

Tully Archive: FDR Papers

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library & Museum

Collection: Grace Tully Archive

Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers

Box 13; Folder = Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington,

Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address Before  
the Conference of Governors, Richmond, VA,  
April 27, 1932

# HOTEL JOHN MARSHALL

RICHMOND

VIRGINIA

A.A. WILLIAMS  
RESIDENT MANAGER



1) Let this hour when the <sup>purpose</sup> ~~medium~~ of civilization  
is challenged; when unrest is apparent;  
when new problems and new evaluations call  
for a new ~~method~~ leadership, it is well for  
America to view again the honor, the  
purity and the unselfish devotion of him who  
became the keystone in the <sup>work</sup> making of the  
nation, and who rightly won the imperishable  
~~name~~ title of Father of his Country.



April 27, 1932

In many ways this great gathering in the Capitol of Virginia constitutes the perfect tribute to the memory of George Washington. To this Commonwealth of his birth have come the Chief Executives of ~~more than half of~~ the Sovereignities of the Nation he founded to join with Governor Pollard, <sup>with</sup> and you, his fellow-Virginians, in recreating in our hearts a deeper understanding of <sup>one who, by the Grace of God</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>whose</sup> continues to shed ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> influence upon mankind.

You my fellow Governors, representing not the thirteen original States alone, but States which include vast territories that were unknown and unexplored in the days of the founding of the Republic - - you have equal right in our common heritage; <sup>And</sup> ~~and~~ I am certain that <sup>The gallantry of Virginia will permit to</sup> ~~provide~~ the State of New York a natural pride in the thought that during the War of the Revolution, and later at the founding of constitutional government, General and President Washington's service to his country lay so greatly in my State.

<sup>I call tonight's great gathering</sup> ~~to be~~ a perfect tribute because I am confident that Washington himself would have desired a national tribute. His <sup>every</sup> ~~every~~ prayer, his every thought, his every action, <sup>which</sup> ~~was~~ related to his fellow men, - all ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> founded upon a breadth of view and a breadth of vision that allowed no part to obscure the whole.

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers  
Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

April 27, 1932

# HOTEL JOHN MARSHALL

RICHMOND

VIRGINIA

A.A. WILLIAMS  
RESIDENT MANAGER



5. ~~When~~ I like to believe that at this  
very hour his spirit is dwelling among  
us, ~~and~~ helping us to turn away from  
worldly desires and ~~urging~~ <sup>inspiring</sup> us to a  
renewal of the ancient faith.



April 27, 1932

7  
~~of the necessity for a more perfect union, with Jefferson on~~  
~~many other policies of the time,~~ he will see the extent to which  
 Washington, in his painstaking way and enlightened by a vast ex-  
 perience, actually directed the making of a nation.

7  
 Out of his letters emerges the man himself. One is struck  
 by <sup>that</sup> ~~his~~ habit of forceful but homely expression, ~~his tendency al-~~  
~~ways to deal with hard fact rather than theory,~~ his deep sense of  
 public responsibility, developed from the time when ~~at~~ the age of  
 twenty he became the executor of his brother's estate, and finally,  
 the almost unbelievable diversity of his knowledge of the economic  
 life of all parts of the country.

9  
 This diversity of knowledge, which, after all, is the founda-  
 tion stone of his superbly realistic statesmanship, came from the  
 fact that he was probably the most travelled man in the colonies.

His work as a surveyor took him, when he was only sixteen,  
 into the lower Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and into West Virginia.  
 Through the years of 1749, 1750, 1751 and 1752 he rode through the  
 wild country west of the mountains, learning the hardships of  
 frontier life and seeing, at the same time, the promise of the  
 rich land there. So undisputed was his reputation for knowing more  
 about the west than any person in Virginia, that when the governor  
 needed an agent to track through the forest, win over the Indian  
 tribes around what is now Pittsburgh and take to the French at  
 Fort Duquesne the message that they must withdraw from the Ohio  
 basin, Washington was chosen. He was then twenty-one years old.

In the two months that he was gone, Washington travelled

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers  
 Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

April 27, 1932

~~MEMORANDUM TO THE CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS~~

It is generally agreed that more has been said and written about George Washington than about any other <sup>American</sup> ~~American~~ American history. His biographers constitute ~~a~~ considerable number a varied multitude, ~~consisting~~ <sup>consisting</sup> of all ranks, from the ~~small~~ <sup>small</sup> ~~reputable~~ <sup>reputable</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~popular~~ <sup>popular</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> the dry-as-dust scholastic, who spends a life upon ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> minutiae. ~~There are~~ <sup>There are</sup> ~~also~~ <sup>also</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> "humanizers," who in brisk patois seeks to clothe the Eighteenth Century gentleman in the latest garb of the modern, and not, it seems to me, to the end that we shall understand him any the better. Far more interesting and, I believe, infinitely more profitable, is what Washington <sup>wrote and did</sup> ~~said~~ <sup>and did</sup> himself. ~~The most important thing in all the literature of Washington~~ <sup>at</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>his own works</sup>. He made no pretense to <sup>oratory or to</sup> ~~authorship,~~ <sup>authorship,</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~letters,~~ <sup>letters,</sup> ~~diaries~~ <sup>diaries</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~memoranda~~ <sup>memoranda</sup> ~~fill~~ <sup>fill</sup> ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> ~~than~~ <sup>than</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~dozen~~ <sup>dozen</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~compact~~ <sup>compact</sup> ~~volumes.~~ <sup>volumes.</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~yet~~ <sup>yet</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~perfect~~ <sup>perfect</sup> ~~detail~~ <sup>detail</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~pains-~~ <sup>pains-</sup> ~~taking~~ <sup>taking</sup> ~~industry~~ <sup>industry</sup> ~~Washington~~ <sup>Washington</sup> ~~set~~ <sup>set</sup> ~~forth~~ <sup>forth</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~wisdom~~ <sup>wisdom</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~life.~~ <sup>life.</sup> ~~Examination~~ <sup>Examination</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~this~~ <sup>this</sup> ~~documentary~~ <sup>documentary</sup> ~~material~~ <sup>material</sup> ~~easily~~ <sup>easily</sup> ~~puts~~ <sup>puts</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~rest~~ <sup>rest</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>all</sup> ~~too~~ <sup>too</sup> ~~prevalent~~ <sup>prevalent</sup> ~~impression~~ <sup>impression</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~Washington~~ <sup>Washington</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~emblem~~ <sup>emblem</sup> ~~merely,~~ <sup>merely,</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~Hamilton~~ <sup>Hamilton</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~others~~ <sup>others</sup> ~~constituted~~ <sup>constituted</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~real~~ <sup>real</sup> ~~directing~~ <sup>directing</sup> ~~genius~~ <sup>genius</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~great~~ <sup>great</sup> ~~political~~ <sup>political</sup> ~~achievements~~ <sup>achievements</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~came~~ <sup>came</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~happy~~ <sup>happy</sup> ~~conclusion~~ <sup>conclusion</sup> ~~within~~ <sup>within</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~life-time~~ <sup>life-time</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Washington.~~ <sup>Washington.</sup> His own letters indicate the extent to which the policies of these brilliant minds were in the last analysis given initial shape and direction by Washington himself. If one will read <sup>but</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~detailed~~ <sup>detailed</sup> ~~correspondence~~ <sup>correspondence</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~Robert~~ <sup>Robert</sup> ~~Morris,~~ <sup>Morris,</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~financier~~ <sup>financier</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~Revolution~~ <sup>Revolution</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~post-revolutionary~~ <sup>post-revolutionary</sup> ~~period,~~ <sup>period,</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~Hamilton~~ <sup>Hamilton</sup> ~~on~~ <sup>on</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~subject~~ <sup>subject</sup>

6

April 27, 1932

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

# HOTEL JOHN MARSHALL

RICHMOND

VIRGINIA

A. A. WILLIAMS  
RESIDENT MANAGER



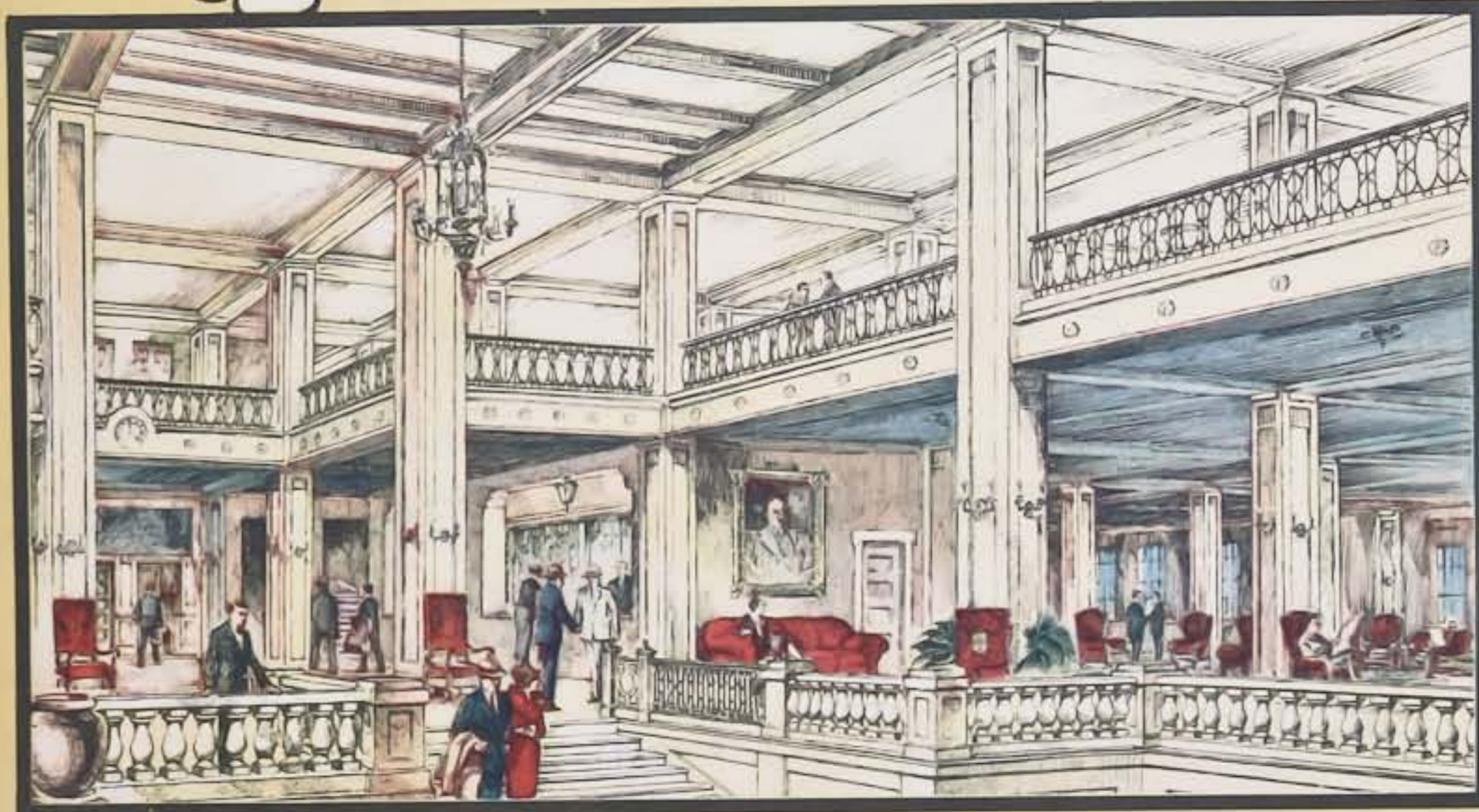
8.

in ~~which~~ which while still a mere boy he tells us of the assuming of great responsibilities of his deep interest in the developing of the western lands, of his seeking after every kind of knowledge.



Apr 1 27, 1932

# Hotel John



*The Lobby of Hotel John Marshall*

Comfort and a restrained elegance distinguish the Grand Lobby of the Hotel, representing the last word in modernity and good taste in every detail of furnishing.

## The Hotel John

RICHMOND

A GRACIOUS dignity pervades the Hotel. Located on Franklin Street, in the theatrical, historical districts and within a short distance of the financial districts of Richmond, one will find it an ideal place.

Every detail of the Hotel's equipment and arrangement is modern of hotels built to give the utmost pleasure to the guests. The staff is appointed, with the most experienced and personnel are of the highest quality and genuine desire for the best.

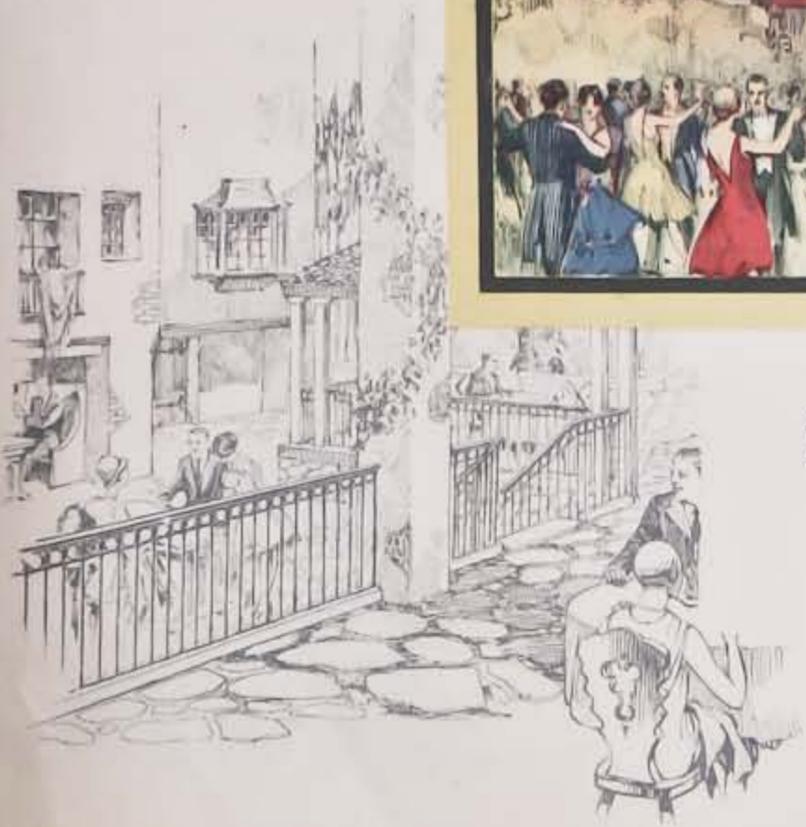
John Marshall is destined for a brilliant future.



*Grand Ball Room of Hotel John Marshall*

Scene of Southern Society's most outstanding social events, beautiful in its decorations and exquisite appointments. A perfect Dance Floor, with capacity for eight hundred couples.

One may be informal as well as formal in dining at Hotel John Marshall. The Coffee Shop provides deliciously cooked food in a setting truly French, always restful, pleasing and gratifying to the appetite. All food served is from the Hotel's own kitchens, prepared under the direct supervision of our own chefs.



April 27, 1932

# HOTEL JOHN MARSHALL

RICHMOND

VIRGINIA



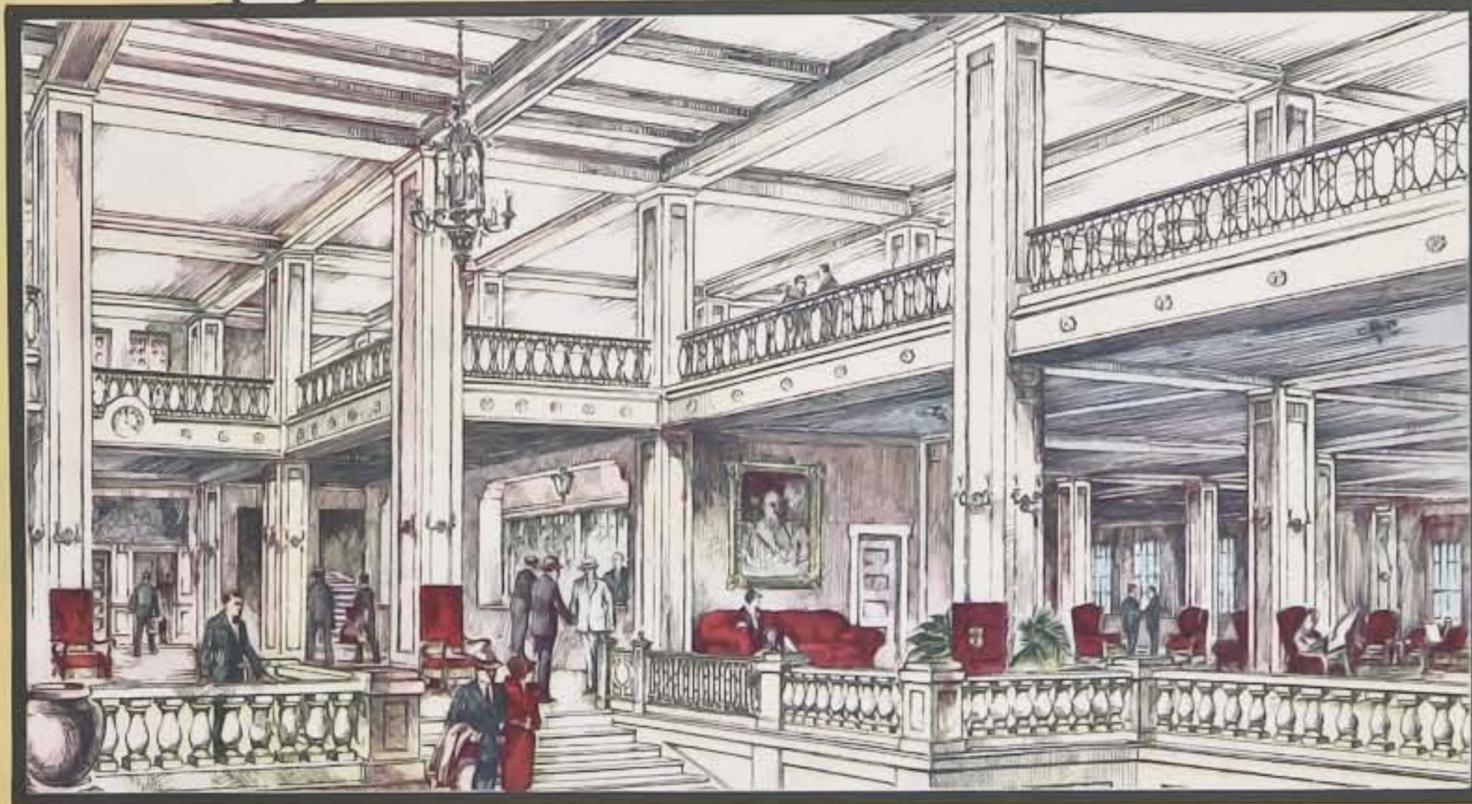
10. We remember that before he was 21 he had learned so well the hardships and the promise of the frontier life, that his Governor gave to him the responsibility of bearing the message to the French and the Indians that we announced what is now Pittsburgh that they must withdraw from the Ohio basin. We remember that he was with Braddock, that he exhibited a native military skill in the face of great odds and a personal <sup>bravery</sup> + courage in the hour of conflict. But we are apt to forget all those other <sup>adventures</sup> in other years.



April 27, 1932



# Hotel John



*The Lobby of Hotel John Marshall*

Comfort and a restrained elegance distinguish the Grand Lobby of the Hotel, representing the last word in modernity and good taste in every detail of furnishing.

The  
*Hotel John*

RICHMOND

A GRACIOUS  
dignity per  
Hotel. Locate  
Franklin Streets  
the theatrical, s  
torical districts  
ing distance of  
financial district  
Richmond, on w  
will find it an id

Every detail o  
and arrangement  
modern of hotels  
to give the utmo  
pleasure to the g  
appointed, with  
and personnel a  
genuine desire fo

John Mar  
destined  
liant f



*Grand Ball Room of Hotel John Marshall*

Scene of Southern Society's most outstanding social events, beautiful in its decorations and exquisite appointments. A perfect Dance Floor, with capacity for eight hundred couples.

One may be informal as well as formal in dining at Hotel John Marshall. The Coffee Shop provides deliciously cooked food in a setting truly French, always restful, pleasing and gratifying to the appetite. All food served is from the Hotel's own kitchens, prepared under the direct supervision of our own chefs.



April 27, 1932



SUGGESTIONS AND MATERIAL FOR WASHINGTON:

*This first President of ours*

~~George Washington~~ was enormously in touch with his United States---the States that he, perhaps more than any individual, made United in fact.

Extraordinarily for an individual, he animated his country, motivated it, inspired it. In the eyes of universal adulation he became its symbol. The special point is---that he did all of this first-hand: he did nothing vicariously; he delegated next to nothing in his Americanization.

13

~~The map of his travels (exhibit herewith in map taken from January number of National Geographic) shows graphically that he knew at first-hand every geographical section of the ~~thirteen~~ Colonies he made into a nation. Even in these days of Pullmans, motor-cars and airplanes such itineraries would be a remarkable achievement on the part of a public man half as busy as he was.~~

*This ~~map~~ <sup>sketch map of his "ubiquitous travels"</sup> ~~map~~ <sup>sketch map of his "ubiquitous travels"</sup> looks like ~~an anatomical cross-section~~ <sup>an inter-lace</sup> ~~of nerves~~ <sup>ing</sup> ~~in the~~ <sup>The</sup> ~~American body-politic.~~ <sup>of nerves</sup> ~~radiating~~ <sup>radiating</sup> into all parts of the nation ~~Washington lived and moved and had his being.~~ <sup>Washington lived and moved and had his being.</sup> Most of the mileage he made on horseback: no limousine roof over his head to shut out sky and cloud and sun and stars; ~~no glass case~~ <sup>whizzed over concrete highways</sup> ~~to blur his vision.~~ He rode erect, open-eyed and slowly. As he rode he had a chance to see, to observe, to note and to learn---afterwards well to remember.*

~~Other presidents have boasted of a whole day now and then in the saddle. In the saddle Washington was at home. Admittedly the fine-~~

April 27, 1932

tants. *themselves* 11

Washington's many journeys carried him north to ~~Kittery~~,  
~~Maine~~, to Crown Point <sup>in</sup> New York; south to Savannah <sup>in</sup> Georgia; west  
to Gallipolis <sup>in</sup> Ohio; east to Boston <sup>and to Kittery in Maine</sup>. A student of his travels,

12

~~William Showalter~~ has recently plotted, after months of careful  
research, the routes followed, ~~Washington~~. *That* map shows that  
Washington covered vast distances, *keeping in mind the means of transportation*  
considering the transport methods  
of those days.

But distance is not the only measure of the importance of  
his travels. Washington was a sophisticated traveller. He did not  
view the country casually. He saw it with the eye of a surveyor,  
a soldier, a farmer, a merchant and a statesman. He saw the pos-  
sibilities of the West and planned its development. He knew the  
people of the East, both north and south, their industries and  
their diversified characteristics.

*HA*

While he loved best the serene life of a master farmer at  
Mount Vernon, it was not given him to enjoy such peace for any con-  
siderable time. His life was a succession of long, arduous periods  
of public service. For six years, military duties related <sup>by</sup> to the  
conflict with the French and Indians exacted his energies and at  
times seriously endangered his health. For the next sixteen years  
his life at Mount Vernon was *more and more* ~~more and more~~ <sup>very</sup> ~~more and more~~ <sup>passing year more seriously</sup>  
disturbed by the growing spirit of revolt against ~~England~~ <sup>the mother country</sup> that  
stirred the colonies. Then the eight years of Revolution with its  
interludes of despair and disaster. When peace with England came,  
the affairs of the young nation were still critical and nearly

14

April 27, 1932

The world makes no comparison of  
Washington to any other great hero of a  
15 nation - He was

Other lives in other nations and other  
times have been similarly filled with  
action and with tasks - America has  
no Caesar, America has no ~~Henry the Eighth~~,  
America has no ~~Lawrence~~,  
America has no ~~Benvenuto Cellini~~,  
America has no ~~Leon~~; America  
prefers <sup>and will</sup> her Washington.

18

April 27, 1932

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers  
Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

six years were given to the making of the new nation. Finally, eight years of the presidency - perhaps the most arduous of all. It is difficult to find any parallel in history for this career, made up of a hard succession of tasks, each, it would seem, harder than its predecessor. It was a lifetime of stern and seemingly endless difficulties.

15

When he laid down the cares of office in 1797, he had completed practically forty-five years of ~~public~~ <sup>to his country, & his countrymen</sup> service - ~~As I have~~ <sup>a</sup> ~~shown, this~~ <sup>ing</sup> period covered a succession of infinitely critical times of stress. In spite of a ~~crushing~~ <sup>constant</sup> burden of treachery, of injustice, <sup>of slander -</sup> criticism and <sup>often</sup> of the ~~occasional~~ stupidity of his associates, he maintained - with a few exception, when he displayed delightfully human fits of temper - a calm and patient devotion to fundamental issues. The ordinary burdens imposed by public life were accentuated in his case, as later in Jackson's, by the difficulties felt by a commanding-general in the field in those days, knowing that the legislative and executive authority back home, upon which he was depending for support, was constantly being assailed by criticism and often calumny concerning him. Also, like Jackson, he was tried beyond measure by the slowness of the government back home in providing adequate support, financially and otherwise, for his campaigns.

16

He met ~~these~~ <sup>his</sup> problems by patient and informed planning, enlightened by a lively imagination but restrained by practical prudence. His practical and prudential manner of working has made him seem to many historians to have been ultra-conservative. ~~but~~ careful examination of his policies shows that they were ~~pretty~~

18

Invent paragraph from p. 6

April 27, 1932

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

far-reaching and ~~immense~~ <sup>liberal</sup> for the time and circumstances under which he was working.

We who have suffered ourselves the pains of public criticism can realize what he meant when he said toward the end of his long career, that he had been "assailed in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter or even to a common pick-pocket."

*Insert  
on p. 6  
marked.*

~~Imm~~ Speculation, <sup>for example</sup> was ~~imm~~ prevalent during his career. Some of this, of course, was unavoidable in a period of rapid expansion in a virgin country, but its effect on the industry and habits of the people and on normal economic affairs he deeply deplored. In writing to Jefferson in 1788, he said, "I perfectly agree with you that an extensive speculation, a spirit of gambling, or the introduction of anything which will divert our attention from agriculture must be extremely prejudicial, if not ruinous to us."

*Some of my fellow governors have given voice to this same thought during these past three days.*

~~With respect to the rise of manufacturing, it is clear that his ideas differed, at any rate in degree, from those of Jefferson~~

he did not commit himself ~~unreservedly~~ <sup>only</sup> to a governmental policy of encouraging manufacturing, constantly pointing out that manufacturing should be considered as an aid to what he conceived to be the dominant economy of the country - agriculture. In a letter to Lafayette, he stated in substance, that he would regret to see manufacturing draw <sup>vast numbers of</sup> workers from the land, and that he felt that such a result was not necessary.

~~With respect to agriculture, Washington's writings are worth many treatises on agriculture. They are the voice of a farmer him-~~

19

20

17

April 27, 1932

21

~~self~~, Washington repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of government for the encouragement of agriculture. <sup>This real Father of his country</sup> ~~he~~ spoke repeatedly of the wisdom of developing agricultural aid ~~through societies in the various states~~, and in 1796, his message ~~urged federal appropriations for agriculture~~. He said, "It will not be doubted, that, with reference either to individual or national welfare, agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity, this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. <sup>What a pity that recent national leadership</sup> Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means, which have been employed to this end, none have been attended with greater characters, charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums, and small pecuniary aids, to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement, by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common centre the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shown, that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits."

This counsel was not productive of immediate action by Congress. The Federalists were at the moment concerned with other questions, particularly commerce and manufacturing and the Jeffersonian party was still in the process of making.

It is an interesting thing to consider in connection with

*and therefore recent national thought has so little heard that period!*

April 27, 1932

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

much of the theoretical comment that has in later years been made with reference to assisting agriculture, that Washington was almost a contemporary of Adam Smith, the great exponent of the laissez-faire political economy. Adam Smith's great book, The Wealth of Nations, was published in 1776. It has been a commonplace among those Americans who do not favor American governmental assistance and regulation of private business, to say that the fathers of this country were actuated by a deep reverence for the laissez-faire political economy.

*22*  
~~Apparently, Washington was little concerned with theories.~~  
 Because he saw that agriculture was a thing that was not susceptible to the principles of competition, ~~which was~~ *it followed for him that it was* intimately related to and dependent on governmental policy, ~~and that it could not prosper without governmental aid.~~ Consequently, in his magnificent matter-of-fact manner, he reasoned directly from what he saw to what he thought ought to be done by the government, not disturbing his mind by ~~the~~ *mere efforts of economists, conflicting schools of economic theory.* ~~such~~ *in greater measure* matter-of-fact attitude that modern statesmen might apply to public problems. To concern ourselves less with theory and more ~~with~~ *well* the hard lessons of experience, is ~~more~~ *and also* to serve the memory of Washington ~~well~~ *well* the fundamental interests of popular government, ~~also.~~

*23*  
 Of the nationalism that dominated Washington's policies, another Virginian President said, speaking at the darkest moment of the Great War, July 4, 1918, at Washington's tomb in Mount Vernon: - "It is significant - significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot - that

Collection: Grace Tully Archive; Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers Box 13; Folder= Speech Drafts: Tribute to George Washington, Address before the Conference of Governors, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1932

April 27, 1932

24

Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted not for a class, but for a people... They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar advantage."

*together with his interest in*

This absence of sectionalism, ~~and concern with~~ the means of knitting the scattered people of the new nation together was the imperishable contribution of Washington. And it was born, as we have seen, of a firm and accurate knowledge. He saw that nothing could be gained by preaching a mere theory of unity. ~~He had, as we have seen, little concern with theory.~~ He first grasped the units and then sought the means of union. He identified the sections and interests, sought with a sympathetic and penetrating mind their special problems and needs and stated them with fairness and courage. Then he sought whether by roads or waterways or by less material instrumentality of education, the means of national unity. First identify, then unify. "The separate interests <sup>as far as it is practicable, must be consolidated; and local views must be attended to, as far as the nature of the case will admit... If the union of the whole is a desirable object, the component parts must yield a little in order to accomplish it."</sup>

*"he said,"*

*of interest*

It is ~~unusual~~ <sup>of interest</sup> to note at this conference of governors the essential part of a circular letter addressed <sup>by him</sup> to the governors of the States at the close of the <sup>of the Revolution!</sup> war. He said: - "With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence-in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and of sincerity without disguise... There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence, of the United States,

25

26

April 27, 1932

as an independent power:-

"First. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

"Second. A regard to public justice.

"Third. The adoption of a proper peace establishment; and,

"Fourth. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community."

27

~~fixed his mind~~

~~Two of these four strictures relate to unity, one to internal  
unity, one to our relations with the world of nations.~~

In one of Washington's lighter moments he wrote to his tailor in London. "Whatever goods you may send me, let them be fashionable." He would, I judge, take the same attitude toward fashions in government. <sup>Washington</sup> We would have us test his policies ~~not~~ by present needs, not by a blind and unreasoning devotion to <sup>mere</sup> tradition, <sup>just so long as the fundamental was sound.</sup> Certainly he did not permit himself to be bound by the past. He met one great critical challenge after another by a calm appraisal of the facts and an ever refreshed knowledge of the social and economic condition of the people of his country. and in so doing, he faced, more than once, unpleasant truth, when a less great man would have clouded his vision by a lazy optimism.

29

Our styles may change, our means of unity are ever transformed by mechanical invention, and by increasing knowledge.

April 27, 1932

# HOTEL JOHN MARSHALL

RICHMOND

VIRGINIA



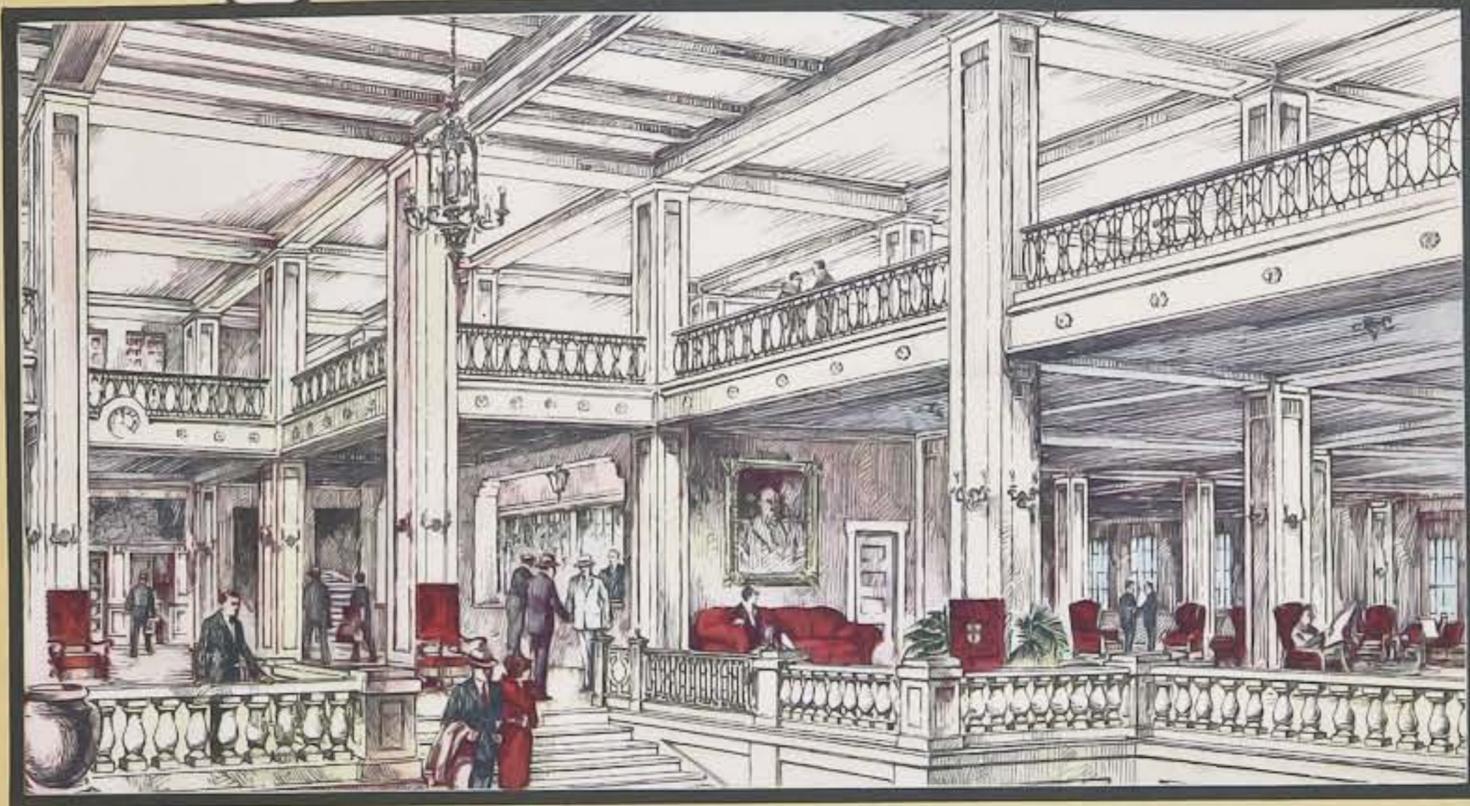
28. Nearly a century and a half later  
we ~~can~~ as Governors can accept that  
Calm advice from our first President. We  
can ~~accept~~ accept from him those  
fine fundamentals, and learn from <sup>him</sup> that  
theory without <sup>practical</sup> action gets a nation but a  
short distance ~~with~~ along the path of progress.

As that early <sup>morning</sup> march on Trenton got under way  
in the darkness and a snow of a Christmas ~~night~~ <sup>evening</sup> 1776  
the muskets ~~did not~~ <sup>were</sup> not moved to Washington that the muskets  
were wet & could not be discharged — "Tell  
the General" was Washington's reply "The  
papers ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> see the layover" "The city must  
be taken."



April 27, 1932

# Hotel John



*The Lobby of Hotel John Marshall*

Comfort and a restrained elegance distinguish the Grand Lobby of the Hotel, representing the last word in modernity and good taste in every detail of furnishing.

## The Hotel John

RICHMOND

A GRACIOUS dignity pervades the Hotel. Located on Franklin Streets in the theatrical, historical districts and within a short distance of the financial district of Richmond, one will find it an ideal

Every detail of the and arrangements are modern of hotels to give the utmost pleasure to the guests appointed, with a staff and personnel of genuine desire for

John Marshall is destined to be a liant



*Grand Ball Room of Hotel John Marshall*

Scene of Southern Society's most outstanding social events, beautiful in its decorations and exquisite appointments. A perfect Dance Floor, with capacity for eight hundred couples.

One may be informal as well as formal in dining at Hotel John Marshall. The Coffee Shop provides deliciously cooked food in a setting truly French, always restful, pleasing and gratifying to the appetite. All food served is from the Hotel's own kitchens, prepared under the direct supervision of our own chefs.



April 27, 1932

To the roads and waterways of his age and generation are now added railroads, air transportation, the telegraph and telephone, the radio and that portentous and enormously valuable national interest, giant electrical power. To surround new means of national usefulness with proper safe-guards and legitimate assistance is the way of a statesmanship that depends upon knowledge and facts rather than theory and prejudice. We need education, justice, foreign relations, all cut to the pattern of modern necessity, but above all, unity in the spirit and form of Washington's common sense... A unity based upon a deep and sympathetic knowledge of differences; for knowledge puts away fear, and fear is the father of disunion.

May his spirit watching over us here  
in his native state and his native land  
breathe upon <sup>us</sup> his courage, his sympathy,  
his knowledge <sup>to</sup> the end that we  
his children may <sup>safeguard and foster through all the years</sup> ~~make~~ the  
great Trust he has given unto  
us keeping -