A Rhetorical Analysis of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address" - March 4, 1933

Carol Jean Martin

This research is a product of the graduate program in Speech Communication at Eastern Illinois University. Find out more about the program.

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A Rhetorical Analysis of Franklin Delano

Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address" - March 4, 1933

BY

Carol Jean Martin

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Science in Education

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

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The writer wishes to acknowledge
the assistance and encouragement
of her adviser,
Dr. Jon J. Hopkins, Professor of Speech.
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CHAPTER I

Nature and Purpose of the Study

Introduction

Franklin Roosevelt believed that the difficulties he faced could be overcome; and his confidence in the future, at a time when so many people were miserable, was a tonic to a large part of the American people. He viewed the social suffering of the years of the Depression in terms of the hungry, the unemployed, the dispossessed, the underprivileged; and he made these groups feel that he cared.

His attitude toward politics was dynamic, not static. At a time when the American people were hungry for action, he gave them action; and in the perspective that we have today, he left behind a social fabric stronger than that which existed in 1933.¹

Origin of the Study

A series of theses on the U. S. Presidents' inaugural addresses has been planned by the Eastern Illinois University Speech Department. The author and her adviser, Dr. Jon Hopkins, believed that a study of the historical period of

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his life, and an analysis of his first Inaugural would be a very appropriate beginning.

Upon further investigation of Franklin D. Roosevelt's credentials as a public speaker, the author found that he inspired public confidence during the trying Depression years through clear-cut writing and organization and his earnest directness of delivery. "Charm, humor, power, persuasion, menace, idealism—all were weapons in his armory." Such a man held much promise as a subject for study.

Review of the Literature

An early step in the study was the attempt to discover whether such an analysis had been done or was in process by another scholar.³

To determine the originality of the study the indexes of research in the field of speech were checked.⁴

The author concluded from the review of literature that several theses and dissertations have been written on Franklin D. Roosevelt and his speechmaking. However, none has dealt

²Perkins, p. 7.
³Homer Hockett, The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 86. Hockett states: "The Master's essay should be an original study. This does not mean that it must treat of a subject never before touched, but that it should be handled in an original way."
specifically with Roosevelt's First Inaugural of March 4, 1933.

Finally, a letter was written to the National Archives and Records Service, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, inquiring about their knowledge of a thesis on the "First Inaugural." A reply stated, "We know of no graduate thesis that has been written on the subject of Franklin Roosevelt's 'First Inaugural Address' or of any thesis that examines this address among others." 5

Significance of the Study

The values of conducting such a study appear to be individual, rhetorical, and historical.

Wayne N. Thompson summarized the values to the individual when he said:

The preparation of the thesis can be a rich educational experience, which (1) provides training in research methods; (2) requires the integration of knowledge and the skills of several fields...; (3) makes the student an "expert" within a defined area; and (4) leads to conclusions regarding the theory and practice of rhetoric in our own time.

Such a study contributed to a growing corpus of studies of American oratory. This area of research for rhetorical scholars was stressed as worthwhile by the late Dr. W. Norwood Brigance. 7

5See Appendix for a letter from the National Archives and Records Service, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.


Since speech certainly has some seat in our history, and the men who have made history have contributed immeasurably to the field of speech, such a study as this should have merit.

The writer submits that the study is worth doing.

Isolating and Defining the Problem

It is the purpose of this study to analyze and evaluate Franklin D. Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address."

In order to make an effective evaluation the critical method was selected for Carter and Fife suggest that, "If you want your conclusions to be composite critical judgments of any speech phenomenon, or any combination of phenomena, then the chances are that you should employ the critical method." 8

The Working Hypothesis

Auer suggested that once the research problem has been isolated and defined, a working hypothesis should be formulated. Hockett describes a hypothesis as a "tentative conclusion about the facts observed," 9 the truth of which must be tested by further observation.

It is tentatively concluded that an analysis and evaluation of President Franklin Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address," in terms of his educational background, political...

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9Hockett, p. 7.
experience, and salient factors of that period in our history, will reveal much about his speaking ability and the role of his speaking in his effectiveness as the new President of the United States.

**The Research Design**

The following procedures make up the minimum requirements of the critical method: (1) select the phenomena of speech to be evaluated or criticized and state the research problem; (2) orient the problem and establish the need for the study; (3) design the research by adapting or creating appropriate criteria and by planning how to use them; (4) control the factors involved in assembling and studying the relevant data; (5) evaluate the phenomena by observing them in relation to the criteria; and (6) draw conclusions from the data as evaluated.¹⁰

**Organization of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters, each having a specific function:

Chapter I treats the nature and purpose of the study, the origin of the study, a review of the literature, the significance of the study, the isolation and definition of the research problem, the working hypothesis, the research design, the organization of the study, and the criteria for rhetorical analysis.

Chapter II presents a rhetorical-biographical study of the speaker.

¹⁰Carter and Fife, p. 83.
Chapter III determines the significant international and domestic issues faced by President Roosevelt and his audience on March 4, 1933, and describes the essential characteristics of the audience and the immediate setting.

Chapter IV presents an analysis of the "First Inaugural" itself, and Chapter V summarizes and draws general conclusions.

The Appendix contains a manuscript and an outline of the "First Inaugural Address," and contains a letter from the National Archives and Records Service, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

The Criteria For Rhetorical Analysis

I. The basic question: Has the speaker discovered and employed in this case the available means of persuasion?

II. Specific questions to be answered:

A. Is there evidence in the speech that the speaker possessed persuasive personal qualities - virtue, intelligence, and good will?

1. Did he establish his own authority with the audience?
2. Did he have a sympathetic understanding of their way of life, their thoughts, and their problems?
3. Did he impress his audience as being well-informed on his subject?
4. Was he given to dogmatism, exaggeration, and overstatement?
5. Did he have a sense of humor?
6. Was he sincere, friendly, fair-minded, modest, self-respecting, respectful, courteous, and tactful.

B. Analysis of the content:
1. Did the speaker choose the right things to say?
   a. Did he seem to be acquainted with all the pertinent facts bearing on his subject?
   b. Did he use those that were most significant and persuasive?
      1) Were these really facts or only guesses, opinion, hearsay?
      2) Did he draw valid inferences from the evidence?
      3) Did he arrange the evidence and inferences into a coherent logical structure that could satisfy the understanding and win conviction?

2. What was the speaker's proposition or central thesis?

3. What were the issues with which he dealt?

4. What were the main supporting ideas?

5. Was the speech organized in general?
   a. Was the Introduction designed to win an intelligent, sympathetic, and attentive hearing?
   b. Did the Discussion proceed step by step in conformity with the need, the mood, and the expectation of the audience?
   c. Did the Conclusion sum up what had been said and make a final appeal?

6. To which "motives" did the speaker appeal?

7. What was the nature and quality of the speaker's style?
   a. Was his style "immediately clear" to his audience?
   b. Were the vocabulary, allusions, illustrations, and sentence structure suited to the speaker, the audience, the occasion?
      1) Did he use concrete wording, effective descriptions, and flights of imagination?
      2) Was there conciseness of statement, economy of style, and brevity of utterance?
      3) Was the style "spoken" rather than "written"?
   c. Were there occasional passages of sustained nobility and beauty?

C. Delivery

1. What was the nature and quality of the speaker's posture, movement, gesture, pronunciation, articulation, voice quality and use (pitch, rate, force)?

Conclusion

The purpose of the first chapter has been to clarify the nature and purpose of the study in order to provide a perspective for the reader.
CHAPTER II

Rhetorical-Biography

Franklin D. Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, New York. He was the son of James and Sara Roosevelt. James was a railroad executive in New York City.

The beginning of the name Roosevelt dates back to a certain Klaes Martenson van Rosenvelt, who came from the village of Rosenvelt in the Netherlands and settled in New York, which was then New Amsterdam, in 1644. Why Klaes left the Old World for the New is unknown. He was, as far as is known, the first Roosevelt to come to America. Klaes was probably a peasant; his name means "son of Martin," and he was ironically nicknamed Kleytjen, or "little one," because he was supposed to have been a very large man physically. The name "Roosevelt" derives from the locality where Klaes lived, Rosen Velt (Field of Roses), on the island of Tholen, near Zealand.

Originally, the name of Roosevelt certainly had no great appeal to Americans. As a matter of fact, few Americans had ever heard of it, and the name had little of the glamour it has now. The family never produced an artist, a fanatic, or a madman. Skeletons are rare in Roosevelt closets.

Here is a race that for three hundred years remained consistently unremarkable. The only
amazing thing about them is that for six genera-
tions they never startled anyone. They were all
respectable, reasonably industrious, reasonably
able, reasonably prosperous—only one or two in
the long list ever got into the millionaire class,
but none ended in the almshouse—and, to be
brutally frank, all were dismally dull. Then, in
the seventh generation, this dynasty of the
mediocre suddenly blazed up with not one, but two,
of the most remarkable men in American history.  

Delano, the maternal lineage, was the most vital force
in shaping his character. In some ways Franklin was more a
Delano than a Roosevelt; his mother's strain was very strong
indeed, and in fact she was wont to say, "My son Franklin
is a Delano, not a Roosevelt at all."  

The American branch of the Delano family derives from Philippe De La
Noye, who arrived in Plymouth in 1621; until FDR, only
five other presidents had Pilgrim blood. The Delanos, how-
ever, go back much further than that; the family was of
mixed French and Dutch descent, and traces its ancestry all
the way to William the Conqueror.

Sara, FDR's mother, was the only woman, besides John
Kennedy's mother, in American history to see her son
inaugurated as President. All the power and force of her
attention went to Franklin. For her husband she must have
had great devotion. For her only son, something more than
that.

12 Gerald W. Johnson, Review of The Amazing Roosevelt
Family, 1613-1942, by Karl Schriftgiesser, New York Herald
Tribune.

13 John Gunther, Roosevelt in Retrospect (New York:
Early Education

Franklin was only three years old when his parents first took him to Europe. He had German and French governesses, who taught him their languages. He also learned Spanish and Italian. At twelve, he attended school for several weeks at Nauheim, Germany. Twice with a tutor he toured Germany and Switzerland by bicycle.

Thirty-five miles west of Boston lies the small town of Groton, Massachusetts. There Reverend Endicott Peabody, a graduate of Cambridge and the Episcopal Theological School, founded a boys' school. Roosevelt came there to study in 1896, when he was fourteen.

Roosevelt said on October 31, 1932, "As a boy I came to this state for education. To that education I look back with open and sincere pride and gratitude."14

Because of tutoring, traveling, and reading, he was enrolled in the "third form" with those his own age. "The curriculum was in the classical vein with Latin, Greek, English literature and composition, and mathematics dominant, plus the modern languages of German and French... courses. The Rector taught Sacred Studies."15

Roosevelt's rank in class was never poorer than fifth in a group of seventeen, nor better than second of nineteen.

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students. His best grades were earned in German, French, Latin and Geometry. He was awarded the school Latin prize, which was a 40-volume edition of the Temple Shakespeare.

English composition was his poorest subject. He received C's, occasionally his grades rose to B or dropped to D. His general average in all courses, however, was a B.

The Headmaster said, "He was a quiet, satisfactory boy of more than ordinary intelligence, taking a good position in his Form, but not brilliant." 16

Grotonians attended morning and evening prayers on weekdays and two services in Episcopal Chapel on Sundays. The Bible was read aloud in the Rector's course entitled "Sacred Studies."

The goals of the Groton Boys' School were probably not unique to that institution, but these objectives were individual-centered with a pinnacle of public achievement as the ultimate. The goals included the well-rounded development of the individual, dedication to public service, good master-and-boy relationships, physical development and a strong classical curriculum. 17

Great emphasis was placed on oral reading. The Headmaster would read aloud for one-half hour to the boys from Kipling.

Political and social thought were brought to the boys' attention through such noted statesmen and lecturers as

16 Brandenburg and Braden, p. 461.

17 Crowell, p. 33.
Theodore Roosevelt, Booker T. Washington, and Jacob Riis. Books, magazines, and newspapers were also valuable sources and were utilized frequently.

The boys had a required membership in the Junior or Senior Debating Society. Research took them to libraries. The boys sent requests to their parents for "points." Roosevelt wrote to his parents for articles on China.

The primary purpose, however, of debate was to teach the boys how to speak. A "Good delivery and clear enunciation," stated Sherrard Billings, Senior master, "was a main objective."18

Two minute impromptu talks were volunteered by other members at the close of the prepared speeches. These exercises spurred the improvement of the quality of preparation for the longer speeches and helped to increase the spontaneity for the presentation when the notes were written on a small sheet of fixed size.

As was stated the Headmaster wanted to emphasize a life of public service. "If some Groton boys do not enter political life and do something for our land it won't be because they have not been urged."19

Thus, many influences were felt by Roosevelt as he departed from Groton and entered public life. The influence of education and travel in Europe, his study at Groton, Massachusetts, in which he studied the classical literature,

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18 Crowell, p. 39.
19 Crowell, p. 36.
oral interpretation, and mental development through debate and impromptu speaking contributed to his later success.

Later Education

Roosevelt graduated from Groton in 1900 and "went up" to Harvard under President Eliot's "Anticipation Plan", meaning the anticipation of fifteen college hours—one hour more than the nearest college competitor—and completing the undergrad work at Harvard in three years and spending the fourth in graduate study.

Thus, he followed the famous "elective system," and pursued several courses of study. His courses of study included Latin Literature: Livy (Book I), Horace (Odes and Epodes), and Terence (Andria and Phormio); English literature (Bacon); and French prose and poetry: Corneille, Racine, Moliere, Victor Hugo, George Sand, Alfred de Musset, and Sainte-Beuve. His academic interests spotlighted history and government.

His most memorable instructors included Charles Townsend Copeland, affectionately called "Copey" by his students. "Copey" induced a love of literature through oral reading in his own inimitable style. The students likewise all read their themes aloud. Mrs. Roosevelt declared that her husband found his basis for rhetorical style from all this reading, and these and similar experiences influenced Roosevelt's speechmaking.20

While at Harvard, Roosevelt took a course in "public speaking." George Pierce Baker showed through his "Forms of Public Address" course that speaking was not just for style and embellishment but for principles of argumentation.

Baker defined "public address" as "not only all work written for delivery, but also all writing at the public not literary or scientific in aim, as, for example, open letters or editorials." 21

Professor Baker's students prepared speeches or open letters, editorials, and certain non-forensic speeches. He required two logical briefs and five manuscripts of one thousand to fifteen hundred words in length with the two latter as argumentative.

They studied the representative forms of public address. "Throughout all this examination of the forms of address the purpose (was) not to point out graces of style, bursts of eloquence, vivid narration and description, but the conditions which gave rise to the speech, the possible subjects the speaker might have chosen, his probable reasons for selecting his topic, his plan in treating it, and the extent to which his audience affected his presentation." 22

Roosevelt belonged to many organizations—literary, social and political—which afforded him abundant opportunities for perfecting his speaking and prowess as a conversationalist. He belonged to the Social Service Society, Memorial Society,

21Cowperthwaite, p. 38.

22Cowperthwaite, p. 39.

He was also the editor of the school newspaper, The Crimson, in which position he learned to express forcefully with the pen the ideas he also expressed in speech. He started as a reporter, then editor, then managing editor, and finally, the presidency. Biographers have said "the formerly lifeless college paper became as vital in its field as any outside daily in its larger sphere."23

He rounded out his education by enrolling in the Columbia University Law School. He studied under great legal minds like Harlan Fiske Stone, William C. Dennis, and Charles Thaddeus Terry. However, he lacked the ingredient of enthusiasm. At Columbia he was not an outstanding student. His career in law lasted from 1907-1910.

Thus Roosevelt's impressive educational experiences helped school him for the Presidency—spokesman of, by, and for the people.

The Major Periods of His Speaking Career

Roosevelt entered politics at the age of twenty-eight, in 1910. By 1910 young FDR was a popular and civic-spirited member of the Hyde Park community. Everyone seemed to like him, and a group of Dutchess County politicians got the idea of running him for State Senator.

23Cowperthwaite, p. 39.
Why did the Poughkeepsie leaders want Roosevelt?
(1) The local mayor had his eye on him for some time;
(2) Roosevelt was a terrific name politically, since Theodore Roosevelt was the dominant personality of the nation, and democratic Roosevelt would be a dramatic drawing card;
(3) FDR was rich and would pay his own expenses and perhaps contribute to the campaign at large; and (4) it didn't matter anyway, since the seat was traditionally Republican.24

Roosevelt's race for the State Senate, foretells much of the future. He stated, "As you know, I accept this nomination with absolute independence. I am pledged to no man; I am influenced by no special interests, and so I shall remain. In the coming campaign, I need not tell you that I do not intend to stand still. We are going to have a very strenuous month."25

FDR hired an open red Maxwell, and hour by hour, day by day, visited every area, making speech after speech not merely in the towns and villages but at the isolated crossroads and literally from the top of haystacks--wherever he could find a listener. This was the first time anybody had ever campaigned in New York State by automobile. The car reached the terrible speed of twenty miles an hour, and frightened cattle and horses leaped over fences as it roared past. FDR's zeal was such that on one occasion he overshot the New York frontier, and found himself haranguing crowds

in Connecticut that couldn't vote for him anyway. Moses Smith, his old neighbor, said that FDR's most effective talking point was advocacy of a 96-quart standard barrel for apples; the farmers had no such standard in those days, and they wanted one. This homely touch was a forecast of much that FDR did in later campaigns.

Roosevelt won, to almost everybody's surprise, and he became the first Democratic senator from this District since 1856, with the exception of one who had squeezed in as a result of a three-cornered race in 1888.

FDR's record as Senator was not earth-shaking, but the experience was interesting. His education began in earnest and so did his wife's. He was chairman of the Forest, Fish, and Game Committee, and he became earnestly interested in conservation. He came out for woman suffrage. He shocked the orthodox by refusing an appropriation for his own country on the grounds that it wasn't necessary. He took a strong stand for the utilities lobby and for farm relief. He seemed to digest the practical ins and outs of political maneuver; Mrs. Roosevelt records that he showed a predisposition for the "Science" of government, rather than its "philosophy". Above all, he made lasting friendships with men like Robert F. Wagner, Al Smith, and Louis Howe.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

In June, 1912, FDR went to Baltimore to attend the

26Gunther, p. 205.
convention that was to nominate Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency of the United States. During FDR's active campaigning for Wilson, he had the opportunity to meet many notable men in government. Among them, Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, was appreciably impressed with young Roosevelt, Daniels was so impressed that he offered Roosevelt the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy, with the approval of Wilson.

So FDR became Assistant Secretary, the youngest man to hold this post in the Navy's history. In 1910 he was utterly unknown except to family and friends. In 1913, he held a nationally important job in Washington, with World War I soon to come. He was sworn in March 17, 1913, on his eighth wedding anniversary.

Roosevelt remained Assistant Secretary until 1920, and nobody could say he did not do a good job. He set out to establish good relations with the admirals and then his eye was turned, to the other extreme, to such details as that many enlisted men did not know how to swim, which he sought to remedy. He did his utmost to put the fleet in a full state of preparedness before 1914. He renovated the shore establishments. He showed considerable foresight about the future value of air power. After 1917 most of his work was in the unheroic field of procurements, contracts, labor relations, and the like, which gave him good experience. However, he worked up a scheme for fast submarine chasers that helped defeat the U-boats, and he was part author of
the bitterly disputed plan to wall off a 240-mile stretch of the North Sea with a new type of mine barrage, and keep the German fleet bound to its own waters.

His seven years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy gave Roosevelt experience that enabled him to initiate legislation in several fields: (a) labor relations, (b) the detailed day-to-day management of a giant Government department during warfare, (c) naval strategy in general, (d) problems of logistics and supply, and (e) the art of handling men.27

Not many people know that FDR ran for the New York senatorship in the Democratic primaries in 1914, and was badly beaten. This was the first, last and only time he ever lost a direct election. (True, his ticket was defeated when he ran for Vice-President in 1920, but this was a defeat in a different category.) He lost because, for one thing, his job in Washington held him too tightly to permit effective campaigning in New York, and many voters thought he was too young, thirty-two, to be a Federal senator. He had not looked over the scene carefully enough; this was a time when his snap judgment got him into trouble. Also, the vested interests in the party opposed him vigorously.

Thus, in 1920, Roosevelt resigned from the Navy job and was nominated as Democratic candidate for Vice-President. James M. Cox of Ohio became the Presidential candidate largely because such wary men as McAdoo, Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury, refused to run. FDR got the nomination for

27Gunther, p. 212.
Vice-President. Cox wasn't really associated with the Wilsonian policies, so the party bosses decided that Roosevelt, who was a Wilsonian, would bring to the campaign those supporters of the League whom the Cox candidature would probably repel.

Cox and Roosevelt made a vigorous campaign; FDR himself made no fewer than 800 speeches. The League became their major issue of the fight, but Cox and Roosevelt were decisively beaten by Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. This, incidentally, was the first presidential election in which women voted, and Mrs. Roosevelt accompanied him through most of his campaign. FDR's speeches showed a definite broadening of interests; he had to touch on national issues; his speech of acceptance delivered at Hyde Park on August 9, 1920, was the first important speech ever delivered from his own front porch. He said that the people must oppose "mere coma" in the national life. He demanded a complete overhaul and reorganization of the Federal Government machinery, the end of all pork-barrel legislation, and elevation to the idea that "the effectiveness of the national government... should at least approximate that of a well-conducted private business." 

In August, 1921, FDR went up to join the family in Campobello. Shortly thereafter, he was struck down by a disaster of the greatest magnitude.

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28 Gunther, pp. 216-217.
On August 10, 1921, Roosevelt took his wife and their sons for a sail on a small craft which he was teaching the boys how to handle. Returning to Campobello he saw a forest fire on the nearby shore; the whole family landed for the strenuous fun of fighting it. To cool off, he took a swim in a nearby lake Glen Severn though he had been complaining of feeling tired for days. Later FDR wanted another swim, and he jumped into the ocean from the beach. The Bay of Fundy is ice-cold even at this time of the year. He sat down in his wet bathing suit upon returning to the house, and went through a batch of mail. Thereupon he had a sudden chill, and Mrs. Roosevelt persuaded him to go to bed.

Thus, the attack began with a warning of tenderness in the forepart of the thighs.

By spring of 1922 FDR was substantially better, though he could not walk, and by autumn, a year after the illness first struck, he was able to do some work, and to hobble around on crutches. That he was able to make such progress took pure grit, the conquest of fleshy by will and spirit.

Roosevelt's formal reentry into political life came in 1924, when he nominated Alfred E. Smith as Democratic candidate for President. The next four or five years of his life
are involved with Smith.

One of the reporters covering the nomination for the New York Times was Elmer Davis. "Citizens of the great Empire State of New York...cheered themselves for three minutes while FDR, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was assisted to the platform. He had been ill; he had to swing on crutches as he took his place at the speakers' stand, but nothing was the matter with his voice or enthusiasm." Roosevelt said, "He (Al) has a record of law enforcement; he stands for the whole constitution." Davis commented, "Feeble cheers." When, having talked thirty-five minutes, FDR named his man by calling him "the Happy Warrior of the political battlefield" the lid blew off the Garden and a demonstration took place in such a din as it had probably never heard before." The band "made four false starts" as Roosevelt tried to finish his oration. The cheering lasted for one hour and thirteen minutes until the chairman attempted to call the convention to order. "He was helped by Franklin Roosevelt, who held up his hand and stilled the demonstration almost instantly." Smith didn't get the nomination; however, FDR got important prestige from the "Happy Warrior Speech".

From October, 1928, when he finally and with extreme reluctance entered the gubernatorial race, he never had one minute out of public life until his death.

Smith was running for President; therefore, somebody had

\[29\] Sunther, pp. 246-247.
to succeed him as Governor of New York. Smith urged Roosevelt, but Roosevelt did not want to run. Probably there were three reasons for this: (1) he wanted desperately to finish his leg treatment at Warm Springs; (2) he thought he might well be defeated; and (3) he thought that it was too early for him to make a serious bid for power on the national scene. Finally, after much persuasion Smith got Roosevelt to accept the chance to be nominated. He again carried out a vigorous campaign and won.

Roosevelt was a good governor, not a great one; this is the easiest statement to make about his record from 1926 to 1932. Smith had been such an active governor, especially in cleaning house and inducing social reforms, that Roosevelt had little to do administratively except carry on his work.

He fought for control of public utilities, created the State Power Authority, established old-age pensions, and worked hard for social security, reforestation, and the idea that the water power of the State should belong to all the people. He was not afraid to spend money; he raised the State income tax 50 percent. He traveled prodigiously through the State; no governor ever did so much road work. The later Fireside Chats grew naturally out of his innovation of direct radio talks to the New York electorate. Politically, he had his first real contacts with labor, and he gained good experience in the art of handling a hostile legislature. Finally, by exploring the State and its people, he became

30 Gunther, p. 251.
aware of the concrete miseries of the under-possessed and of the cruel realities of unemployment.

Probably his most outstanding speech prior to his Presidential election comes from his campaign address at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, September 23, 1932.

Government includes the art of formulating a policy, and using the political technique to attain so much of that policy as will receive general support; persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate.31

Thus, Roosevelt's enviable political career prior to the 1933 inauguration included the 1910 Senate race, his 1913 appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, his nomination as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1920, his forced recess with Poliomyelitis, his famous "Happy Warrior Speech" in 1924, and his gubernatorial victory in 1928. These experiences were valuable preparations for the speaking that FDR would do later as President of the United States.

Roosevelt had probably wanted to be President all his life. Once he told a representative of the Times of London, "For twenty years I had a perfectly natural and laudable ambition to become president, and was obliged to behave like a man who wanted to be elected president."32

As the depression continued to grip the country more mercilessly and as the Republican administration steadily

32 Gunther, p. 262.
lost more and more public confidence a whole covey of Democratic candidates naturally sprang up. Roosevelt was well in the lead.

Roosevelt's campaign was a masterpiece. Of course the unfortunate Hoover was a dead duck anyway, but it is not correct to say, as some writers have said, that all FDR had to do was hold off and let him defeat himself. FDR was aggressive first, last, and all the time. Very rarely did he attack the Republicans, only their "leadership," and many Republicans voted for him. He showed himself to the people through extensive traveling, and thus dispelled any rumors about his physical fitness.

There were no fewer than fourteen million people unemployed in America by this time. It is not difficult to understand why the great mass of people lifted their hearts to Roosevelt's cry for reform, recovery, and faith. FDR was elected by an overwhelming margin of 22,813,786 votes to 15,759,266 for Hoover, and was the first Democratic President in eighty years to get a clear majority of the popular vote--57 percent. But not one in millions could have dreamed that the man they had just elected would remain in the White House almost thirteen years.

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33 Gunther, p. 274.
CHAPTER III

The Historical Period in which Roosevelt was Active

The day dawned, Tuesday, September 3, 1929, with a weather prediction of "Fair and continued warm today and tomorrow." The cities of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Boston were destined to experience temperatures in the 90's.

The newspapers revealed that the most exciting and important events of September 3, 1929, aside from the heat wave and purely local happenings, was a speech by the Prime Minister of England, a golf tournament, and two incidents in aviation.

The Prime Minister was Ramsay MacDonald; his speech was delivered at Geneva before the Assembly of the League of Nations. (The League was an important factor in international relations). MacDonald announced in his speech that negotiations between Great Britain and the United States for the limitations of naval armaments were progressing favorably, and that full agreement seemed to be near. He hoped shortly to visit the United States to further that agreement.

These armament negotiations of 1929 were incidents in the long post-war struggle for agreement—and for national

advantage--in a Hitlerless world. Germany was a republic and a member of the League of Nations; the Dawes Plan of collecting reparations from Germany was about to be succeeded by the less oppressing Young Plan; France, the most powerful nation on the continent, still occupied the Rhineland. Japan had not yet gone into Manchuria, let alone into China, nor Italy into Ethiopia; Spain was not yet torn by Civil War; and Adolf Hitler was the little regarded leader of a noisy minority of German Brown Shirts, his name quite unknown to most Americans.

Tensions though were running quite high, because attentive students of international affairs had predicted a major war. There was a grave threat of war between Russia and China. Mussolini was cherishing dreams of an empire; there were Arab riots in Palestine; and Gandhi was giving trouble to the British in India. In the main, the democratically governed nations were on top.

People were even more interested in the National Amateur Golf Championship at Pebble Beach, California. Bobby Jones was there tying for first place with Gene Homans in the qualifying round. Would Bobby Jones win? (It was destined that he lose; not until next season would Jones take the British amateur and open titles and the American amateur and open in one season.)

Of the two headlined incidents in aviation, one was a triumph, the other a disaster. The great German dirigible, the Graf Zeppelin, gained the triumph. It had circled the
world successfully. Since this demonstration had seemed to show the possibilities of lighter-than-air flying the designers of the Empire State Building were about to build a mooring mast on top of the skyscraper with a somewhat premature prophecy: "The directors of Empire State, Inc., believed that in comparatively short time the Zeppelin airships will establish transatlantic, transcontinental, and transpacific lines, and possibly a route to South America from the port of New York. Building with an eye to the future, it has been determined to erect this mooring tower." 35

However, in striking contrast to the Graf Zeppelin's triumph was the air disaster of September third: the crash of a transcontinental Air Transport plane in New Mexico during a thunderstorm, with the loss of eight lives: a severe setback to heavier-than-air flying. "Transcontinental" is a misleading word. There was no coast-to-coast passenger service by air in 1929. Since Lindbergh's flight to Paris in 1927 the adventurers of the air had been crossing oceans boldly, airplane stocks had been soaring, and the Post Office Department had been flying the mail across the country, but passenger flying in the United States was still in its hazardous and uncertain infancy.

Prohibition was a class problem. The Eighteenth Amendment was in full force and so were the bootleggers and the runrunners. Al Capone was serving a year's sentence in Philadelphia for carrying a pistol, but he would be out soon;

35Allen, p. 8.
Meanwhile, the Chicago gang was taking an enormous toll from the illicit liquor business.

People were going to "Speakeasys" by carrying membership cards to this or that "club" in case he should wish to go for a drink to someplace where he was not already well known by sight as a patron or could identify himself as a "friend of Mr. Jones's". This wet-or-dry issue became the hottest issue in politics.

During this time industrialism was spreading and maturing. Not only was industry domesticated in the United States, Germany, Northern France, Belgium, and Japan, but it was getting a foothold in countries producing raw materials and dependent on others for manufactured goods, such as China, India, and Australia. Petroleum and electricity were taking the place of coal in the generation of power.

This evolution hurt Britain as "the workshop of the world." Her pre-eminence had been built on colonial empire, merchant marine, insular position, early start, and coal. Germany, in technical skill and selling success, and the United States in both proficiency and magnitude of industry, were surpassing Britain.

The rate of population growth in developed countries was declining while increasing urbanization was adding to the standard of living. At a time when demand was preparing to shift from heavy clothing and cereals to lighter fabrics and vegetables, fruits, and meats, staple agriculture, was further endangered by soil chemistry, mechanical power,
improvements in transportation, and development of synthetics such as rayon. 36

International cooperation, despite the League of Nations, was rendered more difficult through collapse and uncertain repair of currencies, and through competitive trade restrictions. All led to unchecked economic imperialism and militarism.

The farmers of America were not prospering; hard times had been continuous on the farms since the post-war collapse of agricultural prices in 1921. The displacement of men by machine, the turnover of men within industries, and the shifting of men from industry to industry, was making men less secure in their jobs. This change was making it harder for men past the prime of life to get back into new jobs once they were displaced. No less than 78% of the American population had family incomes of less than $3,000 or individual incomes of less than $1,500, and something like 40% had family incomes of less than $1,500 or individual incomes of less than $750. 37 Such a state of affairs was certainly far from utopian. Yet by all current standards in American life, the average of well-being was high; and among the well-to-do it was glittering.

October 24, 1929, or "Black Thursday" will live as a day the stock market crashed. Soon afterward, the American

economy slowed to a point of near collapse and the nation plunged into a devastating depression. Although President Hoover tried to get the United States back on its feet, Americans repudiated his efforts and elected his Democratic opponent, Franklin Roosevelt.

At the height of the Depression 13,000,000 people--one out of four in the labor force--were jobless. In some industries, wages dropped to twenty cents an hour. Total industrial production fell 56% below the 1923-1925 production level.38

For a long time past, as business slowed up in Europe, a sort of creeping paralysis had been afflicting European finance. Debts--national and private, which were at one time bearable--were now a heavy burden; new financial credits were hardly being extended except to shore up the old ones; prices fell, anxiety spread and the whole system slowed to almost a standstill. During the spring of 1931 the paralysis had become acute.

It was ironical, in retrospect, to note that what made it acute was an attempt on the part of Germany and Austria to combine for limited economic purposes--to achieve a customs union--and the fierce opposition of the French to any such scheme. Anything which might bring Germany and Austria together and strengthen them was anathema to the French, who little realized then the possible consequences of Central European bankruptcy.

38Allen, p. 16.
The biggest bank in Austria, the Credit Anstalt, had been in a tight fix and had been obliged to appeal to the non-tco-solvent Austrian government for aid. Quickly panic got underway and spread to Germany. In May and June, 1931, capital was fleeing both countries, foreign loans were being withdrawn, and a general collapse seemed imminent—a collapse which might cause the downfall of Germany to Democratic government. A cloud on the horizon was growing fast: Hitler’s Brown Shirts were becoming more and more powerful. 39

On the sixth of May, 1931, when few Americans had the faintest idea how critical the European financial situation was becoming the American Ambassador to Germany had dined with President Hoover at the White House, and since the President, fearing that a collapse in Europe might have grave consequences to the United States, had been turning over in his mind the idea of an international moratorium—of postponing for a year all payments on intergovernmental debts; including the reparations which Germany was then obliged to pay and the war debts owed to the United States by her former European allies.

Much consultation was undertaken before the moratorium was issued. For a time, this action seemed to appease the crisis. Presently, panic in Germany became intensified; the big Danat Bank was closed. The panic spread to England. The pound sterling was now in danger. When England went off the gold standard, every nation still on gold felt the shock.

39Allen, p. 48.
and most of them followed England into the new adventure of a managed currency.

In the United States this new shock of September, 1931, was sharp. The archaic American banking system, which had never been too strong even in more prosperous days, was gravely affected; all over the United States banks were collapsing—banks which had invested heavily in bonds and mortgages and now found the prices of their foreign bonds cascading, the prices of their domesticated bonds sliding down in the general rush of liquidation, and their mortgages frozen solid. In the month of September, 1931, a total of 305 American banks closed; in October, a total of 522. Everyone was hoarding gold now, lest the United States too should go off the gold standard; safe-deposit boxes were being crammed full of coins, and mattresses were stuffed with gold certificates.

Now, the capitalist system had become so altered that it could not function in its accustomed ways, and free men could not bear the heavy weight of the consequences of its failure. Events were marching, and Herbert Hoover was to be among the victims, along with the traditional economic theories of which he was an obstinate and tragic spokesman.

The cause is still being debated among historians and economists to this day. Some causes have been advanced. One group blamed troubles in Europe for the collapse. Another group believed that internal conditions in the United States

[^40]: Allen, p. 51.
were responsible. Most follow the thinking of the latter.

The Influence of the Occasion

By March third--the eve of inauguration--the financial storm was battering at Chicago and New York, the financial strongholds of the country. The tie-up was almost complete. Hoover was still trying to make a last minute effort for a solution, but at 4:30 in the morning of March fourth, the strongholds surrendered: Governor Lehman of New York proclaimed a state bank holiday, and almost simultaneously Governor Horner proclaimed one in Illinois. Hoover was told early that morning that the banking system of the United States had stopped functioning.

Unemployment had risen to seventeen millions, agriculture was prostrate, primation became desperate, and people were almost completely gripped by panic and despair.

The Democratic Platform, which foreshadowed the New Deal, had taken some of these problems into account. It called for a greatly expanded program of public works and unemployment relief, old-age pension laws, increased control of public utilities, reform of the banking structure, repeal of Prohibition, an advanced agricultural aid program through control of crop surpluses, independence for the Philippines, and a 25% cut in government expenses and a balanced budget.

Saturday, March 4, 1933. The people turned on their radios for the inauguration. There was a tension in the air that day—a sense of expectation. They realized the dire need for some spark of hope—the banks were shut. If the
people lived in New York State or Illinois they probably didn't realize the closing, since the closing orders in those states had come too late for the early morning editions of the newspapers. On the door of each bank was posted a little typewritten notice that it had been closed at the Governor’s order; people by two's and three's went up to read the signs and walked sadly away, wondering what would happen next. How would people live? The first thought would be about that little dab of money left in the house!

The only thing everybody wanted to hear was the inaugural address. All over the country people were huddled around their radios, wondering what Roosevelt's answer to disaster would be. What would the voice have to say? Would he be able to quell the impending disaster?

The Inaugural Day Program was as follows:

10:15 a.m.--President-elect Roosevelt and his cabinet and members of their families attended a special service in St. John's Church, Lafayette Square.

The president-elect, a respecter of the institutional forms of religious practices, attended this special service in St. John's Church, which faces the White House and is known as the Church of Presidents.

10:55 a.m.--President-elect Roosevelt arrived at the White House.

11:00 a.m.--President Hoover, President-elect Roosevelt, Mrs. Hoover, Mrs. Roosevelt, and the official party to the Capitol.
FDR rode next to President Hoover, and Mr. Roosevelt felt that for that final few minutes he should defer to Mr. Hoover in all the courtesies that belong to the Presidency.

The crowd too was perplexed with the problem of etiquette. They seemed uncertain of the extent of cheering for one of these men, without expressing themselves too strongly 'against' the other one. Hoover was not acknowledging the applause of the crowd, so finally FDR felt that someone should offer some acknowledgement, so he waved.\footnote{Grace Tully, \textit{F.D.R. My Boss} (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), p. 67.}

12:00 Noon--Vice President Garner was sworn in in the Senate Chamber.

In the meantime, one could hear the voice of a radio reporter describing the preparations for the inauguration ceremony at the east front of the Capitol on the vast lawns between the central building and the Library of Congress. Bleachers were erected on the roof of the Capitol itself.

The Platform was hung with garlands of laurel and draped with shields and medallions of the Great Seal of the United States. The platform was reserved for ninety-some members of official parties of the incoming and outgoing Chief Executive.

The reporter was describing the dense crowds flooding the Capitol square below under a chilly, cloudy sky. He showed as much good cheer as he could--bearing down hard on a note of optimism, in fact, for he knew that worried and
frightened people were listening to him. He described
Hoover coming alone, gravely, to his place on the platform;
then Roosevelt coming up a ramp on the arm of his son James.

12:50 p.m.--President-elect Roosevelt was sworn in
by Chief Justice Hughes, a former governor
of New York, on an old Dutch Bible, a
family heirloom, opened to the 13th
Chapter, 13th Verse of First Corinthians.

The verse read: "And now abideth faith, hope, charity,
these three; but the greatest of these is charity." 42
Roosevelt's reply to the oath of office was uttered clearly
and firmly, phrase by phrase. Minutes after FDR became the
32nd President of the United States, he delivered the
inaugural address.

1:06 p.m.--President Roosevelt completed the
inaugural address.

1:15 p.m.--He and his party left the Capitol.
Immediately after the inauguration,
the Roosevelts took possession of the
White House.

Arthur Krock of the New York Times, March 4, 1933, reported
that the inauguration was a "sellout" and a financial success.
A profit gain was of $60,000 to $75,000 from the sale of
grandstand seats; concert and ball proceeds were turned over
to charity. 43

42Tully, p. 68.
Some 40,000 grandstand seats were sold out along Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House. Prices of seats, ranging from $2.00 to $7.00 had been expected to bring in more than $100,000 which the merchants, restauranteurs, and hotel men subscribed to guarantee the expenses of the inaugural program.

The grandstand building of six weeks' work for 500 laborers and carpenters was conducted at the union rate of $8 to $11 a day.

Seats from which visitors saw the inauguration on the east portico of the Capitol were built with the aid of $35,000 Congressional appropriation.

The occasion was truly historic, because instead of March 4, future Presidents would take the oath of office on January 20.

Influence of the Audience

Around 250,000 thronged into Washington to witness the end of twelve years of Republican rule. Bunting flags were flown from almost every lamppost along historic Pennsylvania Avenue, and the likeness of the new President stared at passers-by from shop windows along the route.

One hundred twenty-eight American radio stations were linked for the inauguration program beginning at 9:30 a.m., with Australia, South Africa, and England listening in.

44 Krock, p. 1.
45 Krock, p. 1.
The crowd was fairly quiet regardless of a prepared radio text which said "Almighty cheer had risen from the throats of 100,000 Americans." 46

In conclusion, historians have felt that the landslide victory of the Democrats in the presidential election of 1932 was not so much a vote of confidence in the Democratic party and its leaders as a measure of the resentment against the Hoover administration inspired in large part by the economic depression.

Roosevelt, during the whole campaign, had sought relief for the "forgotten man." He had accused the Republicans of seeking prosperity by conferring favors on the "special interests" and stressed the government's responsibility to promote the well-being of the great masses of its citizens. His continuous cry for the responsibility of government for human welfare injected a hope for the future at a time when hope was lacking.

46 Krock, p. 1.
CHAPTER IV

An Analysis of Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address

March 4, 1933

Did Franklin Delano Roosevelt discover and employ in his "First Inaugural" the available means of persuasion?

In order to answer this basic question it was necessary to determine the answers to the many questions posed by Dr. Parrish (Chapter I)—questions which constitute the criteria for rhetorical analysis.

Franklin Roosevelt used Aristotle's belief that he needed to build up his own character before he could reach his audience. He pledged that he would "speak with candor and decision because his fellow Americans expected that.

I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems. I shall ask Congress for broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe. I accept this gift of leadership which will provide discipline and direction."

He frequently identified himself and his audience with respect for human rights, with virtues of honesty and consistency, and with religious ideals. "The joy and moral
stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad
chase of evanescent profits; our true destiny is not to be
ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our
fellow men (responsibility); we must recognize the falsity
of material wealth as a standard of success."

His religious training was exemplified through his
allusion to our responsibility toward our fellow men and
being a good neighbor. We must be our brother's keeper.
In the conclusion, he appealed to the blessing of God and
His guidance in the days to come.

Intertwoven with ethical appeal we decipher much pru-
dence and wisdom. His sincere warmth and attempt at dispelling
fear is shown by his oft-quoted "The only thing we have to
fear is fear itself." Fear is not concrete nor can it be
seen, so why fear the unknown?

Even though he admitted the common difficulties of the
time, he also had some heartening thoughts. "We still have
much to be thankful for...our distress comes from no failure
of substance (and) we are stricken by no plague of locusts.
Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multi-
plied it." Regardless of the hardships and plight, Roosevelt
realized the need for striking the chord of hope to regain
the self-confidence of the people.

He sought to attain good will, particularly in the
Introduction, to gain attention and to calm the fears of the
people. "In every dark hour of our national life a leader-
ship of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding
and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory." He had an effective philosophy of social justice, to do what was fair and honorable, to show duty above all, to repeat American traditions so that the sentiments of the audience were always in the foreground.

Roosevelt used earnestness and directness. Gone was the smile. He broke his sentences simply with the conviction that the people wanted him to lead.

The speech itself was a Jacksonian speech, a "fighting speech" implicit with criticism of the lack of leadership and philosophy of the government of Hoover's.

His speech blamed the big financiers after the bank smash-ups and scandals, so the mood of millions of Americans was summed up in that belief.

Most striking of all, however, was the constant emphasis on the need for action. Again and again came the word "action." After the President said he believed that the sort of action which is needed may be taken under the Constitution, the loudest applause came.

The people were sick of watching an executive devote his strongest energies to opposing action, however questionable. They wanted a positive policy.

He had not been cautious or evasive. He had seen that a tortured, bewildered people wanted to throw overboard the old and welcome something new; that they were sick of waiting, they wanted leadership, the thrill of decision. Not only his words but in the challenge of the very accents of his
voice, he promised them what they wanted. Would the performance measure up to the promise?

His hearers, from all walks of life and all age groups, listened to him with serious attention, interrupting frequently with applause, which was brief in order not to break the thread of the speech. The applause was genuine and spontaneous, although not showing the volume and duration of other Presidents on gayer inaugurations.

His address had instilled so much "hope and courage to the people" that nearly half a million wrote to him the next week after the speech. 47

The appeal to ethical values was one of Roosevelt's strong points, and through his own integrity and character and encompassing ethical values he won the hearts of many, many Americans. He maintained his speaking posture with ethical appeal.

Further analysis of the speech revealed FDR's use of logical proofs. Actually, Roosevelt seldom attempted to prove an argument in the logical sense. "He assumed the correctness of his position and gave the impression of clarifying or explaining his arguments for his listeners." 48

He was primarily inductive in logical procedures. He liked to develop by example and analogy. He was logical enough that he disliked vague formulas and generalities.


48 Hochshuth, History and Criticism of Address, p. 432.
His "First Inaugural" definitely attacked the Republican Administration under Hoover with the **causal relationship** by irrepressibly saying that "the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed because: (1) they have been stubborn, incompetent and unscrupulous; (2) their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition; (3) they have proposed only the lending of more money; (4) they have resorted to exhortation, pleading tearfully for restored confidence; (5) they are self-seeking and (6) they have no vision."

Roosevelt used some figurative analogy in his action campaign, such as "We must put our own **national house** in order and make income balance outgo; In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the **good neighbor**; If we are to go forward we must move as a **trained and loyal army**..."

He used the reasoning from example during the **Need Step** when he mentioned our common difficulties such as (1) "Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; (2) taxes have risen; (3) our ability to pay has fallen; (4) government of all kinds is faced by various curtailment of income; (5) means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; (6) withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; (7) farmers find no markets for their produce; (8) savings of many years in thousands of families are gone; and (9) a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence."
He preferred using arguments that were in crystal-clear, common language. Perhaps he favored this method because he spoke mainly to the common, plain-talking General American.

He didn't often use the testimony of others to support his arguments, but when he did he did so to advantage.

Occasionally, Roosevelt was quite adept at using deductive reasoning with the syllogism. For example,

Major Premise: "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor."

Minor Premise: The (good) neighbor resolutely respects himself.

Conclusion: Because he does so, he respects the rights of others.

President Roosevelt asserted that "the nation asks for action, and action now," and action was to be the basis for the progress of his administration. This proposition is stated and is inherent throughout the speech.

President Roosevelt pledged "a leadership of disciplined attack upon the common problems facing the nation "through his program of action and purpose. His general end was to actuate.

The main ideas used to develop his proposition were the following:

1. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work.
2. We must recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land by those best fitted for the land.

3. Definite efforts should be made to raise the values of agricultural products.

4. We must increase the power to purchase the output of our cities.

5. Foreclosures of our small homes and our farms must be prevented.

6. The cost of Federal, State, and local governments should be drastically reduced.

7. Relief activities should be unified.

8. National planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character would help.

9. There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments.

10. There must be an end to speculation with other people's money.

11. There must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

Generally speaking, he did not prefer logical reasoning in this speech or any other speech; however, he did seem to
choose the most pertinent facts facing the people at that time, although he did not use statistical evidence to support these facts. His listing of the basic issues supporting the proposition reflected order.

Many speeches are very difficult to outline because the speakers themselves had very little conception of organization when they wrote the speech. Roosevelt's "First Inaugural," however, conformed to a fairly distinguishable pattern of (1) Introduction (Attention); (2) Need or Problems; (3) Cause; (4) Criteria for solutions; (5) Body and Satisfaction Step; (6) Internal Summary; and (7) Conclusion (Action).

Roosevelt boldly alludes to The Vital as his Factor of attention when he said "This is pre-eminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. We must honestly face the conditions in our country today." Secondly, he uses familiarity when he said "my fellow Americans expect that."

As has already been mentioned, Roosevelt sought the good will of his audience in the Introduction of the speech.

The author feels that he clarified the problems with examples of the common difficulties in the Need Step. The background included the critical allusion to the Republican Administration as the cause of the financial distress.

He previews his subject of a road toward happiness through the less-traveled path of creative effort and joy of personal achievement in the Criteria for the solutions.

His step-by-step program of planned action has already
been mentioned in the Body. He seemed to use the Special
Topical approach in the Body by presenting "reasons why"
there is a need for action now.

The Internal Summary included his future appeal to the
new Congress for help in solving the problems as well as to
the assistance of the several states; he spoke about the
good neighbor policy in world affairs; the people and the
leadership must work together for the common good and action
is possible under the forms of government inherited from our
ancestors.

The Conclusion gives his firm promise of leadership
with the help and protection of God. The conclusion, there­
fore, is a combination of challenge and a statement of
personal intention.

Franklin Roosevelt was aware that humans are not exclu­sively rational beings. He attempted to stimulate his listen­
ers with the following motive appeals: (1) Self-preservation
and the desire for physical well-being; (2) Freedom from
external restraint; (3) Preservation and increase of self­
estee (ego expansion); and (4) Preservation of the human
race.

These Primary Motives are shown in the Need Step, Parts
III, V, and VI. The secondary appeals include creating,
revulsion, independence and self respect, loyalty, personal
enjoyment, security, and reverence or worship, and are
noticed throughout the address.

Both creating and personal enjoyment are shown when he
said "Happiness lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort," and creating is shown by "Our greatest primary task is to put people to work...It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the government itself."

Some examples of revulsion include "The rulers of the exchange of mankind’s goods have failed (for) they have been stubborn, they have been incompetent, they have been unscrupulous. Their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition."

**Independence** and **self-respect** are both exemplified by "Our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men. The (good) neighbor resolutely respects himself. Because he does so, he respects the rights of others."

**Loyalty** is displayed through "In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory...We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity."

**Security** is evident in "We aim at the assurance of a rounded and prominent national life."

We see **reverence** in examining "In this dedication of a nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come."

The discerning listener must have been struck favorably by these characteristics of FDR’s style.
Grace Tully, his personal secretary, reported that Roosevelt "took a keen pleasure in the precise selection of words. It always delighted him to debate fine meanings with Sherwood or Rosenman, particularly if he could prove that his own choice of a word carried a more exact meaning than one they had substituted." 49

He insisted on a clarity and simplicity "clear enough for the layman to understand." 50 "One study of his 'First Inaugural' and of his radio address of October 22, 1933, reported that about 70% of his words, as compared with 73% of the words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, fall within the limits of the five hundred most commonly used words of the Thorndike Word List." 51

His sentence length varied with average lengths running from sixteen to twenty-seven words. The short sentence did not completely predominate--his oral phrasing and his slow rate of utterance could account for this misconception.

His shorter sentences and varying lengths included "In this dedication of a nation we humbly ask the benevolent blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come."

He preferred using very homely, trite phrases, or coined his own phrases. Whenever he felt that his meaning was obscure, he inserted synonyms or phrases in apposition to clarify it.

49 Tully, p. 97.
50 Hochmuth, p. 505.
51 Hochmuth, p. 505.
Always his speech evoked simplicity and neighborliness with a forward-looking, optimistic outlook.

Roosevelt dealt with the conclusion that the "authentic copy" is not necessarily the word-for-word delivery of the speech. Alterations, minor or not, were made during the speech. Thus, the spoken speech was not what was actually written but what he actually said.

Francis Perkins said: "Proceeding 'from the book' no matter how logical, never seemed logical to him. His vivid imagination and sympathy helped him to 'see' from a word picture."\(^{52}\)

Sarett and Foster said that "the cues in FDR's voice--the voice alone--inspired confidence. If Herbert Hoover had spoken the same words into the microphone--the stock market would have fallen another notch and public confidence with it."\(^{53}\) Therefore, the personality of the speaker must never be discounted.

His vocal qualities included a tenor voice--with wide pitch. His intonation was good. He wouldn't always end his sentences with finality, but sometimes fused with another sentence to maintain the thought.

Roosevelt was slow-speaking, about one hundred words per minute, depending upon the audience. His words were not staccato. He emphasized words or thoughts.

\(^{52}\)Hochmuth, p. 482

Technically, he used the Eastern dialect. Roosevelt's speech was so clear and friendly that people didn't notice his deviations from other speakers.

What were some of the variables in this pronunciation? He used the preconsonantal, final and intervocalic R—silent after [a], [ɔ], and [ɔ] followed by a consonant. Examples included /haːd/ and /hɔd/.

After all the other vowels (including diphthongs) preconsonantally or finally before a pause "R" was pronounced [ɹ], as in [jɹæz] or [fɪɹ].

Once in awhile the General American pattern would creep in. [ju] (u, eu, ew) followed t, d, or n but inconsistently. He did not use the "broad" a as in "last" or "past." He sounded final consonants.54

Generally, speech authorities have agreed on the factors of pleasantness in his voice.

1. Articulation was fine and clear-cut.
2. High dignified level of speaking if the occasion called for it.
3. Almost all sounds are pronounced.
4. Pitch and melody are wide and varied.
5. Shortened unemphasized material.
6. Prolongation of vowels in accented syllables.
7. Feeling for rhythm was exceptional.
   a. Sticks to cadence and beat.
   b. Cadence after applause was timed well.

54 Brandenburg and Braden, pp. 27-28.
8. Voice quality was pleasant.

Factors of unpleasantness were also present:

1. Unintelligibility.
2. Not relaxed—tense.
3. Tension caused accentuation of fatigue in vocal quality.
4. Clerical questioning tone, or forced.
5. Breathiness.
6. m, n, or a sounded nasal at times.
7. n is prolonged like a vowel.
8. Natural pitch or key is seldom heard.
9. Seems elocutionary and artificial.
10. p, b, g, etc. sounded dropped because of loudness. 55

Some of these latter criticisms seem to the author to be direct contradictions to the Factors of Pleasantness. Perhaps the critic heard some other speeches that were somewhat serious in tone and felt that the speeches were representative of all his other speeches.

Gestures and movement were used only when they were appropriate in the context of the speech. He was not flamboyant, especially on this serious occasion.

"How could he move so many millions so deeply? The answer is not in the manner or meaning of any particular words but in the total sense of the man which his listeners

absorbed over the years in a thousand conscious and unconscious ways. The accumulation of causes he spoke for and policies and laws he fought for steadily strengthened the belief of most Americans that he was a very great man; there grew up a powerful rapport between him and his supporters, and his enemies were reduced to ever more helpless tantrums."

The author has concluded that FDR's personal qualities, ethical, and occasional logical proofs, speech organization, and style and delivery of the "First Inaugural" were all employed as the available means of persuasion, and he employed them well.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

Introduction

The intent in this final chapter is to review the entire thesis, including the specific statement of the problem, the method or procedure used in attacking the problem, and then, to draw the main conclusions.

1. The Problem

It was the primary purpose of this study to form a judgment concerning Franklin Delano Roosevelt's use of the available means of persuasion in his "First Inaugural Address."

2. The Method

In order to accomplish the announced purpose of the study it was necessary to use the critical method. This method required: (1) selecting the phenomena of speech to be evaluated, or criticized and stating the research problem; (2) orienting the problem and establishing the need for the study; (3) designing the research by adapting or creating appropriate criteria and planning how to use them; (4) controlling the factors involved in assembling and studying the relevant data; (5) evaluating the phenomena by observing them in relation to the criteria; and (6) drawing conclusions
from the data as evaluated.

3. The Working Hypothesis

The hypothesis in this thesis was that by studying available source materials the attributes of Franklin Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address," in terms of his educational background, political experience, the salient factors in that period of history, and the immediate setting, would reveal much about his speaking ability and the probable role of his speaking in his effectiveness as President of the United States. The author concludes that the hypothesis was valid.

4. The Research Design

The following organizational pattern reflects the study design formulated and executed to make possible an analysis and evaluation of Franklin Roosevelt's "First Inaugural Address": (1) Determination of the nature, purposes, and research methodology of the thesis; (2) preparation of the rhetorical-biographical study of the speaker; (3) re-creation of the significant international and domestic issues facing Franklin Roosevelt; (4) making a summary of the essential characteristics of the audience and the immediate setting; (5) making a rhetorical analysis of Roosevelt's "First Inaugural," and (6) drawing general conclusions.

5. The Main Conclusions

An examination of the life of Franklin D. Roosevelt provides an insight into the sources of his attitudes; his reasons for pursuing a political career; his method for organizing his material for speeches; his stylistic techniques
and appeal; and his mode of delivery. More specifically:
(1) His attitude toward life was greatly influenced by his mother, whose power and force of attention were directed toward her son; (2) He had an excellent education through travel and educational pursuits at Groton Boys' School and Harvard; (3) His membership in various school clubs stimulated his prowess as a conversationalist; (4) His editorship of the school newspaper, The Crimson, provided a vehicle for his vital and forceful ideas; (5) Debating and impromptu speaking molded him toward his later interest in public speaking; (6) His political career as senator, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, candidacy for Vice-President, Governor of New York, and President of the United States proved his value in public service; and (7) His courageous struggle against the crippling effects of poliomyelitis, with his wife's support, strengthened his desire to succeed.

The Historical Atmosphere

The atmosphere up to the late 1920's seemed fairly stable, with the only interests surrounding a speech by the Prime Minister of England on the limitations of naval armaments, the National Amateur Golf Championship at Pebble Beach, California, and an aviation triumph and disaster. Prohibition was dominating the scene and became quite an issue in politics. However, with the spread of industrialism in the United States came an industrial revolution in Europe. Population growth was declining in
developed countries and increasing urbanization was adding to the standard of living.

The farmers in American states were not prospering; hard times had been continuous on the farm since the post-war collapse of agricultural prices in 1921. Machinery was beginning to displace man power, the turnover of men within industries, and the shifting of men from industry to industry were making men less secure in their jobs. Then, "Black Thursday" dawned with the stock market collapse, and the nation plunged into a devastating Depression.

With the closing of the banks in both Europe and America, men everywhere could not bear the heavy burden of their failure. Most historians, however, believe that internal conditions in the United States were responsible for the Depression.

Immediate Setting of the Speech

The speech chosen for analysis was delivered at the east front of the Capitol on the vast lawns between the central building and the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., March 4, 1933, by Franklin D. Roosevelt. Around 250,000 thronged into Washington to witness the end of twelve years of Republican rule. One hundred twenty-eight American radio stations were linked for the inauguration program. The great majority of the audience seemed favorable toward Franklin Roosevelt and his cause. Flags were flown from almost every lamppost along Pennsylvania Avenue.
The March 4, 1933 Speech

It was discovered that FDR's "First Inaugural" was well organized. He used an introduction, the need step, criteria for the solutions, body, internal summary, and conclusion.

He felt that he needed to build up his own character before he could adequately communicate with his audience. He frequently identified himself and his audience with respect for human rights, with virtues of honesty and consistency, and with religious ideals. Interwoven with ethical appeal one could observe his great insight and wisdom in dealing with human beings. He attained good will by calming the fears of the people. He had a strong desire for social justice, to fulfill duty above all, and to respect American traditions. He kept the sentiments of the audience always in the foreground.

He seldom used logical proofs, but when he did he liked to develop his argument from example, analogy, and causal relationship. He developed these examples, analogies, and causal relationships in crystal-clear, common language. He didn't use the testimony of others to support his argument.

His main proposition throughout the speech was a call for action, and his general end was to actuate.

He had a tenor voice with wide pitch and good intonation. His short sentences were often fused to maintain the thought. He was slow-speaking and serious. Technically, he used the Eastern dialect, but he occasionally allowed the General
American to creep in.

Gestures and movement were used only when they were appropriate in the context of the speech. He was not flamboyant, especially on this serious occasion.

Roosevelt's confidence in the future, at the time when so many people were miserable, was a tonic to a large part of the American people. He fought for the underprivileged, and people began to feel that he truly cared.

Roosevelt honestly thought that American Society could be improved. His policies were not static but dynamic.

Why would he be disliked? Fundamentally, he seemed to his enemies to be shaking the foundations of the order which they had known. He possessed a jaunty attitude toward financial matters. He favored heavy taxes on the well-to-do, and he was less concerned with a balanced budget than he was relief of the unemployed.

A successful politician must catch the drift of opinion; he seeks to anticipate the inevitable; he sometimes allows his hand to be forced and speaks out boldly. He uses personal ambitions, antagonisms, and aspirations of those with whom he must work. He gives a little here and gains a little there. FDR capitalized on those abilities effectively.
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
March 4, 1933

Introduction

I. I will speak with candor and decision (for)

A. My fellow Americans expect that.
B. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly.
C. We must honestly face the conditions in our country today.
D. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper.

II. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days (for)

A. The only thing we have to fear is fear itself (and)
B. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory.

Need

III. In the spirit--essential to victory--we face our common difficulties.

A. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels, (and)
B. Taxes have risen, (and)
C. Our ability to pay has fallen.
D. Government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income.
E. Means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade.
F. Withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side.

G. Farmers find no markets for their produce.

H. Savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

I. A host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence; an equally great number toil with little return.

IV. We still have much to be thankful for.

A. Our perils are not so great (for)
   1. Our distress comes from no failure of substance (for)
   2. We are stricken by no plague of locusts.

B. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it.

V. The rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed (for)

A. They have been stubborn.

B. They have been incompetent.

C. They have been unscrupulous.

D. Their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition.

E. Faced by the failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money.

F. Stripped by the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have proposed only out-dated ideas, they have resorted to exhortation, pleading tearfully for restored confidence.

G. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers.

H. They have no vision.

VI. Happiness lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort (for)
A. (It) lies not in the mere possession of money (and)

B. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer
must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent
profits.

C. Our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but
to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

D. We must recognize the falsity of material wealth
as a standard of success.

E. We must abandon the false belief that public office
and high political position are to be valued only
by the standards of pride of place and personal
profit.

F. There must be an end to a conduct in banking and
in business which too often has given to a sacred
trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrong-
doing.

Discussion (Body) (Satisfaction)

I. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

A. Our greatest primary task is to put people to work.
   1. This is no unsolvable problem.
   2. It can be accomplished in part by direct
      recruiting by the government itself.

B. We must frankly recognize the overbalance of
   population in our industrial centers and, by
   engaging on a national scale in a redistribution,
   endeavor to provide a better use of the land by
   those best fitted for the land.

C. (We must increase) the power to purchase the
   output of our cities.

D. (We need) definite efforts to raise the values of
   agricultural products.

E. Foreclosures of our small homes and our farms
   must be prevented.

F. The cost of Federal, State, and local governments
   should be drastically reduced.

G. Relief activities should be unified.
H. National planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character would help.

I. There must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people’s money.

J. There must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

Internal Summary of Domestic Policy

II. There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several states (for)

A. We must put our own national house in order and make income balance outgo.

B. (This) is the way to recovery. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

III. In the field of world policy I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor (for)

A. The (good) neighbor resolutely respects himself.

B. Because he does so, he respects the rights of others.

IV. If we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline (for)

A. We realize now as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other (and)

B. Without such discipline no leadership becomes effective.

C. With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Practicability of his Plan

V. Action in this image and to this cause is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited (for)
A. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form.

B. It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us (but)

C. It may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from the normal balance of public procedure (and)

D. (Should this occur) I shall ask Congress for broad executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

Conclusion (Action)

I. We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm, courage of the national unity.

II. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

III. The people of the U.S. have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action.

IV. I accept their gift of a leadership which will provide discipline and direction.

V. In this dedication of a nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide us in the days to come.
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunken to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds faces serious curtailment of income; the means
of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence.
They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. They know that the joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it can not live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.
Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which to-day are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are so many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the
old order; there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

There are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress in special session detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home can not wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in all parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who
resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we can not merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world
has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of the national unity; with the clear consciousness
of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under their leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.
Mrs. Ronald G. Martin
2509 Caton Farm Road
Joliet, Illinois 60435

Dear Mrs. Martin:

This is in reply to your letter of March 29.

We know of no graduate thesis that has been written on the subject of Franklin Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address or of any thesis that examines this address among others.

It may be helpful for you to look at the publications listed below. The two books have material specifically on the First Inaugural. The others are on Mr. Roosevelt's speaking style in general.


Moley, Raymond. *The First New Deal.*

Schiffman, Joseph. "Observations on Roosevelt's Literary Style."


I hope that this will be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Drewry
Director
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