

January 20, 1941

[3rd Inaugural Address]

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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

(16)

Inaugural Address - January 20, 1941

Material for Judge Rosenman from Colonel Sherwood - corrected by S.I.R.

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Material for Judge Rosenman from Colonel Sherwood.

*Patfield
Grant*

[On this day, we do well to ask ourselves]

What is this democratic/~~our~~ faith, by which we have lived, and which we are now so solemnly pledged to defend and to perpetuate?

We find the answer to this - not in books - not in ~~great~~ theories - not in graven images - but in the very depths of our own hearts and minds.

The democratic faith is faith in ourselves and in our fellow men and women in the ~~united~~/^{xxxxxx} brotherhood of life.

This faith is the ~~xxxxxx~~ expression of man's unconquerable hope - his eternal aspiration - his ~~determination~~/^{xxxxxx} will to live in freedom and in peace.

The democratic faith is no mere phase in human history - no transient, materialistic philosophy, developed to meet certain changed conditions and therefore to be discarded when those conditions themselves have changed.

The democratic faith is human history itself.

It is the greatest gift ever given to man by God.^{xxxxxx}

In the first chapter of the Book of Genesis it is written, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." And at the end of that chapter it is written, "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good."

In these old scriptural words is the fundamental conception of the dignity, the essential virtue of man. Herein is the divine assurance that individual man possesses, within his own immortal spirit, the glory and the power, creative and recreative, which give him the right to acknowledge no master other than his God.

The story of the struggle for human freedom ~~xxxxxx~~ tells of man's very beginning, when he liberated himself from the ignorance and the fears of the beasts which dwelt in the darkness of the jungle.

It tells of the Children of Israel delivering themselves from bondage.

It tells of the Golden Age of Pericles in Greece.

It tells of the star that shone over Bethlehem, in Judaea, giving forth a light which eventually shone throughout the earth.

While endless, heroic story was written into Magna Charta, and into the Mayflower Compact. It was written into the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. It was written into the Gettysburgh ~~xxxxxx~~ Address.

We Americans today are living in a tremendous, tragic chapter of that



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story of the struggle for freedom. It is for us to be the authors of chapters
that are to come.

It is for us to express our essential belief:

That we are free because through many centuries and many varied experiences and tribulations, the race of man has steadfastly pursued under divine guidance the quest of truth;

That here, on this American continent, were realized and established certain self-evident truths which gave a new light to all men;

That it is our duty and our purpose to ensure that this light shall never be extinguished - that it will shine on, revealing to all men the truth which will set them free.

This is the truth that individual man possesses the right to speak [to God] in his own way, the right to worship [God] in his own way, the right to live his own life in the company of free men who are his brothers and his equals in the sight of God.

Of such is our faith. It is the only faith which is subject to no qualifications, no limitations, national, racial or political. It is the only faith under which no form of tyranny or oppression can thrive. It is the only faith which can give justice for all, liberty for all - and, for all, hope. It is the only faith under which men can achieve among themselves an enduring peace.

[To the triumph of our democratic faith I pledge myself on this day when I stand before my countrymen and my God.]



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

The First

In the life of every nation there comes a time, in the midst of swift happenings, for men to pause for a moment 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.

The lives of nations are determined, not as the lives of men are, by a 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.

Others may doubt this. Others may believe that the lifetime of a nation is fixed mechanically by external forces, by a kind of mystical and artificial fate. Others may believe that democracy as a form of government, and democracy as a way of life, are limited and measured by some outward and external measure -- some necessity of history: that tyranny and slavery are now for some inexplicable reason new, and freedom old. We, in this country, know this is not true.

elections was wholly maintained. The three-way framework of the Constitution of the United States was preserved and vitalized. American democracy recovered its life, recovered its strength, recovered its greatness, without sacrificing, without diminishing, its democratic nature, its individual guarantees.



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Most vital to our present and our future is this picture of a democracy which successfully survived crisis at home; put away many evil things; built new structures on enduring lines; and, at the same time, preserved the fact of its democracy. Most vital to our present and to our future, because this democratic experience, this experience of democracy in action, proved beyond doubt and beyond question that the inward life of this democracy is vigorous, is young, is strong, cannot be broken by defeatist talk of ruin and disaster. This we have proved in action, in the record of our lives, by things accomplished.

Others in other nations may believe the prophets of disaster who declare that nations such as ours — democratic nations — are old, are finished; that democracy is dead. We do not believe it. We do not believe it because we know in truth, in fact, in earnest, that it is not so. Others,

a minority, among our own people may preach the defeatism, the despair, which explains to us that the forces of history are against us and that we have no choice but to appease them. We know, because we have ourselves seen, in our own lives, that these prophecies of disaster are not true, that men can be the masters of their destinies and invent their lives.

We know now -- we know of our own knowledge and our own experience -- why this world we live in, this America, was called by generation after generation the New World.

We know now that 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 -- men and women out of many places -- believed that they could make here a new life. We know, because we have seen it, that America is still the New World and that a new life, a free life for free men such as never yet existed in this world, can be created in this continent. We know also that democracy is still, and still remains, the new way of life which men must follow if they would be really men. Democracy has given proof here in this country in our own lifetime, that it is, in the long run, the most humane, the most advanced and the most powerful of all man's creations. It



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survives and it spreads because it relies not on material resources alone. It is built on the unhampered initiative of men and women, joined together in common enterprise, undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority.

It is because we have learned this, not by rote, not by textbook teaching, but by actual life, that we are confident today. Those who created out of wilderness and wandering men a ~~mixx~~ strong and disciplined nation, dedicated to the work of liberty, meant that this work should be completed. And we know it will be. We know that freedom is the future -- that freedom is our charge, and liberty our labor, and the future ours. Against all threats -- against all counsel of despair, all inward treasons and all outward forces, we know now, as we have never known before, that we can defend our future for ourselves -- our right to live as free men in this world we have created -- this New World.



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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 to 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



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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.



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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 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



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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



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From the Papers of

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



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From the files of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the Papers of
Franklin D. Roosevelt

SECOND PAGE

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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.

It speaks to us in our daily lives in ways which are 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



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From the Papers of
Samuel J. Rosenman

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
JANUARY 20, 1861

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 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

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From the Papers of
Samuel M. Rosenman

on the steps of the Capitol, we were in the midst of it. We knew its shock, too — its threat against — our daily lives as individuals and as parts of the nation. We sensed its causes. We were in agreement with quick action, unwanted 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.

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



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 of the brute strength of slaves.

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 that fit our day.

A nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind, too, that must fit our day in its understanding and knowledge of all the other nations within the narrowing circle of the world.



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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 a 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 has gained height and clarity with each generation.

Today, in this improving 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 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



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From the Papers of
Samuel J. Rosenman
unpublished

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 its 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 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
today, seek weapons to protect our minds and bodies against
the sudden threat. This search for survival in the glare
of destruction that lights the heavens is a motive proper
for all we do.

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



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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

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 un-
noticed 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.

The America we know could not live on if its body were
chained or mutilated or if its mind were imprisoned or
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
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



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Samuel I. Rosenman

if we succeed in keeping wholly safe the foundation stones of our democracy, then the ideals of our ancient freedoms will 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 soul of America, to call on the help of God.



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AND MUSEUM

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FOURTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
JANUARY 20, 1941

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 to 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 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.



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From the Papers of
Suzanne I. Rosenbaum

Others may doubt this. Others may believe that democracy as a form of government and a way 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 and freedom old. We in this country know that this is not true.

When eight years ago the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror, we proved that this was not true. We were in the midst of shock -- but we acted. We acted quickly, nervily, boldly.

The 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 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.



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J. L. Rosengren

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. Dire prophets of the downfall of American Democracy have seen their evil predictions come to naught.

The existence 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.

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

We know it because it is built on the unhampered initiative of individual men and women joined together ^{working} in a common enterprise, undertaken and carried through by the free expression of a free majority.



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From the Papers of
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FOURTH DRAFT

- 4 -

We know it because of all forms of government,
democracy enlists 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 look below the surface,
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.

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 in a manner that fits
our day.

A nation, like a person, has a mind 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.



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SAMUEL I. Rosenman

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 --
which calls forth the most sacred guarding in its present.

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

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 faith is no mere recent phase in
human history. It is human history. It permeates the
ancient life of early peoples. It blazed anew in the
middle ages. It is written in Magna Carta.

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



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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, ~~are~~ 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 ^{the} minds and bodies is a motive proper for all that we do.



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From the hands of
General J. Roosevelt
trustee

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.

2 sentences
re comma
by me

That spirit -- that faith -- 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
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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
^{in 1776}
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".



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From the Papers of
Samuel T. Rosenman

Because, if we should lose what Washington called "our destiny", 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, and in the face of great perils we have never visaged 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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*Kinney Archives and Record Service
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Hyde Park, N.Y.*

From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

FIFTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941.

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 and take stock --
to recall what our place in history has been, and to re-
discover what we are.
and what we may be.
If we do not, we risk a pitfall
or a wrong turning.
the great field of our choice

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 ^{singing howl future and} new order of the world and freedom old and outmoded.

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. We acted quickly, boldly, [and beyond the limits of tradition.] decisively.

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,



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

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.



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HIGH PARK, N.Y.

From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 ~~and uniquely~~ 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, ^{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 ^{its} ~~the peoples of~~ 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 even more worthwhile. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding in the present.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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 come 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



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From the Papers of
Samuel L. Bemis

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 ~~such~~^{such} poverty without fault, or wealth without service.

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
~~the nation~~
nation, and instruct and inform its mind. The spirit
~~also 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. But it is true also that if
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.



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From the Pages of
Samuel T. Rosenman

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 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. 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 entrusted to us. That has been the destiny of America. They were words of prophecy which our first President used 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, as deeply, as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people".



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

Because, if we should lose what Washington called that fire and that destiny, 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 defense.

In the face of great peril never before encountered, our strong purpose is to protect the integrity of democracy, and, for the spirit of America, and the faith of America, to call on the help of God.



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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of
Samuel R. Rosenman

SIXTH DRAFT

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1941

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

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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



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

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,



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General
R. Roosevelt
From the Report of
the President

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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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From the Projects
to which I belong
Samuel I. Rosenman

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
^{in the end,}
~~most amiable~~
~~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
rested, in a manner that ~~suits our day~~
^{meets the demands 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~~
and 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 ~~entitles~~
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And yet we all understand what it is -- the spirit --
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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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 sprung from them -- all have moved forward



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NEW YORK, N. Y.

From the People
Samuel R. Rosenfeld
united

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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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".



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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Comm'l. I. Roosevelt
From the Papers of