Franklin D. Roosevelt ranks among the greatest presidents in American history. Survey after survey of prominent historians show him listed in the company of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. In his term as president he guided the nation through two of the greatest challenges of the twentieth century, the Great Depression and World War II. His efforts laid the foundation for economic prosperity in the United States and international cooperation around the world for years to come.

Eleanor Roosevelt was, without doubt, one of the most compelling personalities of the twentieth century. Her life served as an example of tireless devotion and service to others both in the United States and around the world.

The New York State Department of Education has adopted five Social Studies Standards, these are: History of the United States and New York; World History; Geography; Economics; and Civics, Citizenship, and Government. It should come as no surprise that there were events in the lives of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt that touched on each of the themes set forth in the standards. Below, each standard has been matched to an event and document making an interesting and informative starting point for developing a case study.

I. Franklin D. Roosevelt

**Standard One: History of the United States and New York**
Franklin Roosevelt believed in serving his community. He started his political career as a State Senator and rose to become the Governor of New York State before setting off for Washington to serve as our 32nd President. While in Albany Governor Roosevelt took a keen interest in the preservation and care of the state’s natural resources as demonstrated in the inaugural address given by Governor Roosevelt on January 1, 1929.

**Standard Two: World History**
On December 7th, 1941, the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese. Within days Franklin Roosevelt found himself leading the nation in its second world war, fighting not just the Japanese, but the Germans, Italians and the rest of the Axis Forces. He addressed a frightened nation, describing the events on December 7th as a ‘date that will live in infamy and pledged himself and the nation to absolute victory.

**Standard Three: Geography**
Franklin Roosevelt believed that the nations of the world were drawn together by far more than what set us apart from each other. Borrowing from the ideals of Woodrow Wilson, he envisioned an organization that would unite the nations of the world in the peaceful pursuit
of solutions to our common problems. In 1943 he created a sketch of how the United Nations might be organized.

Standard Four: Economics
Franklin Roosevelt came to office at a time of great economic crisis. One in five Americans depended on charity or state and local relief to get by. The stock market was down 75% from its 1929 levels and the banking system was on the verge of collapse. Immediately upon taking office Roosevelt declared a “Bank Holiday” and set out to stabilize and reorganize the faltering system. Less than a week later he addressed the nation, in what would be the first of his ‘fireside chats’, to explain the banking crisis and the actions he was taking to correct it.

Standard Five: Civics, Citizenship, and Government
Franklin Roosevelt believed in the individual freedoms set forth for all Americans in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. As country after country fell to tyranny in the decade of the 1930s FDR began to see these rights in more universal terms. In January 1941 he set forth a vision of a world founded on what he described as four essential human freedoms. Roosevelt defined these as: “freedom of speech and expression,” “freedom of every person to worship God in his own way,” “freedom from want,” and “freedom from fear.”

II. Eleanor Roosevelt

Standard One: History of the United States and New York
Eleanor Roosevelt believed in equal opportunity for all American citizens. When Franklin Roosevelt became stricken with polio, Eleanor became more active in the State political realm, attending meetings, giving speeches and making sure that her husband was not forgotten. In the process she developed a keen sense of the role women could and should play in politics. In 1926 she presented her views in article in Red Book Magazine in which she described her views.

Standard Two: World History
Eleanor Roosevelt shared Franklin Roosevelt’s vision of a world united to end human suffering. She worked to achieve this goal at the United Nations. Her greatest accomplishment at the UN was the creation and adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Standard Three: Geography
Eleanor Roosevelt traveled a great deal as First Lady of the United States and in her post White House career as “First Lady of the World” – an honorary title given to her by President Harry Truman. During World War II, she took a 10,000 mile, 5 week South Pacific trip to boost the morale of the Allied troops fighting there.
Standard Four: Economics
Eleanor Roosevelt was always concerned with the welfare of the poor. She was a leading champion of the *Arthurdale resettlement community* in West Virginia. This was a planned community designed to improve the economic, educational, and esthetic quality of life for destitute coal mining families.

Standard Five: Civics, Citizenship, and Government
Eleanor Roosevelt believed that each of us held an important stake in the effective operation of our democracy. With our rights as citizens comes a responsibility to stand up for the rights of others. In 1939 she sent a letter of *resignation from the Daughters of the American Revolution* in protest of their refusal to allow African-American singer Marion Anderson perform at an event held at Constitution Hall.
Franklin D Roosevelt

Standard One: History of the United States and New York

EDITORS:
The following Inaugural Address of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt is hereby released at noon, Tuesday, January 1st, 1929, unless otherwise ordered by wire. It must not be quoted from, referred to, or commented upon in any manner prior to that time.

Governor and Mrs. Smith, Mr. Secretary of State, my friends:

This day is notable not so much for the inauguration of a new Governor as that it marks the close of the term of a Governor who has been our Chief Executive for eight years.

I am certain that no Governor in the long history of the state has accomplished more than he in definite improvement of the structure of our state government, in the wise, efficient and honorable administration of its affairs, and finally in his possession of that vibrant understanding heart attuned to the needs and hopes of the men, the women and the children who form the sovereignty known as “the People of the State of New York.”

To Alfred E. Smith, a public servant of true greatness, I extend on behalf of our citizens our affectionate greetings, our wishes for his good health and happiness and our prayer that God will watch over him and his in the years to come.

It is a proud thing to be a citizen of the State of New York, not because of our great population and our natural resources, nor on account of our industries, our trade, or our agricultural development, but because the citizens of this state more than any other state in the union, have grown to realize the inter-dependence on each other which modern civilization has created.

Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill has come a willingness on our part to give as well as to receive, to aid, through the agency of the state, the well-being of the men and women who, by their toil, have made our material prosperity possible.

I object to having this spirit of personal civil responsibility to the state and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as “humanitarian.” It is far more than that. It is the recognition that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependency on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the “self-supporting” man or
woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved. Consider the bread upon our table, the clothes upon our backs, the luxuries that make life pleasant; how many men worked in sunlit fields, in dark mines, in the fierce heat of molten metal, and among the looms and wheels of countless factories, in order to create them for our use and enjoyment.

I am proud that we of this state have grown to realize this dependence, and, what is more important, have also come to know that we, as individuals, in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us. To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the factories and to insure them a fair wage and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them by adequate insurance for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill, to pursue with strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time, by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All of these great aims of life are more fully realized here than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go; but during the last six years in particular, the people of this state have shown their impatience of those who seek to make such things a football of politics or by blind unintelligent obstruction, attempt to bar the road to Progress.

Most gratifying of all, perhaps, is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this higher civilization, for, first of all, has been the need to set our machinery of government in order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money we must continue the efforts to simplify and modernize. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. The modernization of our administrative procedure, not alone that of the state, but also of those other vital units of counties, of cities, of towns and of villages, must be accomplished; and while in the unit of the state we have almost reached our goal, I want to emphasize that in the other units we have a long road to travel.

Each one of us must realize the necessity of our personal interest, not only toward our fellow citizens, but in the government itself. You must watch, as a public duty, what is done and what is not done at Albany. You must understand the issues that arise in the Legislature, and the recommendations made by
your Governor, and judge for yourselves if they are right or wrong. If you find them right it is your duty as citizens on next election day to repudiate those who oppose, and to support by your vote those who strive for their accomplishment.

I want to call particularly on the public press of this state in whose high standards I have the greatest confidence, to devote more space to the explanation and consideration of such legislation as may come up this year, for no matter how willing the individual citizen may be to support wise and progressive measures, it is only through the press, and I mean not only our great dailies but their smaller sisters in the rural districts, that our electorate can learn and understand what is going on.

There are many puzzling problems to be solved. I will here mention but three. In the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste on their paths toward the sea, enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers’ homes—power which nature has supplied us through the gift of God. It is intolerable that the utilization of this stupendous heritage should be longer delayed by petty squabbles and partisan dispute. Time will not solve the problem; it will be more difficult as time goes on to reach a fair conclusion. It must be solved now.

I should like to state clearly the outstanding features of the problem itself. First, it is agreed, I think, that the water power of the state should belong to all the people. There was, perhaps, some excuse for careless legislative gift of power sites in the days when it was of no seemingly great importance. There can be no such excuse now. The title to this power must vest forever in the people of this state. No commission, no, not the Legislature itself has any right to give, for any consideration whatever, a single potential kilowatt in virtual perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever. The Legislature in this matter is but the trustee of the people, and it is their solemn duty to administer such heritage so as most greatly to benefit the whole people. On this point there can be no dispute.

It is also the duty of our legislative bodies to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into usable electrical energy and distributed to them at the lowest possible cost. It is our power; and no inordinate profits must be allowed to those who act as the people’s agents in bringing this power to their homes and workshops. If we keep these two fundamental facts before us, half of the problem disappears.

There remains the technical question as to which of several methods will bring this power to our doors with the least expense.
Let me here make clear the three divisions of this technical side of the question.

First, the construction of the dams, the erection of power houses and the installation of the turbines necessary to convert the force of the falling water into electricity.

Second, the construction of many thousands of miles of transmission lines to bring the current so produced to the smaller distributing centers throughout the state; and

Third, the final distribution of this power into thousands of homes and factories.

How much of this shall be undertaken by the state, how much of this carried out by properly regulated private enterprises, how much of this by some combination of the two, is the practical question that we have before us. And in the consideration of the question I want to warn the people of this state against too hasty assumption that mere regulation by public service commissions is, in itself, a sure guarantee of protection of the interests of the consumer.

The questionable taking of jurisdiction by Federal courts, the gradual erosion of a body of court made law, the astuteness of our legal brethren, the possible temporary capitulation of our public servants and even of a dormant public opinion itself, may, in the future, as in the past, nullify the rights of the public.

I, as your Governor, will insist, and I trust with the support of the whole people, that there be no alienation of our possession of and title to our power sites, and that whatever method of distribution be adopted there can be no possible legal thwarting of the protection of the people themselves from excessive profits on the part of anybody.

On another matter I tread perhaps a new path. The phrase, “rich man’s justice,” has become too common nowadays. So complicated has our whole legal machinery become through our attempt to mend antiquated substructures by constant patching of the legal procedure and the courts that justice is our most expensive commodity. That rich criminals too often escape punishment is a general belief of our people. The difficulty with which our citizens maintain their civil rights before the courts has not been made a matter of such public notice but is equally serious. It is my hope that within the next two years we will have begun to simplify and to cheapen justice for the people.

Lastly, I want to refer to the difficult situation to which in recent years a large part of the rural population of our state has come. With few exceptions it has not shared in the prosperity of the urban centers.
It is not enough to dismiss this problem with the generality that it is the result of changing economic conditions. It is time to take practical steps to relieve our farm population of unequal tax burdens, to install economies in the methods of local government, to devise sounder marketing, to stabilize what has been too much a speculative industry; and, finally, to encourage the use of each acre of our state for the purpose to which it is by nature most suited. I am certain that the cities will cooperate to this end, and that, more and more, we as citizens shall become state-minded.

May I, as your newly elected Governor, appeal for your help, for your advice, and, when you feel it is needed, for your criticism? No man may be a successful Governor without the full assistance of the people of his own commonwealth.

Were I as wise as Solomon, all that I might propose or decide would be mere wasted effort, unless I have your constant support. On many of the great state questions that confront us, the platforms and the public pledges of candidates of both parties are substantially agreed. We have passed through a struggle against old-time political ideas, against antiquated conservatism, against ignorance of modern conditions, marked by serious disagreements between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the government. As I read the declarations of both parties in asking the support of the people at the polls, I can see little reason for further controversies of this kind.

There is a period in our history known in all our school books as the “Era of Good Feeling.” It is my hope that we stand on the threshold of another such era in this state. For my part, I pledge that the business of the state will not be allowed to become involved in partisan politics and that I will not attempt to claim unfair advantage for my party or for myself, for the accomplishing of those things on which we are all agreed.

You have honored me greatly by selecting me as your Chief Executive. It is my hope that I will not fail you in this critical period of our history. I wish that you may have a continuance of good government and the happiest of New Years.
PROPOSED MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Yesterday, December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy, the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at the moment at peace with that nation and was continuing the conversations with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific. Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing in Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent message, from the Secretary. This reply contained a statement that diplomatic negotiations must be continued at an end. It contained no threat or hint of armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of 5,000 miles between Hawaii and Japan make it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days ago. During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.
The attack yesterday on Pearl Harbor and on the Island of Oahu has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition American ships have been torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu.

Yesterday the Japanese Government also launched an attack against Malaya. Japan has, therefore, undertaken a surprise offensive extending throughout the Pacific area. The facts of yesterday speak for themselves. The people of the United States have already formed their opinions and well understand the implications these attacks bear on the safety of our nation.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense.

Long will we remember the character of the onslaught against us.

No matter how long it may take us to overcome this perilous invasion the American people will in their righteousness and might win through to absolute victory.
I speak the will of the Congress and of the people of this country when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will see to it that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again. Hostilities exist. There is no mcing the fact that our people, our territory and our interests are in grave danger.

I, therefore, ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday, December seventh, a state of war exists between the United States and the Japanese Empire.
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Standard Three: Geography

ILD - Health
Eggs - Food

By FDR
at Tehran
Nov 30, 1943
I want to talk for a few minutes with the people of the United States about banking— with the comparatively few who understand the mechanics of banking but more particularly with the overwhelming majority who use banks for the making of deposits and the drawing of checks. I want to tell you what has been done in the last few days, why it was done, and what the next steps are going to be. I recognize that the many proclamations from State Capitols and from Washington, the legislation, the Treasury regulations, etc. couched for the most part in banking and legal terms should be explained for the benefit of the average citizen. I owe this in particular because of the fortitude and good temper with which everybody has accepted the inconvenience and hardships of the banking holiday. I know that when you understand what we in Washington have been about I shall continue to have your cooperation as fully as I have had your sympathy and help during the past week.

First of all let me state the simple fact that when you deposit money in a bank the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money in many different forms of credit—bonds, commercial paper, mortgages and many other kinds of loans. In other words, the bank puts your money to work to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around. A comparatively small part of the money you put into the bank is kept in currency—an amount which in normal times is wholly sufficient to cover the cash needs of the average citizen. In other words the total amount of all the currency in the country is only a comparatively small proportion of the total deposits in all of the banks.

What, then, happened during the last few days of February and the first few days of March? Because of undermined confidence on the part of the public, there was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into currency or gold. — A rush so great that the soundest banks could not get enough currency to meet the demand. The reason for this was that on the spur of the moment it was, of course,
impossible to sell perfectly sound assets of a bank and convert them into
cash except at panic prices far below their real value.

By the afternoon of March 3 scarcely a bank in the country was open
to do business. Proclamations closing them in whole or in part had been
issued by the Governors in almost all the states.

It was then that I issued the proclamation providing for the nation-
wide bank holiday, and this was the first step in the Government's recon-
struction of our financial and economic fabric.

The second step was the legislation promptly and patriotically passed
by the Congress confirming my proclamation and broadening my powers so
that it became possible in view of the requirement of time to extend the
holiday and lift the ban of that holiday gradually. This law also gave
authority to develop a program of rehabilitation of our banking facilities.

I want to tell our citizens in every part of the Nation that the national
Congress—Republicans and Democrats alike—showed by this action a devotion
to public welfare and a realization of the emergency and the necessity for
speed that it is difficult to match in our history.

The third stage has been the series of regulations permitting the
banks to continue their functions to take care of the distribution of food
and household necessities and the payment of payrolls.

This bank holiday while resulting in many cases in great inconvenience
is affording us the opportunity to supply the currency necessary to meet
the situation. No sound bank is a dollar worse off than it was when
it closed its doors last Monday. Neither is any bank which may turn
out not to be in a position for immediate opening. The new law allows
the twelve Federal Reserve banks to issue additional currency on
good assets and thus the banks which reopen will be able to meet
every legitimate call. The new currency is being sent out by
the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in large volume to every part
of the country. It is sound currency because it is backed by
actual, good assets.

Another question you will ask is this—why are all the banks
not to be reopened at the same time? The answer is simple.
Your Government does not intend that the history of the past few
years shall be repeated. We do not want and will not have another
epidemic of bank failures.

As a result we start tomorrow, Monday, with the opening of banks
in the twelve Federal Reserve bank cities—those banks which on first
examination by the Treasury have already been found to be all right.
This will be followed on Tuesday by the resumption of all other
functions by banks already found to be sound in cities where there are
recognized clearing houses. That means about 250 cities of the
United States.

On Wednesday and succeeding days banks in smaller places all
through the country will resume business, subject, of course, to the
Government's physical ability to complete its survey. It is
necessary that the reopening of banks be extended over a period in
order to permit the banks to make applications for necessary loans,
to obtain currency needed to meet their requirements and to enable
the Government to make common sense check ups.
Let me make it clear to you that if your bank does not open the first day you are by no means justified in believing that it will not open. A bank that opens on one of the subsequent days is in exactly the same status as the bank that opens tomorrow.

I know that many people are worrying about State banks not members of the Federal Reserve System. These banks can and will receive assistance from member banks and from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These state banks are following the same course as the national banks except that they get their licenses to resume business from the state authorities, and these authorities have been asked by the Secretary of the Treasury to permit their good banks to open up on the same schedule as the national banks. I am confident that the state banking departments will be as careful as the National Government in the policy relating to the opening of banks and will follow the same broad policy.

It is possible that when the banks resume a very few people who have not recovered from their fear may again begin withdrawals. Let me make it clear that the banks will take care of all needs except, of course, the hysterical demands of hoarders—and it is my belief that hoarding during the past week has become an exceedingly unfashionable pastime. It needs no prophet to tell you that when the people find that they can get their money—that they can get it when they want it for all legitimate purposes—the phantom of fear will soon be laid. 

[Signature]

[Initial] More
where it will be safely taken care of and where they can use it conveniently at any time. I can assure you that it is no safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress.

The success of our whole great national program depends, of course, upon the cooperation of the public—on its intelligent support and use of a reliable system.

Remember that the essential accomplishment of the new legislation is that it makes it possible for banks more readily to convert their assets into cash than was the case before. More liberal provision has been made for banks to borrow on these assets at the Reserve Banks and more liberal provision has also been made for issuing currency on the security of these good assets. This currency is not fiat currency. It is issued only on adequate security—and every good bank has an abundance of such security.

One more point before I close. There will be, of course, some banks unable to reopen without being reorganized. The new law allows the Government to assist in making these reorganizations quickly and effectively and even allows the Government to subscribe to at least a part of new capital which may be required.
I hope you can see from this elemental recital of what your government is doing that there is nothing complex, or radical in the process.

We had a bad banking situation. Some of our bankers had shown themselves either incompetent or dishonest in their handling of the people's funds. They had used the money entrusted to them in speculations and unwise loans. This was of course not true in the vast majority of our banks but it was true in enough of them to shock the people for a time into a sense of insecurity and to put them into a frame of mind where they did not differentiate, but seemed to assume that the acts of a comparative few had tainted them all. It was the Government's job to straighten out this situation and do it as quickly as possible -- and the job is being performed.

I do not promise you that every bank will be reopened or that individual losses will not be suffered, but there will be no losses that possibly could be avoided; and there would have been more and greater losses had we continued to drift. I can even promise you salvation for some at least of the sorely pressed banks. We shall be engaged not merely in reopening sound banks but in the creation of sound banks through reorganization.
It has been wonderful to me to catch the note of confidence from all over the country. I can never be sufficiently grateful to the people for the loyal support they have given me in their acceptance of the judgment that has dictated our course, even though all our processes may not have seemed clear to them.

After all there is an element in the re-adjustment of our financial system more important than currency, more important than gold, and that is the confidence of the people. Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; it is up to you to support and make it work.

It is your problem no less than it is mine. Together we cannot fail.

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A part of the sacrifice means the payment of more money in taxes. In my budget message I recommend that a greater portion of this great defense program be paid for from taxation than we are paying today. No person should try, or be allowed, to get rich out of this program; and the principle of tax payments in accordance with ability to pay should be constantly before our eyes to guide our legislation.

If the Congress maintains these principles, the voters, putting patriotism ahead of pocketbooks, will give you their applause.

In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression — everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way — everywhere in the world.
The third is freedom from want -- which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants -- everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear -- which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor -- anywhere in the world.

That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.

To that new order we oppose the greater conception -- the moral order. A good society is able to face schemes of world domination and foreign revolutions alike without fear.
Women Must Learn to Play the Game As Men Do

By Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Women have been voting for 5 years, but have they achieved actual political equality with men? No. They go through the gesture of holding up the vote, their votes are solicited by politicians; and they possess the external trappings of equal rights. But it is mostly a gesture without real power. Women are a few of the important exceptions, who have come into politics in recent years, and have actually influenced legislation. Women leaders, generally, are treated most courteously, but are not what they want, what they hope for, is regarded as of little weight. In fact, they have to actual influence or say at all in the consequent councils of their parties.

In small things they are listened to, but when it comes to having say in important things, they generally and they are up against a blank wall. This is true of local committees, state committees, and the national organizations of both major political parties.

From all over the United States, women of both camps have come to me, and their experiences are practically the same. When meetings are to be held at which important matters are to be decided, the women members are often not invited. When they are notified of meetings, important matters are to be decided, they generally find all the things that have been prepared and prepared, without consultation with them, and it is a council of the men beforehand. If they have objections to proposed policies or candidates, they are arbitrarily overruled. They are not allowed to run for office to any appreciable extent, and if they propose candidates of their own sex, reasons are usually found for their elimination which, while diplomatic and polite, are just pretenses nevertheless.

In those circles which decide the affairs of national politics, women have no voice or power whatever. On the national committee of each party there is a woman representative from every state, and a woman appears as vice-chairman. Before national elections they will be told to organize the elections they are asked to help in later.

Politically, as a sex, women are generally "thrown out" from any intrinsic share of influence in their parties. The machinery of party politics has always been in the hands of men, and still is. Our statements and legislators are still kept in form as the successors of the early warriors gathering round the camp-fire plotting the next day’s attack. Yet, there have been feasts indicating they are willing to take women into the high councils of the parties. But, in fact, the women who have come
The political game will tell you they are excluded from any actual kind of important participation. They are called upon to produce votes, but they are kept in ignorance of noteworthy plans and affairs. Their requests are seldom refused outright, but they are put off with a technique that is an art in itself. The fact is that generally women are not taken seriously. With certain exceptions, men still as a class dismiss their consequence and value in politics, cherishing the old-fashioned concept that their place is in the home. While women’s votes are a factor to be counted upon, and figure largely in any impending campaign, the individual women who figure in party councils are regarded by their male co-workers as having no real power back of them. And they haven’t.

Men who work hard in party politics are always recognized, or taken care of in one way or another. Women, most of whom are voluntary workers and not at all self-seeking, are generally expected to find in their labor its own reward. When it comes to giving the offices or dealing out favors, men are always given precedence.

They will ask women to run for office now and then, sometimes because they think it politic and wise to show women how generous they are, but more often because they realize in advance their ticket cannot win in the district selected. Therefore they will put up a woman, knowing it will injure the party less to have a woman defeated, and then they can always say it was her sex that defeated her. Where victory is certain, very rarely can you get a woman nominated on the party ticket.

Of course there are women all over the United States who have been elected to high and important offices. There are three women in Congress; there have been two woman governors; and women sit in various State legislatures and hold State offices. In New York City one could cite several who have not only been elected but who have conducted themselves in office with ability and distinction. But does that indicate any equal recognition or share in political power? Infinitely more examples come to mind of women who were either denied a nomination or who were offered it only when inevitable defeat stared the party leaders in the face.

When, some years ago, it came to putting women on the Democratic State Committee in New York, only two outstanding men openly approved of the move. A number were willing, but a great many more were indifferent. Governor Smith wanted woman on the committee, believing they had something to contribute, and that they should have recognition for what they could do. Quite unlike Governor Smith, many other men come to mind who hold important positions of power in New York State. They deal with the women in a spirit of most deferential courtesy; but as many of us know, they heartily dislike the idea of women mixing in politics, are antagonistic to those who are active, and can be depended upon to do all in their power to render the women’s influence negative.

Beneath the veneer of courtesy and outward show of consideration universally accorded women, there is a widespread male hostility—age-old, perhaps—against sharing with them any actual control. How many excuses haven’t I heard for not giving nominations to women? “Oh, she wouldn’t like the kind of work she’d have to do!” Or, “You know she wouldn’t like the people she’d have to associate with—that’s not her job for a nice, refined woman.” Or more usually: “You see, there is so little patronage nowadays. We must give every appointment the most careful consideration. We’ve got to consider the good of the party.” “The good of the party” eliminates women!

When no women are present at the meetings, the leaders are more outspoken. (Continued on page 74.)
"No, we're not going to have any woman on the ticket," declared one leader according to a report once made to me. "These fool women are always making trouble, anyway. We won't have any we don't have to have, and if we have one, let's get one we can understand."

It is a strong and liberal man, indeed, who speaks on behalf of the women at those secret conclaves, and endeavors to have them fairly treated.

To many women who fought so long and so valiantly for suffrage, what has happened has been most discouraging. For one reason or another those women who carried the early fight to success have dropped out of politics. This has been in many ways unfortunate. Among them were women with gifts of real leadership. They were exceptions to high types of women, idealists concerned in carrying a cause to victory, with no aim of personal advancement or gain. In fact, attaining the vote was only part of a program for equal rights—an external gesture toward economic independence, and social and spiritual equality with men.

When the franchise was finally achieved, their interest was not held by any ambition for political preeminence or honors. To learn the intricate machinery of politics and play the man's game left them cold. The routine of political office held no thrill. One of the most prominent of those early crusaders today gives her energies to campaigning for women's rights. By nature a propagandist, it would be impossible to interest her in either of the parties. Another woman, who donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to the cause, frankly admits she has never even cast a vote. She considers the situation, with women coping with men in the leading and men creatively hopeless. Like many others, she regards suffrage as an empty victory, equal rights, a Farce, and the vote a gesture without power.

An extreme point of view, in my opinion. They have no need of us—and not the one advocated by certain militants who hold aloof from the body with which I believe, the end of a fair representation and share in control may be attained.

Personally, I do not believe in a Woman's Party. A woman's ticket could never possibly succeed. And to crystallize the issue on the basis of sex-opposition would only further antagonize men, compel their age-old prejudices, and widen the chasm of existing differences.

HOW, then, can we bring the men leaders to concede participation in party affairs, adequate representation and real political equality?

Our aim is to elect, accept and back women political bosses.

To organize as women, but within the parties, in the clubs, and States just as men organize, and to pick efficient leaders—say two or three in each State—whom we will support and by whose decisions we will abide. With the power of united women voters behind them, such women bosses would be in a position to talk in terms of "business." Women in business are needed, and the votes of their convinced districts, would be heard, because their authority and the elective power could command what would have to be recognized.

Women are today ignored largely because they have no hallowed unity under representative leaders and spokesmen capable of dealing with the boss of the party. Our helplessness is that of an incoherent anarchy.

Perhaps the word "boss" may shock sensitive ears. To many it will conjure all that is unhealthy and corrupt in our political machinery. Yet when I speak of women bosses, I mean bosses actually in the sense that men are bosses. The term boss does not necessarily infer what it once did. Politics have been purged of many of the corruptions prevalent a quarter of a century ago. In neither of the political parties are there many, if any, such bosses, great or small, as were such common types in the heyday of Quay and Tweed. As things are today, the boss is a leader, often an enlightened, high-minded leader, who retains little of the qualities imputed by the old use of this odious word, but who still exercises authority over his district. I therefore use the word, as it is the word men understand.

If women believe they have a right and duty in political life today, they must learn to talk the language of men. They must not only master the phraseology, but also understand the machinery which men have built up through years of practical experience. Against the men bosses there must be woman bosses who can talk as equals, with the backing of a coherent organization of women voters behind them.

Voters who are only voters, whether men or women, are only the followers of leaders. The important thing is the choosing of leaders.

We must be fair, and admit the blame for our present ineffectuality in politics does not lie wholly with the men. If we are still a negligible factor, ignored and neglected, we must be prepared to admit in what we have ourselves failed.

The trouble with many women is that they want work. They want to take up their jobs as men do and put in seven or eight real working hours a day. They lack knowledge, and at that many would take the pains to study history, economical, political methods or get out among human beings. If they take up voluntary political job, it is a thing of constant interruptions, with no room for concentration, compensation, business efficiency or order.

One of the reasons why men leaders so often do not consider as important what a woman says is that they do not feel sure she has been active among the mass of women voters and has learned what they want. In fact, many women do make the mistake of "talking out of a blue sky" instead of going about, mixing with women, and getting their point of view from close personal contact and practical experience. When a man leader says his followers want certain things, the men higher up realize that he knows what he is talking about, and that he has gone through his district.

There are two classes of men in politics—those who know it is a game or relaxation, and those for whom it is a business. Most of the latter are small office-holding politicians, bosses of small groups of men. At their head are men who are deeply interested in the good of their country as they see it, and who often for patriotic reasons hold government offices for a time. But you will find as a rule that their first interest is in some other career in which they have made a name, worked their best and hardest, and gained the wherewithal to live and support their families. Politics—public service—is something apart.

Women are different. Many of them have no professional careers. If they go into politics it is usually because of some interest which they realize is dependent on government action. I know women who are interested in education, in health conditions in the improvement of rural life, in social problems, in housing, and all active in politics.

Savagely he fought the Sea Wolf to save her!

MADDENED at the sight of her frail strength, Wolf was driven to save her, save the sea wolf! There he faced the door. All appeared lost when...
because they have come to realize by that way they may further their particular cause. Politics is like a game to them because they haven’t had the same training for games as men, and their first contact with great groups of people and politics is an exciting and disturbing experience, not to be taken lightly but almost gravely.

In this I am not speaking of the small army of women who are trained in some profession, some of whom hold minor political offices, and a few of whom hold positions of importance in the party. Some of these have attained the stature of men, and meet them on the same ground. Then there are women, as there are men, who frankly are in politics for what they can get out of it. I remember one woman who had worked hard in an organization and was denied recognition in the tangible way she desired—namely, a paid job. Whereupon she announced she was going over to the opposing political party, where, when they wished to reward a worker, they could make a job if one was not available at the time.

This attitude is comparatively rare, however, because most women working in all political organizations are volunteers. Their motives for being volunteers may be mixed. I am not saying that as a sex we have a monopoly of disinterested desire to serve our country. Human nature is much the same in men and women. But the fact remains that the great mass of women working in political organizations across all of this country are unpaid, and they are so far allowed to do the detail work which bores the men.

The average home a woman’s job is full of interruptions; and so, unless she sets out to methodize her life, she is apt to go through many waste motions. Now many volunteer political workers come out of such unorganized homes. When the children are small, if she has any little help in her homes, the mothers cannot do outside work. But as the children grow up—or in rare cases before they are married—they may turn to politics as an outside interest. If they are women of means and have help at home, they may still have led disorganized lives, for of necessity they are home and children make unexpected demands.

I should not want the average woman, or the exceptional woman for that matter, who well as it could. “I don’t think Philip Helm would,” she said; “he didn’t seem like that to me. I thought he was terribly proud and all that.”

“Well, he’ll need to,” said Botsford sarcastically.

“Dick think you’re awfully unfair,” said Bob. “Botsford was not to be moved from his satisfaction.

“Get me a paper, will you?” he asked the waiter.

“Your paper was on the floor. I didn’t see it.”

“Then take it and go on your way.”

“This is certainly a headline. Etcetera, etcetera.”

“Sentiment will of late David Ranger. Beloved men should earn more money. Niece gets large money from her father.

“He must have been rich!”

“Oh, he was. Why shouldn’t he be? He never spent anything. I knew him very well.”

“Carroll’s parents were quite a lot of people. They had a daughter, didn’t they?”

“What’s the date of the will?” asked Lily, amazingly intelligent.

“About fourteen months ago.”

“Then it was before Carroll was married!” My mother said a glance that she was surprised that Mr. Ranger had brought a man and gave him what money he had—they had a lot of trouble about it.”

“Some other time, Dick,” said Lily, “do you want noise? They’ve got that, and some Chinese pleasant too—business this month.”

“All right. Don’t say that the whole
Preamble

We, the Peoples of the United Nations,

1. Considering that ignorance and contempt of human rights have been among the principal causes of the sufferings of humanity and, in particular, of the massacres which have polluted the World during the World Wars; and

2. Whereas there can be no peace unless human rights and freedoms are respected; and there can be no human freedom or dignity, unless war and the threat of war is abolished; and

3. Whereas the institution of conditions wherein human beings, free to speak and believe, will be protected against fear and want has been proclaimed as the supreme aim of the recent strife; and

4. Whereas, in the Charter of June 26th, 1945, we have reaffirmed our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in equality of the rights of men and women; and

5. Whereas it is one of the purposes of the United Nations to achieve international cooperation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; and

6. Whereas the enjoyment of such rights and freedoms by all persons must be protected by the Constitutions of nations and secured by international as well as national laws;

Now, therefore, we the Peoples of the United Nations have resolved to define in a solemn Declaration the essential rights and fundamental freedoms of man, so that this Declaration, being for ever present to the minds of all members of the human community, may constantly remind them of their rights and duties and that the United Nations...
Organization and the Member States may constantly apply the principles so declared; and

Have therefore adopted the following Declaration:

CHAPTER I

Article 1 - Human beings belonging to the community of Mankind are free of equal dignity and rights and must consider themselves as brothers.

Article 2 - It is the duty of every community to give each of its members equal opportunity for the full development of his physical, intellectual and moral personality, without one being sacrificed to others.

Article 3 - As human beings cannot live and develop themselves without the help and support of the community, each one owes to the community fundamental duties which are: obedience to law, exercise of a useful activity, willful participation in obligations and sacrifices demanded for the common good.

Article 4 - The rights of each one are limited by the rights of others.

Art. 2 Sec. Draft and U.S.

Article 5 - Law is equal for all. It commands to public authorities and judges as well as to individuals. Everything that is not prohibited by law cannot be legally prevented.

CHAPTER II

The right to life and physical integrity.

Article 6 - Everyone has the right to life and physical integrity. No one, even when guilty, shall be subjected to torture, to cruel punishment or to indignity.

CHAPTER III

Personal Liberties

Article 7 - Everyone has the right to personal liberty.
May I have the distances between the following places

San Francisco to Honolulu 2085
Honolulu to Christmas Island 1158
Christmas to Penryhn Island 662
Penryhn to Aitutaki 704
Aitutaki to Tutuila, Samoa 710
Samoa to Fiji 670
Fiji to New Caledonia 718
New Caledonia to Auckland, N.Zealand 976
Auckland to Wellington 240
Wellington to Rotorua, N.Zealand 180
Rotorua back to Auckland 68
Auckland to Sydney, Aust. 1163
Sydney to Canberra 160
Canberra to Melbourne, Aust. 250
Melbourne to Sydney 410
Sydney to Rockhampton 640
Rockhampton to Cairns 510
Cairns to Brisbane 780
Brisbane to New Caledonia 794
New Caledonia to Efati and Espiritu Santo 294

{ Espiritu to Guadalcanal 520
Espiritu to Wallis and Christmas 1400
Christmas Island to Honolulu 1158

Eleanor Roosevelt
Standard Three: Geography
going to feel ashamed to have been so near Guadalcanal and not to have gone there. I'll send the package to Rose Franken's boy on New Guinea because in spite of my pleas General McArthur refuses to let me go there.

The Admiral had a dinner tonight. There's a full programme laid out for tomorrow as weather forecasts are bad and we don't leave till the next day for New Zealand. This will go off tomorrow.

- - - - - - -

My last letter was written I think from Noumea. The Navy says this envelope will go from here soon by one of their planes. You will now begin to see daily a chronicle of my doings in the paper, but since they may be changed or cut out I am sending you the copies. I sent Joe two packages and a note from Noumea and tell Trude I told the man who promised to see to their delivery that the packages were valuable.

The trip here was smooth and we came at once to Wellington. The round is much the same daily -- hospitals, Red Cross clubs, camps, factories, etc. I did the important broadcast tonight so that is behind me. Tomorrow night we leave and go to receive a Maori welcome. Then another night by train to Auckland. The same round there. Jean Macaulay wired that her boy was in a hospital in Auckland and I am trying to find out which one. (I located him and went to see him and reported back to his mother.)

Rotorua was an interesting experience. The leading
citizen, Princess Te Pua met us. The head guide known as Rangi was at hand to escort us around the Maori area. She wanted to greet me in accordance with their custom and asked my permission which of course I gave. The meaning of this greeting is that you touch foreheads and intellect speaks to intellect. She is really quite a brilliant woman and really quite witty and said some things that interested me very much and made us all laugh. The park is somewhat like our Yellowstone in miniature and has geysers and hot and cold springs. One area is used by the people for their cooking. They have their own "holes" in which they put their pots and I remarked that they were very trusting and I wondered if no one ever stole from any one else. Whereupon Rangi looked at me and said: "Our children are taught never to steal", which made me feel there was something we could learn from the Maori. She gave me an interesting mask and a skirt made out of flax and took me to her home which was quite delightful and modern in every way. Some of our party went to see the fish which like everything else in New Zealand, though they were imported from the United States, are now said to be the biggest fish of whatever variety you may look at, to be found anywhere in the world. These were trout, I think, of a size which would astonish any fisherman at home.

In the evening they put on a dance for us and sang some of the Maori songs. It was a very colorful occasion and I can quite well understand how much our troops
have enjoyed being entertained by them. The Maoris invited them in groups of 300 or more, fed them, gave them a place to rest in the council hall, and entertained them on Sundays from the first landing in New Zealand. I am sure that there are a great many of our boys who will go home with a real sense of gratitude for the hospitality these people have shown them. Many of the Maori women work in factories and on farms throughout New Zealand and they are strong and healthy. They have little charms which they give their men when they go off to war and the superstition is that they will return as long as they keep this charm. I obtained several of these little charms and they will be pretty trinkets to give to people whom one hopes very much to see again. (Photos were taken of the greeting which caused a great deal of adverse comment after I got home.)

On the third we will go to Australia and I'll be there until the 16th and then back to Noumea and I still hope to Guadalcanal. I will be several days late in getting back to San Francisco but as I have no word from anyone I wonder if they are keeping you informed of my whereabouts. Be sure to arrange for my trip across to Washington or to New York via James if he is home. I feel a hundred years away as though I were moving in a different and totally unattached world. I don't like it much, it is a pity to be doing this when the zest for things is so largely gone. It is terribly depressing too I guess, though one isn't conscious of it at the time.

Everyone is more than kind. Do tell C.R. (Smith)
and FDR that George Durna is most thoughtful and helpful and I hope F. will write him a letter and tell him how much I appreciate all he is doing.

The Red Cross needs more people to do the work out here. They need quicker action on cases. They need an understanding that the Navy and Army are set up differently and require a different set up.

George Carlin (United Feature Syndicate) cabled me today for copy and I can't imagine what has happened since I've been sending right along, filed two columns on arrival here and another on each day.

September 1st - Auckland

I am sending itineraries and the columns cover all activities, so a diary seems hardly worth while. I wrote several personal letters today and I'll try to get others off in the near future.

A radio came from FDR today saying the Quebec conference was successful. Elliott was still home and the reaction to my trip favorable, but F. never reads the unfavorable people so I'm anxious to hear from you. I wonder if I ever will!

Every minute of every day is filled and every evening but I'm fine and nearly half the time is behind me. I dread Australia and there are so many speeches I'll be talked out. George Durno tells me if he thinks things are well received or not, and that has been helpful. Not having you to watch audiences is a drawback. The mail
Eleanor Roosevelt
Standard Four: Economics

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
Arthurdale, West Va.
September 18, 1937

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

The following is the employment report of the Arthurdale Community for the week ending: September 18, 1937

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arthurdale Association</th>
<th>Homesteaders</th>
<th>47</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sons, daughters &amp; Wives</td>
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<table>
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<th>Management Division</th>
<th>Homesteaders</th>
<th>51</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homesteaders making</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School furniture</td>
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<table>
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<th>Homesteaders</th>
<th>20</th>
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<tr>
<th>Vacuum Cleaner Plant</th>
<th>Homesteaders</th>
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<tr>
<th>Shirt Factory</th>
<th>Wives, daughters and a son of homesteaders</th>
<th>30</th>
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</table>

*Closed down while changing models; expect to open around Oct 1st.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn R. Work,
Acting Community Manager
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C. 20500

14 WU 61 10


Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt:

Thinking of you with love and gratitude on your birthday.

Homesteaders of Arthurdale.

[Signature]
February 26, 1939.

My dear Mrs. Robert Jr.

I am afraid that I have never been a very useful member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, so I know it will make very little difference to you whether I resign, or whether I continue to be a member of your organization.

However, I am in complete disagreement with the attitude taken in refusing Constitution Hall to a great artist. You have set an example which seems to me unfortunate, and I feel obliged to send in to you my resignation. You had an opportunity to lead in an enlightened way and it seems to me that your organization has failed.

I realize that many people will not agree with me, but feeling as I do this seems to me the only proper procedure to follow.

Very sincerely yours,