

We know it because we have seen it revive -- and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise -- an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority.

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of man's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it still spreading on every continent -- for <sup>in the end</sup> it is the most humane, the most advanced, and the most ~~inconquerable~~ <sup>A</sup> ~~powerful~~ of all forms of human society.

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and <sup>measures up to the objectives of our time.</sup> rested, in a manner that ~~fits~~ <sup>A</sup> ~~one day~~.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, <sup>that</sup> understand the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

And a nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls <sup>s</sup> forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single simple word.

And yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit -- the faith of America. It is the product of centuries.

It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our own Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward

constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth.

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the *land*, ~~nation~~.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished.

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words <sup>in</sup> of prophecy spoken by our first President ~~at~~ his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ..... deeply, .....finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people".

If we lose that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense.

In the face of great peril never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God.

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It is indecisiveness that is our greatest enemy. And, knowing this, propagandists of aggressor governments are deliberately spreading among us a spirit of defeatism, the idea that nothing can stop the dictators in their march of conquest, and that therefore our own best course is to "come to terms" with them. I don't mean that this propaganda has made much headway. But we must not minimize the efforts of those trying to weaken us by destroying all those faiths which are the cement and mortar of the temple of freedom - faith in our Constitution and form of government, faith in human liberty and all it means in the pattern of daily living, faith in the dignity of men, all men, of whatever race or creed, faith in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice. By creating doubts, by sowing discord between groups, and by confusing issues through playing on ancient prejudices, foreign agents are attempting to sabotage our preparedness, to sap our will to resist, to "soften us up" as they put it, and render us unable to resist any demands they may choose to make.

One of the greatest of America's needs at the moment is the exposure of this sabotage. We must be aware of the insidiousness of the attack, and of the methods whereby the propaganda is spread through whispering campaigns, through false news releases from abroad, through scurrilous literature, and through certain well-meaning but misguided groups of Americans themselves who simply do not know what is happening in the world.

It is because I believe that the American people, trained as they have been for a century and a half to think for themselves, are capable of penetrating false arguments, that I also believe we shall come through with American institutions unimpaired - a nation of free men secure in our freedom.

*has been proven to be*  
Let us never forget this: Democracy is the most powerful of man's <sup>but</sup> creations. Its strength is not ~~mostly~~ in material resources. It lies

B

B rather in the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise, a common will. That kind of initiative and that kind of will have [built cities and nations; they have explored the far corners of the earth and the frontiers of science; they have] constructed a civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of man's lot. And it is because, of all the forms of government, democracy and democracy alone enlists the full force of <sup>the minds</sup> ~~masses~~ enlightened will, that ~~government~~ a nation so conceived cannot perish.

Out of this whole period, in which we are so deeply torn, will come a newly vitalized devotion to those principles on which this nation and all free nations are founded. Challenged as never before, the human spirit is already rising up to throw off its last remaining shackles. No man whose soul has not gone through the valley of the shadow of death can have the courage to face life in moments of trial, and no people that has not faced destruction can ever come to itself. Only by overcoming evil do we achieve the good. Only when democracy is put to the test, can it have its highest fulfillment.

Rather than the brute strength of slaves

(C)

We must still work up

We have still to overcome some of the lag which the preceding generation permitted in meeting the social and economic needs of the twentieth century. For we know how much the survival of democracy depends upon its ability to ~~bring to~~ provide opportunity and security commensurate with our resources and capacities. Democracy cannot tolerate wealth without service, or poverty without fault.

Riverside 9-  
5473

THIRD INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
FROM THE STEPS OF THE CAPITOL  
January 20, 1941.

MR. CHIEF JUSTICE, MY FRIENDS:

On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from disruption from without.

To us, to us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock -- to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be.

If we do not, we risk the real peril of isolation, the real peril of inaction.

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is threescore years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate -- that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future -- and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true.

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 unusual to say itself does so when they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

Eight years ago, when the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.

These later years have been living years -- fruitful years for the people of the (this) democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

Most vital to our present and to our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the Government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

No, democracy is not dying. (Applause)

We know it because we've (have) seen it revive -- and grow.

We know it cannot die -- because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise -- an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. (Applause)

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of men's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it

still spreading on every continent -- for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. (Applause)

A nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the standards (objectives) of our time.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

(And) A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult -- even impossible -- to hit upon a single, simple word.

And yet, yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit -- the faith of America. (Applause) It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands -- some of high degree, but mostly plain people -- who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is was human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, and to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all (those) who came here believed

they could create upon this continent a new life -- a life that should be new in freedom.

Its vitality was written into our (own) Mayflower Compact, into the Declaration of Independence, into the Constitution of the United States, into the Gettysburg Address.

Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them -- all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth. (Scattered applause)

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land.

But it is not enough to achieve these purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, to (and) instruct, to (and) inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

Without the body and (the) mind, as all men know, the nation could not live.

But if the spirit of America were killed, even though the nation's body and mind, constricted in an alien world, lived on, the America we know would have perished. (Applause)

That spirit -- that faith -- speaks to us in our daily lives in ways often unnoticed, because they seem so obvious. It speaks to us here in the Capital of the nation. It speaks to us through the processes of governing in the sovereignties of forty-eight States. It speaks to us in

our counties, in our cities, in our towns, and in our villages. It speaks to us from the other nations of the Hemisphere, and from those across the seas -- the enslaved, as well as the free. Sometimes we fail to hear or heed these voices of freedom because to us the privilege of our freedom is such an old, old story.

The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first Inaugural in 1789 -- words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ..... deeply, ..... finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people". (Applause)

If you and I -- if we, in this later day -- (we) lose that sacred fire -- if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear -- then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish. The preservation of the spirit and faith of the nation does, and will, furnish the highest justification for every sacrifice that we may make in the cause of national defense. (Applause)

In the face of great perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect and to perpetuate the integrity of democracy.

For this, for this we muster the spirit of America, and the faith of America.

We do not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans, we go forward, in the service of our country, by the will of God. (Prolonged applause)

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L.A., 1941

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FOR THE PRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

STATEMENTS FILE

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY  
Secretary to the President

*Mr. Chief Justice, My Friends:*

On each national day of Inauguration since 1789, the people have renewed their sense of dedication to the United States.

In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and weld together a nation.

In Lincoln's day the task of the people was to preserve that nation from disruption from within.

In this day the task of the people is to save that nation and its institutions from disruption from without.

To us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock — to recall what our place in history has been, and to rediscover what we are and what we may be. If we do not, we risk the real peril of *inaction*.

*Isolation, the real peril of*

Lives of nations are determined not by the count of years, but by the lifetime of the human spirit. The life of a man is three-score years and ten: a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live.

There are men who doubt this. There are men who believe that democracy, as a form of government and a frame of life, is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate — that, for some unexplained reason, tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future — and that freedom is an ebbing tide.

But we Americans know that this is not true. /

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These later years have been living years — fruitful years for the people of ~~this~~ democracy. For they have brought to us greater security and, I hope, a better understanding that life's ideals are to be measured in other than material things.

*to*  
Most vital to our present and our future is this experience of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, through it all, maintained the fact of its democracy.

For action has been taken within the three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States. The coordinate branches of the government continue freely to function. The Bill of Rights remains inviolate. The freedom of elections is wholly maintained. Prophets of the downfall of American democracy have seen their dire predictions come to naught.

*No democracy is not dying. (Applause.)*

We know it because we have seen it revive — and grow.

We know it cannot die — because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together in a common enterprise — an enterprise undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority. (Applause)

We know it because democracy alone, of all forms of government, enlists the full force of man's enlightened will.

We know it because democracy alone has constructed an unlimited civilization capable of infinite progress in the improvement of human life.

We know it because, if we look below the surface, we sense it still spreading on every continent — for it is the most humane, the most advanced, and in the end the most unconquerable of all forms of human society. (Applause.)

A nation, like a person, has a body — a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the ~~standards~~ objectives of our time.

A nation, like a person, has a mind — a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors — all the other nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

And A nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future — which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present.

It is a thing for which we find it difficult — even impossible — to hit upon a single, simple word.

And yet, we all understand what it is — the spirit — the faith of America. It is the product of centuries. It was born in the multitudes of those who came from many lands — some of high degree, but mostly plain people — who sought here, early and late, to find freedom more freely.

The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the middle ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

In the Americas its impact has been irresistible. America has been the New World in all tongues, to all peoples, not because this continent was a new-found land, but because all ~~those~~ who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life — a life that should be new in freedom.

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Those who first came here to carry out the longings of their spirit, and the millions who followed, and the stock that sprang from them — all have moved forward constantly and consistently toward an ideal which in itself has gained stature and clarity with each generation.

The hopes of the Republic cannot forever tolerate either undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth. (Scattered applause.)

We know that we still have far to go; that we must more greatly build the security and the opportunity and the knowledge of every citizen, in the measure justified by the resources and the capacity of the land.

But it is not enough to achieve those purposes alone. It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit. And of the three, the greatest is the spirit.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

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