Part 3: Introduction to the FDR Memorial

Background. The Franklin Roosevelt Memorial, the newest Presidential memorial on the National Mall, has a long and colorful history. Its outdoor design and garden-like treatment are fresh, and as a result, visitors act differently and expect a greater degree of freedom here than at our more "traditional" memorials. Therefore, it offers Rangers unique rewards and poses unusual challenges.

The FDR memorial is quite large, meandering across a 7.5 acre tract of land. This presents interpreters with a great opportunity to conduct extended walking tours. Many Rangers will entertain visitors for an hour or more during interpretive talks. Also, many visitors will expect to learn about the shrubs and trees within the memorial.

A high percentage of visitors will be those people who lived through the Great Depression and WWII. These people are very cognitive of their suffering during those harsh days of our history. This is their history as much as it is FDR's. They will recount stories of their experiences that will enhance your understanding and appreciation of their times and their resilience.

Younger generations will neither remember nor comprehend the events of those far-away times, and they will see the memorial as a water park or climbing center—a place to run, climb, and enjoy the frivolous interests of youth. Your diplomacy skills will be tested as you wrestle with such displays of invincibility. Don't ignore or condone unsafe antics--unfortunately, dozens of visitors injure themselves each year on the granite boulders.

Thirty-two years later, in May, 1997 the memorial took its place in Washington, D.C., alongside other Presidential memorials. The overall structure was designed by Lawrence Halprin, but the memorial also incorporates the work of prominent American artists Leonard Baskin, Neil Estern, Robert Graham, Thomas Hardy, George Segal, and master stone-carver John Benson.

Shortly after President Clinton dedicated the FDR Memorial in 1997, Congress mandated an addition to it: a statue of FDR, seated in a wheelchair. In January, 2001, architect Halprin and artist Robert Graham joined President Clinton to dedicate the new statue and forecourt. These additions further enhance our understanding of the life, challenges, spirit, and accomplishments of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the man and president.

Daily and Standard Operating Procedures for Duty at the FDR Memorial. Rangers will normally open and close this memorial at 8:00 AM and 12 midnight. Rangers should open and close restrooms, as appropriate. However, ensure that the housekeeping staff has finished cleaning the restrooms and that they are safe for visitor use. Rangers will also open/ close the visitor center, position appropriate signs, stock brochures and check the condition of the memorial and complete the inspection checklist for the site.

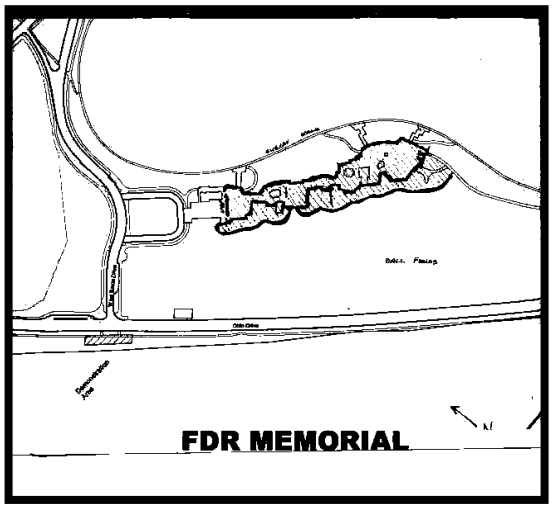
Special equipment. There are several water alarms which we must monitor. Periodically check the alarm panel located in the Ranger break room behind the bookstore. If there are any problems with the plumbing, waterfalls, or water alarms, contact the on-site plumber. Check the site log book for contact numbers. This memorial also has a computerized lighting control system. Contact the on-site plumber if there are problems as he also manages this program.

Currently, CFR 36, US Code does not recognize the FDR Memorial. Therefore, the memorial grounds are not technically designated as a restricted area. However, we treat the paved areas of the memorial as a restricted area and manage them appropriately. Because of the outdoor design, we do make an exception for pets--we allow pets to walk through this space as long as owners keep them on leashes.

Because this memorial is different (it's outside, it's more of a garden than a building, etc.) the Site Manager drafted an internal memorandum to better explain staff procedures at the FDR memorial. See Staff Memorandum "FDR Memorial Visitor Do's and Don'ts" and Visitor Services SOP #5 "Dealing with the Media: All Sites/ National Mall" for specific guidance.

A few of the items we should keep in mind:

- We do not allow climbing on walls. If they are safe and orderly, people can climb on the jumble of rocks in Room Three.
- We do not allow wading in pools (although people can dangle feet in the water).
- We do not allow smoking, eating, and/ or drinking.
- We do not allow skateboarding, running, cycling, in-line skating, or similar activities.
- Media and commercial video crews cannot conduct live shots, "stand-up" commentaries with sound, or interviews in the area bounded by the walls and granite paving stones.



FDR restricted area, per Site Manager's Memorandum

Twenty Most Frequently Asked Questions.

1) What are the pillars and panels in room 2? Entitled "Social Programs", this is the artist's way of showing the various New Deal agencies and their impact on America.

2) Where are the bathrooms? There are bathrooms at both ends of the Memorial.

3) Where can I find a pay phone? There are two phones in front of the Memorial on west side of the ceremonial driveway, closest to the river.

4) Where can I catch a Taxi? You will se a taxi stand along the east side of the ceremonial driveway, along West Basin Drive.

5) Where can I get something to eat or drink? There are concession stands at the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials.

6) Where is the nearest water fountain? We have drinking fountains at the front, rear and middle of the Memorial.

7) Where is the Lincoln Memorial? A half-mile to the north, about a 15 minute walk. Cross Independence Avenue, turn left for a block then turn right at French Drive.

8) Where is the Vietnam Veterans Memorial? The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a 20-minute walk to the north, near Bacon Drive and Constitution Avenue, just past and to the right (east) of the Lincoln Memorial.

9) Where is the Korean War Veterans Memorial? You will find the Korean War Veterans Memorial just before and to the right (east) of the Lincoln Memorial.

10) What are the statues made of? All of the artwork in the FDR Memorial are made of bronze.

11) Where is the stone from? The pinkish carnelian granite came from Milbank, South Dakota. The gray stone came from Minnesota.

12) How long has this Memorial been here? This opened on May 2, 1997.

13) What is the dog's name? He was named Fala.

14) Can I play in the water? No, for safety reasons, we do not allow any playing or wading in these pools. You may however, dangle your feet in the water.

15) Who designed the Memorial? This is the work of world renowned landscape architect Lawrence Halprin.

16) How much did this cost? NPS records indicate that it cost $48.5 million, of which about $5.6 million came from private donations.

17) Where is the WW II Memorial? You will see the plaque that commemorates the future site of the WWII Memorial at the east end of Reflecting Pool, between the Rainbow Pool and 17th Street.

18) Where is the statue of the wheelchair? It's in the new forecourt, dedicated on 10 January, 2001.

19) Where is the Jefferson Memorial? You can visit the Jefferson Memorial by

continuing to the southeast, along the Tidal Basin sidewalk, about a 10-minute walk.

20) Is there any significance to the water and the waterfalls? Yes. The memorial commission made this one of the design requirements because water played a key role in FDR's life. Each water element has a somewhat different theme and message, subject to the visitor's interpretation.

Description of the Cultural Resource.

Origins of the Memorial. When FDR died in April, 1945, the nation was still pre-occupied by the terrible, final battles of the Second World War, and subsequently, the rebuilding of Europe and individual lives. And although the nation went into mourning for their fallen leader, there was no immediate move to commemorate his contributions in the way of a national memorial. Congress introduced a bill to authorize the creation of an FDR Memorial Commission in 1946, but it was not passed for another nine years!

The First FDR Memorial. The FDR Memorial we see in West Potomac Park is neither the first tribute to our 32nd President nor one that he expected. A simple metal plaque marks the location of a more modest and less-known FDR Memorial near the Pennsylvania Avenue entrance of the National Archives. The stone itself reads "In Memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt 1882-1945."

In September 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt called his friend, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter to the White House and asked him to remember the wish he then expressed: "If any memorial is erected to me, I know exactly what I should like it to be. I should like it to consist of a block about the size of this (putting his hand on his desk) and placed in the center of that green plot in front of the Archives. I don't care what it is made of, whether limestone or granite or whatnot, but I want it plain without ornamentation, with a simple carving, 'In Memory of…' "

In 1965, despite the fact that Congress had a small group of the President's living associates fulfilled his wish by providing and dedicating this modest memorial on the twentieth anniversary of his death, April 12th. This memorial was financed by their private donations.

Congressional Resolutions. So where did the story of the national memorial begin? Although introduced in 1946, Congress did not approve creation of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission until 1955. As they looked about for ideas, the commission members encouraged prospective designers to study:

> *"the character and work of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to give us the theme of a memorial that will do him the honor he deserves and transmit his image to future generations."*

By 1958, the FDR Memorial Commission, advised by a panel of seven architects, had reviewed five potential sites ranging from the current location of the Hirshhorn Museum, the Naval Hospital along 23rd Street and West Potomac Park. They unanimously selected an appropriate and fitting 27-acre site in West Potomac Park. The Commission of Fine Arts approved the site that same year.

Design Competition. Congress mandated that the FDR Memorial Commission would hold a competition for a memorial design, but probably had no idea how long the process would take or the debate it would evoke. According to architect Lawrence Halprin, the commission set these basic criteria:

- That the landscape solution harmonize with the beauty of the existing park-like setting.
- That water-play be a significant element of the memorial environment.
- That no major structure dominate the site.
- That an image or images of Roosevelt were appropriate.
- That the existing recreational areas be retained.

Historian Sue Kohler of the Commission of Fine Arts describes the design competitions for the FDR Memorial in the book The Commission of Fine Arts, A brief History 1910-1990:

The Memorial Commission held a competition for the design in 1960 and selected a jury which looked at nearly six hundred entries. The winning design was entered by the architectural firm of Pedersen and Tilney of New York, assisted by Norman Hoberman and Joseph Wasserman. In January 1962 their proposals were presented to the Commission of Fine Arts. The memorial consisted of eight large concrete stele set at various angles to each other in the landscape. Excerpts from Roosevelt's speeches were to be inscribed on the (165-foot tall) stele.

A number of prominent architects and sculptors spoke at the meeting. Their statements ranged from enthusiastic support to absolute rejection. Pietro Belluschi, an architect who was on the jury, referred to the memorial as the first one sponsored by the Government in which "the expression is not derivative but creative". Philip Johnson, another, well-known architect, called the design "the epitome of mid-century art" and supported the architect's choice of concrete as the material. He said: "This is not a stone conception and should not be carried out in stone."

Douglas Haskell, editor of Architectural Forum, spoke of the relationship of the memorial to Roosevelt the man:

> *We have here a man [Roosevelt] whose approach to problems was most extraordinary . . . He got pieces here, there, put them together in a manner that seemed at random and, lo and behold, the results were lasting . . . This, in architecture, is those pieces brought together in a manner which strikes us first as tentative and then, as you live with it longer, comes in on you....*
>
> *Now, also, as we all know, Roosevelt was a man who was enamoured of nature. This is supremely a monument which fits into nature.*

There were other speakers who reacted in quite the opposite way to the design. John Harbeson, President of the National Academy of Design, said:

> *In our opinion this design is not worthy to express the President who led this country in a great war… To be such a leader in difficult times he had to*

understand the value of order, of organization.

In our opinion there is no order in this design, it is a disorganized agglomeration of ugly forms, slabs of different sizes and shapes, not a symbol of greatness.

After these statements the Commission discussed the proposed memorial and decided to postpone any decision until the following meeting so they could further consider the design and the advisability of constructing it in concrete. The initial reaction of the members was that while it had definite merit as a design, the memorial would be too large in scale-- the tallest stele was 165 feet high.

They questioned whether it would relate harmoniously with the Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson monuments and if it had that feeling of repose and permanence so essential to a memorial or was too transitory in effect. There were also serious reservations about the use of concrete would it be lasting or would it inevitably develop disfiguring cracks?

In February, CFA members made a site inspection and were convinced that the scale of the memorial was too large. A conference was held with representatives of the engineering firm working with the architects to discuss the technical aspects of constructing the memorial in concrete. The architect was also questioned about the design. At this time he said that the Memorial Commission had made the inclusion of some kind of likeness of Roosevelt mandatory, and there would have to be alterations to accommodate this. At the conclusion of the meeting a statement was issued which said, in part:

The members of the Commission of Fine Arts, after careful consideration of the design, chosen by the jury, for the proposed memorial to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, agreed unanimously to withhold their, approval, without prejudice, for the following reasons:

1. The design does not conform with the requirements of Public Law 86-214, which provides that "the competition for the proposed memorial shall be carried out so as to insure that it will be harmonious as to location, design and land use, with the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Memorial and the Lincoln Memorial".

a. As to "location", the design, by its great size and height, competes with, rather than supplements, the three memorials with which it is required to be "harmonious".

b. As to "design", it is lacking in the repose, an essential element in memorial -art, and the qualities of monumental permanence that are the essence of the three memorials with which it must by law conform.

2. Materials. The Commission questions the durability of the materials that are suggested for its execution.

At a Congressional appropriations hearing in June, 1962 the Chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, David E. Finley, re-stated these views and also said the Memorial Commission's requirements for the inclusion of a statue or bas-relief of President Roosevelt in the memorial was an afterthought, and not compatible in

scale with the monumental stele of the winning design. He stated that since the Commission of Fine Arts had not approved this design it could not recommend an authorization of funds to erect it.

In October, the House rejected the authorization and in a joint resolution with the Senate asked the Roosevelt Memorial Commission to work with the Commission of Fine Arts to see if the design could be modified so that it could be approved; or to consider another design from those submitted, as an alternative; or a "living memorial", such as an educational institution, stadium, park, or other suitable project

At the December meeting the members decided first to explore the possibility of modifying the winning design. A meeting was held with the architect and the possibility of reducing the height and changing the material discussed. The Commission did not feel its function was to give specific suggestions about changes in design but said only that the memorial should be more harmonious with the other major monuments in the area. Mr. Pedersen was, asked to submit sketches and agreed to do so.

It was not until October 1963 that Mr. Pedersen again appeared before the Commission of Fine Arts. By this time there was an almost totally new membership. Hideo Sasaki, the landscape architect member, was the only one remaining of the group that had seen the design previously. The new members looked at the original design; and while some believed it should be erected and others were doubtful that it could be changed without destroying its integrity, a decision was made to visit the site and talk with the architect before coming to any conclusion.

Subsequently, the Commission met with members of the Memorial Commission, the architect and the sculptor. Mr. Pedersen told the Com- mission members he was confident he could alter his design so that it would meet with their approval. In discussing the Commission's objections, he stated first that there was no question in his mind as to the appropriateness or durability of concrete. As to the relationship of this memorial to others in the area, he said it was meant to be complementary; they are closed and this would be open-a fluid element in the landscape. He felt his memorial definitely had a feeling of repose and was not transitory; it was, however, repose in twentieth century terms. He thought the stele themselves exhibited a timeless feeling. As to height, he had said earlier that the tallest of the stele could be reduced thirty to forty feet without harming the design.

In May 1964 the Commission saw his revised version. It was smaller in scale, and the relationship of the stele had been changed somewhat to accommodate a statue of Roosevelt within the memorial. The material was still to be cast concrete. The members decided to study the design for a month; in June they voted, in a split decision, to approve the memorial in its revised version.

After the vote, during the course of the meeting, the Chairman announced that he had received a telephone call from James Roosevelt saying that the Roosevelt family was opposed to the erection of either the original or the revised design and did not think any alteration could make it acceptable to them. They felt another

approach should be made by the Memorial Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts; and if no agreement had been reached by 1 January 1965, the Memorial Commission should be discharged and the Commission of Fine Arts empowered to select another design and make its recommendations to Congress. The family also said it would like to see the memorial treated as a garden area in the nature of an arboretum of principal American trees. The Commission members thought the Roosevelt family should make its feelings known to Congress, which would be the final judge; they did not think the telephone call should affect the vote they had just taken. The Chairman was authorized to send a letter to the Chairman of the Roosevelt Memorial Commission informing him of the Commission's approval of the revised design.

No further action was taken on the Pedersen and Tilney memorial. In January 1967 the Memorial Commission presented a new proposal by Marcel Breuer and Herbert Beckhard, architects. This was also a large scale, open-air memorial, planned for the same site and in conjunction with a National Rose Garden. It consisted of a paved area with a large dark granite cube in the center on which was etched a photo- graphic likeness of President Roosevelt. Rotating around this center element at 45 degree intervals were seven large triangular slabs of granite. Recorded portions of Roosevelt's speeches would be heard in a small area around the portrait. Paving and benches would also be of granite.

The Commission members discussed the design with the architect and then among themselves. There was a unanimous feeling of strong opposition to this design. There was a general dislike of the slabs and the way they were arranged on the site, having no particular function. There was opposition also to the photographic method of etching the likeness of the President and to the use of recordings of his speeches. The press release that day said, in part:

> *The Commission feels that such a memorial requires the highest standard of artistic achievement and significance. The pro posed design does not fulfill either criteria.*
>
> *The Commission has studied all aspects of the plan and reached its conclusion with great reluctance, aware of the many difficulties that have been faced by the designer and the Roosevelt Memorial Commission.*

The FDR Memorial and the CFA reviewed a new design for the FDR Memorial a number of times during the 1970's. The design by landscape architect Lawrence Halprin of San Francisco, proposed for a site in Potomac Park, was first seen in 1975; at that time the Commission of Fine Arts considered it much too large and architectural for the tranquil site on the river's edge.

Responding to the criticism, Mr. Halprin reduced the size and revised the design over a period of years. The appropriate commissions finally approved a revised Halprin design in 1979--a considerably scaled-down version of the original, it was a monumental landscape design with numerous water features and bas-relief sculptures that would depict events in the President's life.

Winning Design and Designer. In 1974, the FDR Memorial Commission selected Lawrence Halprin to submit a design for the FDR Memorial. His design, encompassing 7.5 acres in a park-like setting, falls along one of the lines defined by the 1901 Senate Park Commission (McMillan) plan which recommended future sites for memorials and monuments around L'Enfant's avenues.

As we enter the memorial, we are greeted by a towering and massive granite wall that evokes feelings of strength, durability, and stability. This is merely one in a series of walls that meander along the Tidal Basin, creating a continuum of four connected rooms in which we can see inscriptions from FDR's speeches. The threshold of each room is adorned with an inscription that identifies the specific term and its dates. Thus, the historical record of FDR's presidency is carved in stone and chronologically presented. The stone walls and powerful words are enhanced and animated by bronze statues and bas-relief panels. Moreover, we find a beautiful outdoor garden, highlighted by thundering waterfalls and flowering plants.

Architect's Ideas and Themes.
Lawrence Halprin describes his design in his book The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial. The following passages from that book convey some of his more key ideas:

Earlier presidential memorials had taken their inspiration from forms of the past. They harkened back to classical Greek, Roman, and even Egyptian imagery… I wanted to find a new approach which could express the unique characteristics of FDR's presidency. And it seemed to me that the most remarkable characteristic was the multitude of crises he encountered and overcame.

In the FDR Memorial I hoped to evoke as many emotions and approaches as I could. I wanted the experience of this Memorial to reveal the dramatic story that unfolded during President Roosevelt's four terms, the twelve years when he was president of the United States. His was a hero's journey—from the urgency of his first term of office and the New Deal, through his struggles to overcome the Great Depression, through the trauma of World War II, and finally to his search for an honorable and everlasting peace.

I decided that only a slow-paced, personal experience, which would take place over sufficient time, could transmit the importance of this era to future generations.

I also recognized that the wall would become the spine of the Memorial…it would not only establish physical shape, but could also support and carry the other major elements which would give content to the Memorial—sculpture, quotations, fountains, and plantings.

Halprin explained that these walls would separate the "secular" space adjacent to the Potomac River where people sought recreation from the "sacred" space within the Memorial that would honor FDR. In fact, the FDR Memorial Commission thought this was so significant that they ordered Halprin to add an opening in his design that would allow visitors to look out upon those fields and the beautiful Potomac River vista.

His design called for the walls to create four rooms, and each room would house a theme. He consulted with his team of supporting artists and agreed upon these themes:

- *The first-term room would concentrate on the FIRST 100 DAYS OF FDR'S PRESIDENCY.*
- *The second-term room would deal with the social issues of the day—the GREAT DEPRESSION and UNEMPLOYMENT.*
- *The third-term room would concentrate on WORLD WAR II.*
- *The fourth-term room would be devoted to PEACE and there would be a strong reference to the United Nations.*
- *The Prologue (forecourt), a year 2001 addition, is the result of public outcry, not part of the architect's original concept. It captures the truth surrounding Roosevelt's paralysis and points to his persistent will to move beyond a physical disability.*

Halprin believed sculptures would:

…humanize the experience, give historical content to the Memorial, evoke some real appreciation in visitors of the tremendous impact these events had on the people who lived through them.

Winning Designer. Mr. Halprin is one of the most celebrated environmental designers. His projects range from designs for rapid transit systems to university campuses, from new cities to civic redevelopment, from large-scale land developments and inner-city parks to small private gardens.

Among them are:

- Sea Ranch on California's central coast, representing the application of town planning principles to an exquisite rural landscape designed with extraordinary sensitivity to the natural environment
- San Francisco's Ghirardelli Square, which involved restoring old buildings for new uses
- Seattle's Freeway park, a sensitive re-making of a freeway into recreational space
- Walter & Elise Haas Promenade in Israel, a 1-1/2 mile stone walkway overlooking the Old City of Jerusalem

There is a happy confrontation of people and architecture in his designs. Mr. Halprin's major focus, and one for which he has become famous, is the participation of people in his landscapes. The design of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial brings together his desire to make environments through his art, emphasizing the beauty of the urban landscape and the participation and enjoyment of those who experience it.

Construction Timeline of the FDR Memorial.

August, 1955: Public Law 84-372 establishes the FDR Memorial Commission.

September, 1959: Public Law 86-214 reserves the site in West Potomac Park and provides for a design competition.

1960 & 1966: Memorial design competitions are held. Both times the designs are abandoned due to design shortfalls.

March, 1978: Both the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts approve Lawrence Halprin's Memorial design.

July, 1982: President Reagan signs Public Law 97-224, authorizing appropriations for and construction of the Memorial.

September, 1991: Memorial groundbreaking ceremony takes place.

August, 1992: Congress appropriates "seed money" to help the Commission raise $10 million in private funds to supplement federal appropriations.

January, 1993: Memorial commission initiates Capital Campaign to raise $10 million.

Fall, 1993: President Clinton and former Presidents Bush, Carter, Ford, and Reagan serve as Honorary Co-chairs of the FDR Memorial Commission.

October, 1994: Workers began Memorial construction.

May 2, 1997: President Clinton dedicated the Memorial.

July 24, 1997: Senate passed Joint Resolution 29 which directed the Secretary of the Interior to recognize FDR's use of wheelchair.

January 10, 2001: President Clinton dedicates new statue of FDR.

Memorial Statistics. (Pre-forecourt)
Number of granite stones: 31,269

Weight of stone: 12 million pounds

Quarry location: (Carnelian/ red granite) Millbank, SD, along the Minnesota/South Dakota state line

Depth of steel pilings below ground: 80 feet

Artwork in the Memorial.

Bronzes/ Statues. A search for the most talented and appropriate sculptors for the Memorial began in the spring of 1977. Lawrence Halprin conducted a nationwide search for skilled artisans and eventually narrowed the list down to 22 sculptors. Of those, he selected five: Leonard Baskin, Neil Estern, Robert Graham, Tom Hardy and George Segal.

One of the objectives of this selection process was to choose figurative sculptors who worked in a range of styles in order to bring interest and variety to the work done for the Memorial. Since the Memorial itself is a work of abstract environmental sculpture, it needed the emotional and subjective content of figurative sculpture in order to evoke the vigor and feeling of the Roosevelt years.

In order to bring unity to this diversity of talents, a single sculptural material was chosen -- bronze. As one of the most enduring sculptural materials, bronze is particularly appropriate for the Memorial and is harmonious with the reddish carnelian granite of the walls as well as the many water effects and abundant plantings.

After the selection of the artists, Mr. Halprin held a series of workshops with the artists to integrate their talents into the Memorial design. During these sessions, the artists became involved with decisions regarding the emotional

choreography of the design, the exact locations for the art and the assignment of individual thematic events to each artist. The workshops were intense, demanding and creative. The cooperative efforts created an integrated memorial composed of mutually supporting elements: historical context, natural environment, design, art, plantings, and the words of President Roosevelt.

•**The Prologue or Forecourt Art.** A new bronze statue of FDR rests in the recently completed forecourt at the northern entrance to the memorial. At the 10 January, 2001 dedication ceremony, President Clinton, two grandchildren of FDR, architect Lawrence Halprin, and artist Robert Graham unveiled the art, which depicts FDR seated in a wheelchair that he helped design from a kitchen chair and bicycle wheels. In attendance were numerous members of the National Organization for the Disabled and many physically challenged citizens.

This chamber and statue came into being because of controversy that surrounded the other statue of FDR by Neil Estern (Room Three) explained in a July 3, 1998, Washington Post article “Expansion Planned for the FDR Memorial” by Jennifer Lee:

The year-old FDR Memorial will be expanded to include a fifth outdoor room, which will contain a life size statue of the former President sitting in a wheelchair, Vice President Gore announced yesterday. The addition will fulfill a promise made by the White House to defuse demonstrations before the Memorial opened last year.

The bronze sculpture will be created by California artist Robert Graham and will be paid for by private funds. The new sculpture of Roosevelt probably will be based on one of two known photographs of Roosevelt in a wheelchair. It will be placed in a new room representing his life before the White House.

Critics of the proposal to depict Roosevelt in a wheelchair said the President took extreme measures to hide his disability from the American public. He often arrived at events long before the public to avoid being seen in a wheelchair.

Today, we see FDR's likeness captured in this bronze, his jaw characteristically jutting forward and his physical weakness finally and openly displayed for all to see and contemplate. Eleanor Roosevelt's words grace the granite wall to the west and set a new tone for the memorial, patience and perseverance.

•**Room One Art.** As soon as visitors enter the Memorial, they will view the unadorned, bronze eagle of "The Presidential Seal" by Tom Hardy, based upon and inspired by the actual variation of the seal that accompanied FDR at his first inaugural.

Further into the first-term room, people can gaze upon "The First Inaugural" by Robert Graham-- a bas-relief sculptural panel that captures the excitement and energy of the new President as his motorcade winds through the crowd on his first day as head of the nation.

•**Room Two Art.** From the threshold that identifies this room, visitors can see three different statues by artist George Segal. They depict the era of The Great Depression. The pieces are entitled:

- "The Fireside Chat"
- "The Rural Couple"
- "The Breadline"

Segal's Rural Couple and Breadline.

Midway through Room Two, visitors will encounter "Social Programs," by Robert Graham. This elaborate and often-perplexing exhibit depicts programs which were part of FDR's New Deal. The sculptural panels cover one wall and face a quincunx (five columns) that bear the same images, in reverse.


The Social Programs, by Robert Graham

New Deal Program List. The western-most panel (near the "Fireside Chat" niche) includes a list of many New Deal Programs. Forty-five programs are shown in the lower right-hand corner of this bronze panel.

Braille. Many visitors immediately notice the braille "writing". Graham says the braille characters are both symbolic (of the Roosevelt administration's concern for those in need) and functional (because the characters spell out varying New Deal program titles). The New Deal marked the first time that the U.S. government used public money to produce braille texts for the visually impaired.

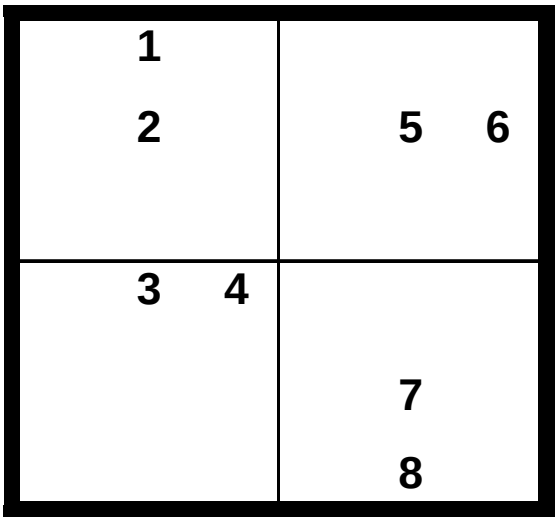

Abstract Art--Studies of the Human Form. The artist uses hundreds of faces, hands, arms, and figures, as if to capture the "melting pot" of races in our country and the spirit of the individual.

New Deal Scenes. Thirty-nine different scenes are captured on the wall reliefs and the columns, each one depicting a person working within a New Deal program or something that was created by those workers. The general theme seems to be work, progress, energy, or activity.


(Left) Scene 34: TVA Dam laborer with drill on shoulder


(Right) Scene 37: WPA--children in a WPA Art Class

Quincunx. Graham described the scenes shown on the columns as the negative (or reverse) images of the wall scenes, his way of reinforcing the positive impacts of the New Deal programs shown in the relief panels. The cylinders also draw attention to a centuries-old technique that artists have used to make impressions in clay.



Panel One, Social Programs:

1. WPA --Workers With Hands In Basket--WPA Sewing Project

2. CCC--Workers Pulling A Barrel Sprinkler--Applying Acid Solutions

3. FAP--Hands Of Artist With Hammer and Chisel in WPA Studio

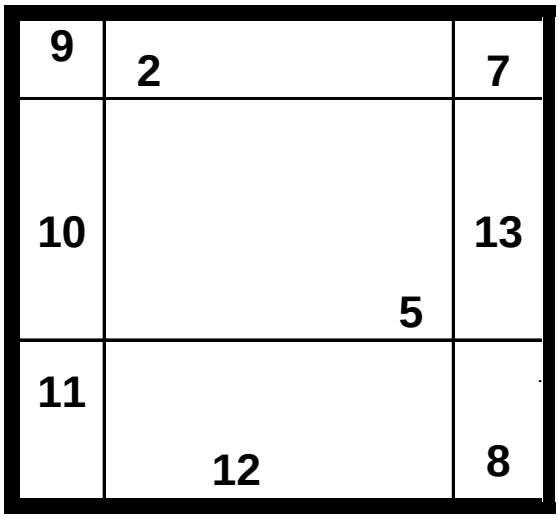
4. FSA--Farmer With Barrels of Oranges

5. TVA--Farmers Sandbagging

6. CCC--Bostonians Peeling Potatoes

7. CCC--Cook Preparing Dinner at George Washington National Forest

8. FTP--Outdoor Portable Theater Cast Making Up For "The Emperor's New Clothes"



Panel Two, Social Programs:

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5. TVA--Farmers Sandbagging

7. CCC--Cook Preparing Dinner at George Washington National Forest

8. FTP--Outdoor Portable Theater Cast Making Up For "The Emperor's New Clothes"

9. FSA--Woman Cleaning End-Grinding Machine in Factory

10. TVA--Construction Worker Catching Rivets

11. FSA--Farmer Driving a Tractor (right)

12. FAP--Artist with Pails of Paint for Mural Painting

13. CCC--Worker Planting a Tree (right)

19	22	9	32	35	14
6	30	17	6	36	24
27	3	11	7	37	39
5	25	23	33	38	15
28	26	4	34	8	13
29	31	12	21	10	1

Panel Three, Social Programs:

1. WPA --Workers With Hands In Basket--WPA Sewing Project

3. FAP--Hands Of Artist With Hammer and Chisel in WPA Studio

4. FSA--Farmer With Barrels of Oranges

5. TVA--Farmers Sandbagging

6. CCC--Bostonians Peeling Potatoes

7. CCC--Cook Preparing Dinner at George Washington National Forest

8. FTP--Outdoor Portable Theater Cast Making Up For "The Emperor's New Clothes"

9. FSA--Woman Cleaning End-Grinding Machine in Factory

10. TVA--Construction Worker Catching Rivets

11. FSA--Farmer Driving a Tractor

12. FAP--Artist with Pails of Paint for Mural Painting

13. CCC--Worker Planting a Tree

14. WPA--Doctor with Patient

15. FAP--Artist Working in WPA Graphics Shop

17. FAP--Man at Lithography Press in WPA Studio

19. FSA--Documentary Photo

21. CCC--Welders

22. CCC--Two Workers Planting Ponderosa Pine

23. WPA--Crowd Waiting for Job Assignments

24. FAP--Child in WPA Lithography Class

25. FAP--Artist Working on the Feet on a Sculpture in WPA Studio

26. FAP--Child at Work in WPA Art Class

27. FAP--Woman at Work in the WPA Design Lab for Scenic Design and Model Making

28. TVA--TVA Dam

29. TVA--Installing a Generator Stall (Propeller) at Fort Laudoun Dam

30. PWA--Armory--Minneapolis, Minnesota

31. FSA--TVA Field Representative Talking to a Farmer About Fertilizers

32. CCC--Men From Sunnyside Camp Building a Cattle Fence

33. REA--Detail of a Hand with Electrical Outlet--Wiring a House In 1937

34. TVA--Dam Laborer with Drill on Shoulder

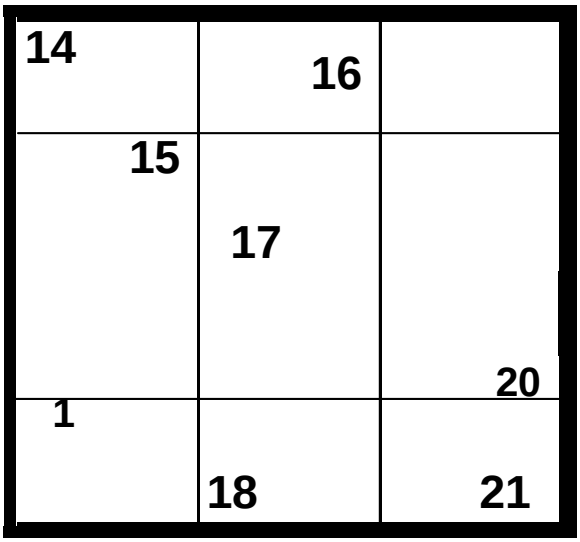
35. REA--Two Line Repair Workmen on Electric Utility Pole

36. FTP--Federal Theater Project Actors

37. FAP--WPA Art Class--Children at Work

38. TVA--TVA Dam

39. TVA--Map of the TVA Valley and Dam Sites



Panel Four, Social Programs:

1. WPA --Workers With Hands In Basket--WPA Sewing Project

14. WPA--Doctor with Patient

15. FAP--Artist Working in WPA Graphics Shop

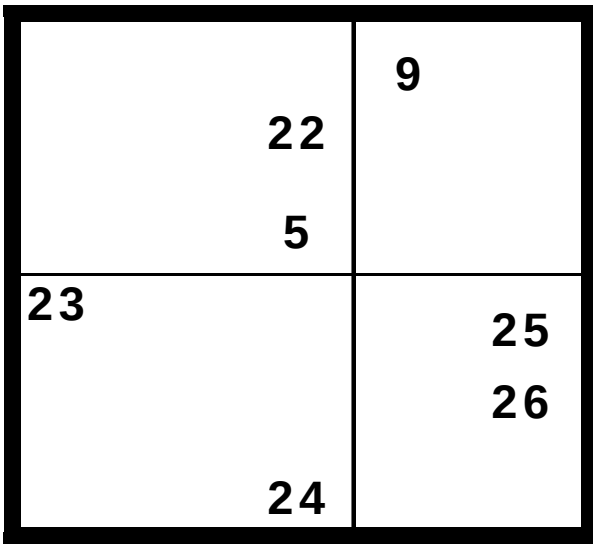
16. FAP--Artist Laying Up Plaster for Mural Painting

17. FAP--Man at Lithography Press in WPA Studio (left)

18. FAP--Artist at Work--Painting a Mural for 1939 World's Fair

20. FAP--Girl at Easel in WPA Art Class

21. CCC--Welders



Panel Five, Social Programs:

5. TVA--Farmers Sandbagging

9. FSA--Woman Cleaning End-Grinding Machine in Factory

22. CCC--Two Workers Planting Ponderosa Pine

23. WPA--Crowd Waiting for Job Assignments

24. FAP--Child in WPA Lithography Class

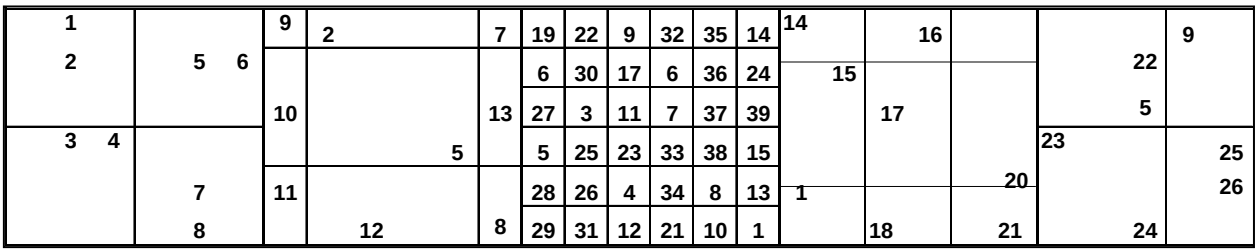
25. FAP--Artist Working on the Feet on a Sculpture in WPA Studio

26. FAP--Child at Work in WPA Art Class (left)

Programs Represented in Mural Scenes:

CCC-- Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933
REA-- Rural Electrification Administration, 1935
FSA-- Farm Security Administration, 1937
TVA-- Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933
FAP--Federal Art Project, 1933
PWA-- Public Works Administration, 1939

QUICK REFERENCE DIRECTORY TO NEW DEAL PROGRAMS AND SCENES



1. WPA --Workers With Hands In Basket--WPA Sewing Project
2. CCC--Workers Pulling A Barrel Sprinkler--Applying Acid Solutions
3. FAP--Hands Of Artist With Hammer and Chisel in WPA Studio
4. FSA--Farmer With Barrels of Oranges
5. TVA--Farmers Sandbagging
6. CCC--Bostonians Peeling Potatoes
7. CCC--Cook Preparing Dinner at George Washington National Forest
8. FTP--Outdoor Portable Theater Cast Making Up For "The Emperor's New Clothes"
9. FSA--Woman Cleaning End-Grinding Machine in Factory
10. TVA--Construction Worker Catching Rivets
11. FSA--Farmer Driving a Tractor
12. FAP--Artist with Pails of Paint for Mural Painting
13. CCC--Worker Planting a Tree
14. WPA--Doctor with Patient
15. FAP--Artist Working in WPA Graphics Shop
16. FAP--Artist Laying Up Plaster for Mural Painting
17. FAP--Man at Lithography Press in WPA Studio
18. FAP--Artist at Work--Painting a Mural for the 1939 World's Fair
19. FSA--Documentary Photo
20. FAP--Girl at Easel in WPA Art Class
21. CCC--Welders
22. CCC--Two Workers Planting Ponderosa Pine
23. WPA--Crowd Waiting for Job Assignments
24. FAP--Child in WPA Lithography Class
25. FAP--Artist Working on the Feet on a Sculpture in WPA Studio
26. FAP--Child at Work in WPA Art Class
27. FAP--Woman at Work in the WPA Design Lab for Scenic Design and Model Making
28. TVA--TVA Dam
29. TVA--Installing a Generator Stall (Propeller) at Fort Laudoun Dam
30. PWA--Armory--Minneapolis, MN
31. FSA--TVA Field Representative Talking to a Farmer About Fertilizers
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34. TVA--Dam Laborer with Drill on Shoulder
35. REA--Two Line Repair Workmen on Electric Utility Pole
36. FTP--Federal Theater Project Actors
37. FAP--WPA Art Class--Children at Work
38. TVA--TVA Dam
39. TVA--Map of the TVA Valley and Dam Sites

•**Room Three Art.** Visitors will see the large statue of FDR by sculptor Neil Estern. This bronze shows FDR, seated in a chair, with his dog Fala resting near.

Controversy over Neil Estern's FDR Statue. In a Time Magazine article of March 6, 1995 entitled "Where is the Wheel Chair?", author Hugh Sidey captured the essence of the bitter opposition to Neil Estern's statue of FDR. That article follows:

Disabled Americans are protesting the way a commission is preparing sculptures in the long delayed FDR Memorial. Disabled Americans are incensed by the fact that three FDR sculptures proposed for the new *Memorial have no sign of a wheelchair, leg braces or crutches, which were all part of FDR's support system.*

Michael Deland, a board member for the National Organization on Disability said "FDR's disability was simply too central to his being."

There are only two photos of FDR in a wheelchair out of 125,000 in the Roosevelt Library.

Architect Halprin echoes the view held so far by the Memorial Commission and the Roosevelt family "This is about Roosevelt being President," he says, "He did not wish to appear before the people as disabled. This makes him out to be who he wanted to be. To do otherwise would be a historical denial of how he felt."

The controversy will hopefully be resolved in the near future, by the end of 2000, as a new granite wall and FDR statue are added.

•**Room Four Art.** The first bronze in this room is a bas-relief sculpture, "The Funeral Cortege," by Leonard Baskin. The relief shows the artist's rendering of mourners as they walk behind the caisson which bears FDR's body on the journey from Union Station to the White House.

Past the funeral scene, one will see Neil Estern's second statue within the FDR Memorial: the statue of Eleanor, Roosevelt standing in front of a seal of the United Nations in commemoration of her role as one of the first U.S. Delegates to the U.N. This statue represents the first time a First Lady has been so honored in a presidential memorial.

Inscriptions. The powerful words of FDR and Eleanor grace each room:

Franklin's illness…gave him strength and courage he had not had before. He had to think out the fundamentals of living and learn the greatest of all lessons—infinite patience and never-ending persistence.

--Eleanor Roosevelt

This Generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny

--Acceptance of re-nomination for President, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 6/27/36

No Country, however rich, can afford the waste of its human resources. Demoralization caused by vast unemployment is our greatest extravagance. Morally, it is the greatest menace to our social order.

--Sixth Fireside Chat Washington, D.C. 9/30/34

I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a New Deal for the American People.

--Acceptance of Nomination Chicago, IL, 7/2/32

Among American citizens there should be no forgotten men and no forgotten races.

--Dedication of the New Chemistry Building Howard University Washington, D.C. 10/26/36

The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

--Inaugural Address Washington, D.C. 3/4/33

Men and nature must work hand in hand. The throwing out of balance of the resources of nature throws out of balance also the lives of men.

--Message to Congress on Use of Our Natural Resources Washington, D.C. 1/24/35

In these days of difficulty, we Americans everywhere must and shall choose the path of social justice…the path of faith, the path of hope and the path of love toward our fellow men.

--Campaign Address Detroit, Michigan 10/2/32

I never forget that I live in a house owned by all the American people and that I have been given their trust.

--Fireside Chat on Economic Conditions Washington, D.C. 4/14/38

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

-- Second Inaugural, Washington, D.C. 1/20/37

It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many states directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers.

--Suggestion for Legislation to Create the TVA Washington, D.C. 4/10/33

I propose to create a Civilian Conservation Corps to be used in simple work…more important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work.

--Message to Congress 3 Essentials for Unemployment Relief Washington, D.C. 3/21/33

We must scrupulously guard the civil rights and civil liberties of all our citizens, whatever their background. We must remember that any oppression, any injustice, any hatred, is a wedge designed to attack our civilization.

-- Greeting to American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born Washington, D.C. 1/9/40

We must be the great arsenal of Democracy.

--Fireside Chat on National Security Washington, D.C. 12/29/40

We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the twentieth century, there came a time when men of good will found a way to unite, and produce, and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance, and intolerance, and slavery, and war.

--Address to White House Correspondence Association Washington, D.C. 3/15/41

They (who) seek to establish systems of government based on the regimentation of all human beings by a handful of individual rulers…call this a new order. It is not new and it is not order.

-- Address, Annual Dinner of White House Correspondence Association Washington, D.C. 3/15/41

I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded…I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed…I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of others and wives. I hate war.

--Address at Chautauqua, New York 8/14/36

More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars.

--Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day Prepared for 4/13/45

Unless the peace that follows recognizes that the whole world is one neighborhood and does justice to the whole human race, the germs of another world war will remain as a constant threat to mankind.

--Address to White House Correspondence Association Washington, D.C. 2/12/43

Freedom of speech…Freedom of worship… Freedom from want…Freedom from fear.

-- Annual Message to the Congress Washington, D.C. 1/6/41

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one nation…it must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

--Address to Congress on Yalta Conference Washington, D.C. 3/1/45

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

--Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day Prepared for 4/13/45

Waterfalls at the FDR Memorial.
As a celebration of all aspects of Roosevelt's life, water play is one of the dominant design elements of the Memorial. Many of the popular images of Roosevelt's time showed him engaged in water-related activities. As Secretary of the Navy, swimming at Warm Springs, Georgia, or sailing at Campobello, he was intimately connected in the popular consciousness with water and the sea. He once said after his polio attack, "The water put me where I am and the water has to put me back." The Memorial responds to this facet of President Roosevelt's life.

Water, in various states of activity, threads its way continuously the length of the memorial. In still pools, flowing through runners, cascading over the granite, glimmering in sheets or splashing vigorously among stones, the use of water in the Memorial functions as does dominant theme in a novel, linking together characters and events.

Mr. Halprin meant for the sound of the water to mask the noise of commercial jetliners as they approach or depart National Airport. Water serves another real function; it provides sound to the Memorial, reinforcing and augmenting the visual elements of the site, much as the sound of a stream enhances a walk in the woods.

Halprin wrote about water in his book:

It had been a constant leitmotif (underlying pattern). *His family had come from see captains in the China trade, and FDR was born and raised at the edge of the Hudson River. He had wanted to go to the naval academy at Annapolis, instead he ended up at Harvard, where the Charles River was a significant element in the landscape. FDR was an avid sailor. And in his early political career, he was assistant secretary of the navy. Water, of course, was also related to FDR's polio.*

Water …speaks about life's basic issues—water represents nature, health power, and agricultural plenty.

The waterfall in the first-term room…recalls FDR's intricate, life-long involvement with water. Like FDR's simple and direct message regarding justice for all, the waterfall…is simple and direct in its design.

A waterfall, (in room two) *full of harnessed energy, represents the program which resulted in the electrification of a whole agricultural region, the development of flood control, and extension services for farmers. The Tennessee Valley Authority inspired the fountain in this room.*

The water interacts with the stones (in room three) *and echoes the destructive message. The flow is not calming; it is not meant to soothe as water usually does. The water here strikes broken edges and ricochets off in wild directions as id chaotically caused by the war… Pipes are broken and water spurts from amidst fragments.*

The fountain in (room four) *is dramatic, inspiring, and involving…The fountain incites feelings of expansiveness and energy…reminiscent of…when we emerged from the long years of depression and war and felt that endless opportunity lie ahead.*

Although the waterfalls and pools are inviting and symbolic, they have posed us unique problems. Washington Post reporter Linda Wheeler captured the heart of the matter in her July 23, 1997 article "No More Frolicking in FDR Pools -Park Service issues ban after Memorial becomes popular spot to wade, swim":

Lawrence Halprin designed the Presidential Memorial to encourage visitors to touch the statues, climb the granite blocks and enjoy the water in a park like setting. The Park Service decided not to enforce its usual no wading policy until officials could see how visitors behaved. For the first two months, all was well, but last week's extreme heat caused Park officials to reconsider.

The Assistant superintendent for The National Mall, Vicky Keyes, said people seemed to think of the memorial as their local pool. But the memorial's watery refuges, with their rough surfaced pavers at the bottom, were never meant for that use.

We will be asking people not to step into the pools. They can sit and dangle their feet and arms in the water, but no more swimming."

The Stone at the FDR Memorial. Many visitors are intrigued by the beautiful stone used throughout the memorial. Halprin spoke of the stone in the Memorial:

This Carnelian granite sets the tone of the Memorial. It has presence that carries an enormous feeling of deep-rooted security…it feels as if it's part of the earth.

Newspaper reporter Bill Salisbury provided substantial detail about this stone in his 4/27/97 article entitled "FDR memorial takes Minnesota for granite."

When President Clinton dedicates the new Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial here on Friday, Don Noll and seven other employees and officers of the Cold Spring Granite Co. in Minnesota will be on hand representing the firm that provided the 6,000 tons of granite that went into the capital's newest attraction.

The company cut, shaped and polished the reddish-pink carnelian granite -- enough to erect an 80-story building -- that makes up the walls, walkways, waterfalls and fountains in the meandering 7 1/2-acre park.
For Noll, Cold Spring Granite's sales representative, the dedication ceremony will cap a 22-year roller coaster ride.
In 1975, the project's designer, Lawrence Halprin of San Francisco, contacted Noll and asked to see samples of Cold Spring granite. "He wanted a memorial that would last forever," Noll, a Cold Spring native, said by phone from his West Coast office. Halprin chose the Cold Spring firm because it is the world's largest granite supplier, and it offered stone similar to that used at the Roosevelt estate at Hyde Park, N.Y.
But the project got off to a rocky start.

"It started and stopped, started and stopped, started and stopped," Noll recalled. The government would provide a little money for one step, but the funds would soon run out, and the $48 million project would be delayed until it received another infusion of cash.

"Personally, I thought it would never happen," Noll said. "I've never been involved in a project like this. Most jobs take a year or two. This one almost seems like it's been my whole life."

Ground was finally broken on West Potomac Park, between the Jefferson and Lincoln memorials, in 1991 and construction began in 1994. The Cold Spring Granite crew worked on the stone, quarried in Milbank, S.D., on and off for six years.

Cold Spring Granite has a lot of experience with big projects. It supplied the granite for the Korean War Memorial that opened on the National Mall last year, and the company has worked on several other federal projects.
Scott Munter, who managed the project for Cold Spring Granite, sounds like a guy who isn't easily impressed. When he talks about the FDR Memorial, he tends to spew facts with little emotion. But even Munter seemed in awe of this project. Asked if he had ever worked on anything like it, he replied: "Nothing of this size and magnitude." It is complicated as well as huge, including 31,000 pieces of stone and 75,000 square feet of granite pavers. "It fits together like a large-scale jigsaw

puzzle; each one of those stones is unique," he said.

The heaviest stone is a 76,000-pound foundation block in the fourth room. But Munter is most impressed with a single stone that measures 21 feet long by 6 feet high in the third room. "We call that the 'mother stone,' " he said. It got its nickname from Halprin, who called it the 'mother of all stones' when he spotted it at the quarry.

"This project was quite a challenge to our plant," Munter said. Noll is a little more sentimental about it. "I wouldn't miss the dedication ceremony," he said, adding that he's bringing his wife and two daughters with him.

"This is something that thousands of people will see, that will be in the history books, that will be here thousands of years after you and I are gone," he said.

Plants in the Memorial. As a landscape architect, Lawrence Halprin is a master at blending plantings with the overall theme of his designs. He described the FDR plantings in his book:

FDR loved trees and was deeply interested in conservation, forestry, and reforestation. He spoke of his intention to retire to a forestry practice at his home…President Roosevelt was also an avid bird watcher…I felt we should include varieties of trees that would attract birds…I was particularly interested in finding species that would provide color during the autumn months as well as using pine to lend an evergreen feeling in winter.

Spring brings a bounty of color as many of the flowering trees and shrubs bloom.

Dozens of plant species are represented at the memorial, but the following list is indicative of the more common ones:

- Japanese (red) Maples
- Sugar Maples
- Dogwood
- Black Pine
- White Pine
- Honey Locust
- Zelcova
- Burning Bush
- Crab Apple
- Akebono Cherry
- Azalea (Nancy, Glacia, Girard's Rose, Delaware Valley, Pleasant White)

Dedication Ceremony. At 9:30 AM, May 2, 1997, President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Lawrence Halprin, Secretary Babbitt, David Roosevelt, FDR's goddaughter Princess Margriet of the Royal Netherlands, Senators Inouye and Hatfield, and a host of distinguished guests assembled for the formal dedication and ribbon cutting ceremonies. The Navy band played "America the Beautiful" and the Air Force performed a military fly-by with F-15 jets.

At noon, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial was opened to the first visitors from the general public, fifty-two years after the President's death and fifty-one years after Congress had first debated a tribute to this dynamic leader.

Sketches of the Architect and Artists.

Lawrence Halprin. He was born in Brooklyn, New York in 1916. He experienced the Great Depression first-hand, and was a 16-year old high school graduate when FDR delivered his First Inaugural Address. Halprin spent time

working in a Pennsylvania coal mine and worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps.

When WW II broke, he accelerated his graduate studies at Harvard School of Design and volunteered for the US Navy. He spent several years in the Pacific aboard a destroyer. His ship, the USS *Morris* was cut in half by a Japanese warplane as they provided cover to Marines landing at Okinawa.

Leonard Baskin Mr. Baskin was born in New Brunswick, New Jersey in 1922. He passed away in 2000. Widely known as a master printmaker, draftsman, and book designer, Leonard Baskin is perhaps most highly acclaimed for his sculpture. One of the most remarkable aspects of his work is that he has remained committed to the traditional techniques of carving and modeling and continues to consider the human figure the primary motif for sculpture.

Mr. Baskin's art is characterized by the release of feelings and emotions as triggered by the forms, expressions, and subject matter he creates. His forms are taken not only from the world around him, but also from the world of the past through his knowledge of history, and from the world of his imagination through his literary expertise.

Neil Estern. Neil Estern was born in New York City in 1926. His portraits and figures attempt to go beyond a mere recording of physical characteristics. His work captures the energy or the repose, the tidiness or the rumple, the wrinkles, the tilts, the gestures and body language -those details that animate a specific personality with a presence as unique as a fingerprint.

Mr. Estern's commissioned portraits include Fiorello LaGuardia, J. Robert Taft, John F. Kennedy, J. Edgar Hoover, Jimmy Carter and Lady Diana. Mr. Estern wanted the viewer to recognize his characters and feel that he has recreated the aura of that particular personality.

Robert Graham. Robert Graham was born in Mexico City in 1938 and moved to California in 1950. He recently completed the statue of FDR in his wheelchair that was added to the FDR Memorial on 10 January, 2001. His work is an outgrowth of a long line of brilliant representative sculptors dating back to the Renaissance. When he began work on this project in 1977, he was known for his gallery work, museum shows, and innovative casting techniques. Since that time, however, he has spent much of his career in expanding his work into monumental bronze pieces that are cast by his own production team.

With the installation of the "Olympic Gateway" at the entrance to the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum for the 1984 Olympic Games, Graham's stature as a prominent sculptor of monumental civic work was assured. He created a public monument in Detroit to Joe Louis, commissioned by Time, Inc., Sports Illustrated and has worked on the Duke Ellington Memorial in New York's Central Park.

Tom Hardy. Tom Hardy was born in Redmond, Oregon in 1921. The welded bronze sculptures of Tom Hardy are in his words "nature oriented" and "involve as subject matter many aspects of the natural world in semi-abstract expressions." Hardy feels special indebtedness to the world's prehistoric cave paintings for their sense of lively simplicity and movement,

aspects which he embodies in his sculptures and drawings.

Mr. Hardy's major works are mainly found on the West Coast from the Federal Building in Juneau, Alaska to the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion in Los Angeles. His works are also included in museum collections throughout the United States.

George Segal. George Segal was born in New York City in 1924. He died in 2000, as did Mr. Baskin. Segal's three sculptural ensembles animate gallery Room Two of the FDR Memorial. As an art student during the late 1940s, Segal was trained by leading abstractionists of the day. He first came to public attention during the late 1960s with his life-sized figures set among ordinary objects. Today, with a renowned and celebrated body of work, he has become better known for his bronzes that are sought for major museums, collections, and public spaces.

His work is best known for subject matter that depicts and memorializes the common man and everyday occurrences. His method of sculpting provides him with pliant, hollow forms that serve as the basic structure for his compositions.

Mr. Segal's work then seeks to illuminate philosophical and/or psychological truths about these naturalistic figures, their actions, and their times. Through simple, subtle gestures, and specific environments, he is able to communicate multiple levels of meaning.

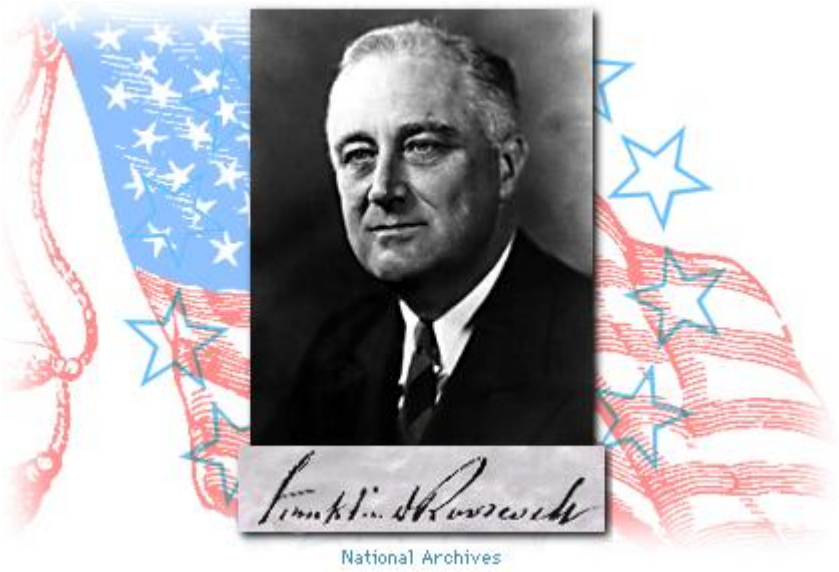
Considered to be among the finest and most innovative of his generation, George Segal's work has received numerous accolades. Mr. Segal has had retrospective exhibitions mounted in major museums throughout the world and is the subject of a PBS documentary and several books.

John Benson. John Benson was born in Newport, Rhode Island in 1939. He designed the letters and placement and carved the inscriptions that appear throughout the Memorial in both the outdoor gallery rooms and the passageways linking them. With more than thirty years experience and devotion to the exacting craft of stone carving, John Benson is widely recognized as America's leading designer and carver of monumental lettering in stone.

Since 1961, he has worked at the John Stevens Shop in Newport, Rhode Island, and assumed its ownership in 1973. Founded in 1705, the John Stevens Shop is one of the oldest continuously operating business establishments in the United States. For nearly 300 years, it has maintained an unbroken standard of excellence in the carving of stone inscription.

Under Mr. Benson, the shop has executed numerous prestigious commissions throughout the country, including the inscriptions on the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Armand Hammer Museum in Los Angeles.

In 1981, Mr. Benson participated in the design of the inscriptions for Maya Lin's Vietnam Memorial; and in 1989, carved the lettering on the Memorial to the Civil Rights Movement in Montgomery, Alabama. In addition to his architectural work, he has designed and carved personal memorials for such notables as George Balanchine, Lillian Hellman, and Tennessee Williams.



Taken From Groliers (online) Encyclopedia:

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Biography

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, (1882-1945), President of the United States. Roosevelt became president in March 1933 at the depth of the Great Depression, was reelected for an unprecedented three more terms, and died in office in April 1945, less than a month before the surrender of Germany in World War II. Despite an attack of poliomyelitis, which paralyzed his legs in 1921, he was a charismatic optimist whose confidence helped sustain the American people during the strains of economic crisis and world war.

He was one of America's most controversial leaders. Conservatives claimed that he undermined states' rights and individual liberty. Leftists found him timid and conventional in attacking the Depression. Others thought him devious and inconsistent and uninformed about economics. Some of these claims were well founded. Though Roosevelt labored hard to end the Depression, he had limited success. It was not until 1939 and 1940, with the onset of heavy defense spending before World War II, that prosperity returned. Roosevelt also displayed limitations in his handling of foreign policy. In the 1930's he was slow to warn against the menace of fascism, and during the war he relied too heavily on his charm and personality in the conduct of diplomacy.

Still, Roosevelt's historical reputation is deservedly high. In attacking the Great Depression he did much to develop a partial welfare state in the United States and to make the federal government an agent of social and economic reform. His administration indirectly encouraged the rise of organized labor and greatly invigorated the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. His foreign policies, while occasionally devious, were shrewd enough to sustain domestic unity and the allied coalition in

World War II. Roosevelt was a president of stature.

Early Career

The future president was born on Jan. 30, 1882, at the family estate in Hyde Park, N.Y. His father, James (1828-1900), was descended from Nicholas Roosevelt, whose father had emigrated from Holland to New Amsterdam in the 1640's. One of Nicholas' two sons, Johannes, fathered the line that ultimately produced President Theodore Roosevelt. The other son, Jacobus, was James' great-great-grandfather.

James graduated from Union College (1847) and Harvard Law School, married, had a son, and took over his family's extensive holdings in coal and transportation. Despite substantial losses in speculative ventures, he remained wealthy enough to journey by private railroad car, to live graciously on his Hudson River estate at Hyde Park, and to travel extensively.

Four years after his first wife died in 1876, James met and married Sara Delano, a sixth cousin. She, too, was a member of the Hudson River aristocracy. Her father, one of James' business associates, had made and lost fortunes in the China trade before settling with his wife and 11 children on the west bank of the Hudson. Sara had sailed to China as a girl, attended school abroad, and moved in high social circles in London and Paris. Though only half her husband's age of 52 at the time of her marriage in 1880, she settled in happily at Hyde Park. Their marriage was serene until broken by James' death in 1900.

Young Franklin had a secure and idyllic childhood. His half-brother was an adult when Franklin was born, and Franklin faced no rivals for the love of his parents, who kept him in dresses and long curls until he was five, and in kilts and Little Lord Fauntleroy suits for several years thereafter. Summers he went with his parents to Europe, to the seaside in New England, or to Campobello Island off the coast of New Brunswick, where he developed a love for sailing. Until he was 14 he received his schooling from governesses and private tutors.

Franklin's most lasting educational experience was at Groton School in Massachusetts, which he attended between 1896 and 1900. Groton's headmaster, the Rev. Endicott Peabody, was an autocratic yet inspiring leader who instilled Christian ethics and the virtues of public service into his students, most of whom were of the privileged classes. Franklin's academic record at Groton was undistinguished, and he did not excel at sports. Some of his classmates, finding him priggish and superficial, called him the "feather-duster." But for a boy who had been so resolutely sheltered by his parents, he was popular enough. At Groton, Franklin revealed that he could adapt himself readily to different circumstances. The Groton years also left him with a belief, more manifest later, that children of the upper classes had a duty to society.

His record at Harvard, which he attended between 1900 and 1904, was only slightly more impressive. Thanks to his excellent preparation at Groton, he was

able to complete his course of study for his B.A. in 1903, in only three years. During his fourth year he served as editor of the *Crimson*, the college newspaper. However, he was not accepted for Porcellian, Harvard's most prestigious social club, and he did not receive much stimulation in the classroom. As at Groton, his grades were mediocre, and he showed no excitement about his studies.

Personal Life

While at Harvard, Franklin fell in love with Anna ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, his fifth cousin once removed. Eleanor had had a trying childhood. Her mother, a beautiful socialite who gave her little affection, died when Eleanor was eight. Her father, Theodore Roosevelt's brother, was spirited and charming. But he was unstable and alcoholic, and he died when Eleanor was ten. Orphaned, she lived with her maternal grandmother and entered her teens feeling rejected, ugly, and ill at ease in society. When Franklin, a dashing Harvard man two years her senior, paid her attention, she was flattered and receptive. On March 17, 1905, the two Roosevelts were married. Her uncle Theodore ROOSEVELT, president of the United States, gave her away.

The marriage was successful enough on the surface. Within the next 11 years Eleanor delivered five children (a sixth died in infancy): Anna (1906), James (1907), Elliott (1910), Franklin D., Jr. (1914), and John (1916). Having been born into wealth, the Roosevelts never lacked for money, and Eleanor and Franklin moved easily among the upper classes in New York and Campobello. Eleanor, however, was often unhappy. For much of her married life she had to live near Franklin's widowed and domineering mother. Family duties kept her at home, while Franklin played poker with friends or enjoyed the good life. Later, during World War I, she was staggered to discover that Franklin was having an affair with her social secretary, a pretty young Virginian named Lucy Mercer.

Despite these tensions, Eleanor remained a helpful mate throughout the 40 years of her marriage to Franklin. When he contracted polio in 1921, she labored hard to restore his emotional health and to encourage his political ambitions. Thereafter, with Franklin confined to braces and wheelchairs, she served as his eyes and ears. Because she possessed deep sympathy for the underprivileged, she goaded his social conscience.

For the first five years of their marriage the young Roosevelts lived in stately houses in New York City. Franklin attended law school at Columbia until the spring of 1907, when he quit, foregoing the degree, after passing the New York state bar examination. He then took a job with the Wall Street law firm of Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn. Much of the firm's practice was in corporate law. Roosevelt found the work tedious, and chafed under the routine. By 1910 he was 28, restless, and unfulfilled.

State Senator

At this point politics gave him a sense of purpose. The Democratic organization in

Dutchess county, the area around Hyde Park, needed a candidate for the New York state Senate in 1910. Party leaders recognized that although Roosevelt had no political experience he had assets as a candidate: the wealth to finance a campaign, and the best-known political name in the United States. And though Franklin had voted for "TR," a Republican, his father had been a Democrat. Franklin, who admired TR, knew that politics could be exciting and worthwhile. Anxious to escape the humdrum of law practice, he told the organization he would run.

Roosevelt worked as never before during the campaign. Acquiring a car, he crisscrossed the county in his quest for support. He showed skill at making himself agreeable to voters and a willingness to listen to the advice of political veterans. As at Groton and Harvard, during his political career he proved open and adaptable. Perhaps his greatest asset in the campaign was the national trend away from the REPUBLICAN PARTY, which was badly split in 1910. For all these reasons Roosevelt won impressively in the usually Republican district.

Roosevelt made an immediate impact in the legislative session of 1911. At that time U. S. senators from New York were elected by the legislature, not by popular vote. The Democrats, with majorities in both houses, prepared to select William F. Sheehan, a transportation and utilities magnate who was the choice of Tammany Hall, New York City's powerful political machine. A few Democrats balked at the choice. Roosevelt joined them and became their leader.

His motives were idealistic. Reflecting TR's faith in progressivism and in honest government, he distrusted the "bossism" of Tammany Hall. After a bitter struggle lasting almost three months, Tammany won a qualified victory by securing the insurgents' acquiescence in the selection of Judge James A. O'Gorman, a former Tammany Grand Sachem, to the Senate. But Roosevelt and his allies took some consolation in having forced the withdrawal of Sheehan and in attracting nationwide attention. It was an auspicious start to a career in politics.

The young legislator's demeanor during the struggle evoked mixed reactions. Progressive reformers liked his devotion to principle, his political courage, and his willingness to work hard. They welcomed his support of other contemporary reforms: soil conservation, state development of electric power, the direct primary, popular election of senators, and, by 1912, WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, workmen's compensation, and legislation setting a maximum workweek of 54 hours for boys 16 to 21 years old.

Nevertheless, party regulars like Alfred E. Smith, a majority leader in the Assembly, and Robert F. Wagner, Democratic leader in the Senate, considered Roosevelt something of a lightweight and headline-seeker. Other legislators disliked his manner. Still the patrician from Groton and Harvard, he had a habit of tossing up his head and looking down his nose at people. He later confessed, "You know, I was an awful mean cuss when I first went into politics."

In 1912, Roosevelt defied Tammany again, this time by supporting Gov.

Woodrow WILSON of New Jersey for the Democratic presidential nomination. After Wilson won the nomination, Roosevelt ran for reelection to the state Senate. Though he contracted typhoid fever during the campaign, he was helped to victory by Louis Howe, a bent, asthmatic newsman, who was to become his most loyal aide.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Josephus Daniels, Wilson's new secretary of the navy, then offered the successful young legislator a more attractive job, as assistant secretary. This was the post that TR had held 15 years earlier. It meant that FDR could deal with matters close to his heart: ships and the sea. Accepting Daniels' offer, Roosevelt moved to Washington in 1913.

As assistant secretary (1913-1920), Franklin Roosevelt reminded many people of TR. He advocated a big Navy, preparedness, a strong presidency, and an active foreign policy. In 1917 he enthusiastically supported war against Germany, and in 1918 he took pleasure in visiting the front in Europe. Sometimes he clashed with Daniels, a progressive with pacifist leanings. But Daniels was tolerant of his subordinate. The secretary appreciated Roosevelt's dexterous handling of admirals, departmental employees, and labor unions, which were active in naval yards, and his opposition to the collusive bidding and price-fixing practiced by defense contractors. FDR's years of service as assistant secretary gave him administrative experience and a host of contacts in Washington and the Democratic party.

During this period Roosevelt learned the wisdom of political compromise. His lesson came from harsh experience. In 1914 he challenged Tammany again by seeking the nomination for U. S. senator. Tammany responded by endorsing James Gerard, America's ambassador to Germany. Gerard won overwhelmingly in the primary, 211,000 to 77,000, only to lose to a Republican in November. Thereafter Roosevelt refrained from battling Tammany, which gradually forgave and forgot. He also worked hard at making himself personally agreeable. By 1920, at 38, he had lost some of his earlier haughtiness. Handsome, exuberant, gregarious, he projected vitality and charm.

Vice-Presidential Nominee

These qualities made him a popular choice for the Democratic VICE-PRESIDENTIAL nomination in 1920. Running with the governor of Ohio, James M. Cox, he supported progressive ideals and American participation in the League of Nations. He proved an energetic and well-received campaigner, slipping badly only once--when he bragged clumsily about writing the constitution of Haiti while in the Navy Department. His mistake made no difference in the outcome, which was foreordained amid the disillusion with President Wilson's leadership in 1920. Cox and Roosevelt were beaten decisively by the Republican candidates, Warren HARDING and Calvin COOLIDGE, in November.

Return to Private Life

With the Republicans ascendant, Roosevelt had little choice but to return to private life. He formed a law firm in New York City and became vice president of Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, a surety bonding firm.

Stricken with polio in August 1921, Roosevelt fought back under the care of Eleanor and Louis Howe. In 1924 he discovered the medicinal waters of Warm Springs in western Georgia. He hoped that they would relieve his paralysis, and he formed the Warm Springs Foundation for other polio victims and spent several months a year there for the rest of the decade. In 1924 he became president of the American Construction Council, a trade association that attempted vainly to bring order into the building business.

His primary interest remained politics. In 1924 he favorably impressed delegates to the Democratic national convention by making an eloquent (though futile) speech nominating for the presidency Alfred SMITH, the "happy warrior" who had become governor of New York. Throughout the decade he widened his circle of contacts by stopping off in Washington on his way to and from Warm Springs, and by writing letters appealing for unity within his party, which was badly split along geographical and urban-rural lines. The Democratic party, he said, should stand for "progressivism with a brake on," not "conservatism with a move on."

Governor of New York

In 1928, Roosevelt vaulted suddenly to national prominence. After helping Smith get the presidential nomination, he set off for Warm Springs, where he looked forward to weeks of therapy. But Smith urgently needed a strong gubernatorial candidate on the Democratic ticket in New York, and he pressured Roosevelt into running. Smith lost the election to Herbert HOOVER, the Republican presidential candidate, who carried New York by 100,000 votes. Roosevelt, more popular upstate than Smith, successfully bridged the urban-rural gap in the Democratic party and beat his opponent, state Attorney General Albert Ottinger, by 25,000 votes. It was a striking triumph in an otherwise Republican year.

During his two terms, Governor Roosevelt battled a Republican legislature for many progressive measures. These included reforestation, state-supported old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, legislation regulating working hours for women and children, and public development of electric power. He named skilled people to important positions, including James Farley, a New York City contractor, as chairman of the state Democratic Committee; Frances Perkins, a social worker, as state industrial commissioner; and Samuel Rosenman, an able young lawyer, as his speech writer and counsel. All became important aides during Roosevelt's presidency.

In 1931, when the Depression was serious, Roosevelt became the first governor to set up an effective state relief administration. Harry Hopkins, a social worker who later served as his closest adviser in Washington, directed it. In a series of

"fireside chats" Governor Roosevelt also proved a persuasive speaker over the new medium of radio. He was reelected in 1930 by 750,000 votes, the largest margin in state history.

The Presidency

While Roosevelt was governor of New York, the Great Depression tightened its grip on the country. Roosevelt, seeking new ideas, enlisted a "brains trust" of Columbia University professors to help him devise programs against hard times. These professors included Rexford Tugwell, Raymond Moley, and Adolf Berle, Jr. All became leading figures in the national administration in 1933. Acting on their suggestions, Roosevelt stressed the need to assist the "forgotten man." He added that "the country demands bold, persistent experimentation." Meanwhile, Farley and other supporters were lining up delegates for Roosevelt throughout the country. By the time the Democratic national convention opened in Chicago in June 1932, Roosevelt stood out as the most dynamic and imaginative contender for the presidential nomination.

Despite these assets, FDR faced formidable opposition at the convention, from House Speaker John Nance GARNER of Texas; former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker of Ohio, a potential compromise choice; and former Governor Smith, who still cherished ambitions of his own. For three ballots Roosevelt held a large lead, but lacked the two-thirds margin necessary for victory. Farley then promised Garner the vice-presidential nomination. The move succeeded. Garner reluctantly accepted the vice presidency, and FDR took the presidential nomination on the fourth ballot.

Most party leaders applauded the Roosevelt-Garner ticket, which closed the heretofore fatal gulf between the urban-Eastern and rural-Southern-Western wings of the party. They responded especially to Roosevelt, who broke with precedent to fly to the convention and to tell the delegates, "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people."

The 1932 Campaign

During the fall campaign against President Hoover, Roosevelt suggested a few parts of this "new deal." He supported spending for relief and public works. He favored some plan, undefined, to curb the agricultural overproduction that was depressing farm prices. He spoke for conservation, public power, old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, repeal of prohibition, and regulation of the stock exchange.

Otherwise, he was vague. He said little about his plans for industrial recovery or about labor legislation, and he was fuzzy about foreign policy and the tariff. On some occasions he promised to support increased expenditures for relief; on others he denounced the Hoover administration for extravagance.

FDR's equivocations on these issues alienated some intellectuals and reformers, who turned to the Communist or Socialist party on election day. But for most

Americans, including the majority of progressives, Roosevelt seemed the only viable alternative to Hoover, who many people blamed unfairly for the Depression. On election day Roosevelt captured 22,821,857 votes to Hoover's 15,761,841, and took the ELECTORAL COLLEGE 472 to 59. The voters sent large Democratic majorities to both houses of CONGRESS.

The New Deal

By March 4, 1933, when Roosevelt was inaugurated at the age of 51, the economic situation was desperate. Between 13 and 15 million Americans were unemployed. Of these, between 1 and 2 million persons were wandering about the country looking for jobs. Hundreds of thousands squatted in tents or ramshackle dwellings in "Hoovervilles," makeshift villages on the outskirts of cities. Panic-stricken people hoping to rescue their deposits had forced 38 states to close their banks.

From the beginning, Roosevelt tried to restore popular confidence. "The only thing we have to fear," he said in his inaugural address, "is fear itself--nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror." He added that he would not stand by and watch the Depression deepen. If necessary, he would "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." He then closed the rest of the banks--declaring a "bank holiday"--and called Congress into special session.

His first legislative requests were conservative. He began by securing passage of an emergency banking bill. Instead of nationalizing the banks--as a few reformers wished--it offered aid to private bankers. A few days later the president forced through an Economy Act that cut $400 million from government payments to veterans and $100 million from the salaries of federal employees. This deflationary measure hurt purchasing power. FDR concluded his early program by securing legalization of beer of 3.2% alcoholic content by weight. By the end of 1933, ratification of the 21st Amendment to the U. S. CONSTITUTION had ended prohibition altogether.

His relief program was more far-reaching. A series of measures took the nation off the gold standard, thereby offering some assistance to debtors and exporters. He also got Congress to appropriate $500 million in federal relief grants to states and local agencies. Harry Hopkins, who headed the newly created Federal Emergency Relief Administration, quickly spent the money. By early 1935 he had supervised the outlay of $1.5 billion more in direct grants, and in work relief under the Civil Works Administration (CWA) of 1933-1934.

In 1933, Congress also approved funding for the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), and the Public Works Administration (PWA). The CCC eventually employed more than 2.5 million young men on valuable conservation work. The HOLC offered desperately needed assistance to mortgagors and homeowners. The PWA, while slow to act,

ultimately pumped billions into construction of large-scale projects. Though left-wing critics demanded higher appropriations, most Americans were grateful for these measures. The relief programs of the NEW DEAL gave hope to the have-nots--blacks and the unemployed--and did much to restore confidence in the government.

Reform Measures

The early New Deal also sponsored reform measures. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) came primarily from congressional initiative. By insuring deposits, it helped to prevent ruinous runs on banks. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), created in 1934, made a cautious beginning toward regulation of the stock exchanges.

The most important reform was the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), instituted in 1933. This public corporation built multipurpose dams to control floods and generate cheap hydroelectric power. It manufactured fertilizer, fostered soil conservation, and cooperated with local agencies in social experiments. The TVA reflected Roosevelt's commitment to resource development and his longstanding mistrust of private utilities.

The NRA and the AAA

FDR placed his hopes for economic recovery in two agencies created in the productive "100 Days" of the 1933 special session of Congress. These were the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). The NRA encouraged management and labor to establish codes of fair competition within each industry. These codes outlined acceptable pricing and production policies and guaranteed labor the rights of collective bargaining, minimum wages, and maximum hours. The AAA focused on raising farm prices, a goal to be achieved through the setting of production quotas approved by farmers in referenda. Once the quotas limiting production were established, farmers who cooperated would receive subsidies.

After a promising start the NRA lost its effectiveness. Union spokesmen grumbled that the courts undercut the labor guarantees. Progressives complained that the NRA exempted monopolies from antitrust prosecution. Small businessmen protested that the codes favored large corporations. Some employers were slow to sign the codes, and others evaded them. If the PWA and other spending agencies had moved more quickly to promote purchasing power, these liabilities might not have been serious. As it was, the PWA was slow to spend its funds, hard times persisted, and evasion spread. Well before the Supreme Court declared the agency unconstitutional in May 1935, the NRA had failed in its aims of sponsoring government-business cooperation and promoting recovery.

The AAA was a little more successful. Agricultural income increased by 50% in Roosevelt's first term. Some of this increase, however, was attributable to terrible droughts. These, ruining thousands of farmers in the Great Plains, caused cuts in

supply and contributed to higher prices for crops produced elsewhere. AAA acreage quotas also led some landlords to evict tenants from their lands. Moreover, as the AAA improved farm prices, it forced consumers, millions of whom lacked adequate food and decent clothing, to pay more for the necessities of life. Roosevelt, it seemed, was fighting scarcity with more scarcity.

Assessing the Early New Deal

These early measures displayed Roosevelt's strengths and weaknesses as an economic thinker. On the one hand, he showed that he was flexible, that he would act, and that he would use all his executive powers to secure congressional cooperation. Frequent press conferences, speeches, and fireside chats--and the extraordinary charisma that he displayed on all occasions--instilled a measure of confidence in the people and halted the terrifying slide of 1932 and 1933. These were important achievements that brought him and his party the gratitude of millions of Americans.

At the same time his policies were so flexible as to seem inconsistent, opportunist, and ill-considered. They showed him also to be a very cautious political leader. Neither then nor later in his administrations did he support civil rights legislation, which would have alienated the important Southern Democrats in Congress. Political considerations prompted his generous handling of potent interest groups, such as large corporations and commercial farmers. Far from imposing federal blueprints on the nation, he favored decentralization and voluntarism--these gave well-organized groups wide latitude and power. FDR also refrained from large-scale deficit spending or from tax policies that would have redistributed income. Purchasing power, essential to rapid recovery, therefore failed to increase substantially. Roosevelt, a practical political leader and a moderate in economics, helped preserve capitalism without significantly correcting its abuses or ending the Depression.

The New Deal from 1935

In 1935, Roosevelt turned slightly to the left. He sponsored bills aimed at abolishing public-utility holding companies, at raising taxes on the wealthy, and at shifting control of monetary policy from Wall Street bankers to Washington. When Congress balked, Roosevelt compromised. The bills revealed Roosevelt's loss of faith in government-business cooperation. They helped undercut demagogues like Sen. Huey Long (D-La.), who was agitating for tougher laws against the rich. But they did not signify a commitment to radical, antibusiness policies.

While these struggles were taking place, Roosevelt worked successfully for three significant acts passed in 1935. One, a relief appropriation, led to creation of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The WPA disbursed some $11 billion in work relief to as many as 3.2 million Americans a month between 1935 and 1942.

The second measure, the Wagner Act, set up the National Labor Relations Board

(NLRB), which effectively guaranteed labor the right to bargain collectively on equal terms with management. In part because of the Wagner Act, in part because of overdue militance by spokesmen for industrial unionism, the labor movement swelled in the 1930's and 1940's.

The third reform was social security. The law provided for federal payment of old-age pensions and for federal-state cooperation in support of unemployment compensation and relief of the needy blind, of the disabled, and of dependent children. The act, though faulty in many ways, became the foundation of a partial welfare state with which later administrations dared not tamper.

These accomplishments helped Roosevelt win a smashing victory in 1936 over his Republican opponent, Gov. Alfred M. Landon of Kansas. Roosevelt received 27,751,841 popular votes and carried 46 states with 523 electoral votes. Landon received 16,679,491 votes and carried only two states with eight electoral votes. Although the result of the election reflected overwhelming confidence in FDR's leadership, he still felt obliged to observe, in his 1937 inaugural address, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished."

Controversy disrupted the president's second term. His troubles began in February 1937, when he called for a "court reform" plan that would have permitted him to add up to six judges to the pro-business U.S. Supreme Court. The court's conservative majority had angered FDR by declaring some New Deal legislation, including the NRA and AAA, unconstitutional. Congress, reflecting widespread reverence for the court, refused to do his bidding.

At the time, militant workers staged "sit-down" strikes in factories. Though Roosevelt opposed the sit-downs, conservatives were quick to blame him for the growing activism of organized labor. In the fall of 1937 a sharp recession, caused in large part by cuts in federal spending earlier in the year, staggered the country. Taken aback, Roosevelt waited until the spring of 1938 before calling for increased federal spending to recharge purchasing power. His procrastination revealed again his reluctance to resort to deficit spending.

These developments in 1937 and 1938 severely damaged his standing in Congress, which had grown restive under his strong leadership as early as 1935. In FDR's second term, therefore, the lawmakers proved cooperative only long enough to approve measures calling for public housing, fair labor standards, and aid to tenant farmers. None of these acts, however, was generously funded or far-reaching. Meanwhile, Congress cut back presidential requests for relief spending and public works. After Republican gains in the 1938 elections, a predominantly rural conservative coalition in Congress proved still more hostile. Henceforth it rejected most of the urban and welfare measures of Roosevelt's administrations.

Foreign Affairs

Cordell Hull of Tennessee served as secretary of state from 1933 to 1944, but Roosevelt's desire to engage in personal diplomacy left Hull in a reduced role. In

1933 the president's "bombshell message" to the London Economic Conference, saying that the United States would not participate in international currency stabilization, ended any immediate hope of achieving that objective. In the same year he extended diplomatic recognition to the USSR, still a relative outcast in world diplomacy.

Roosevelt and Hull worked smoothly in behalf of reciprocal trade agreements and in making the United States the "good neighbor" of the Latin American.

Prelude to War

By the mid-1930's dictatorial regimes in Germany, Japan, and Italy were casting their shadows across the blank pages of the future. In 1936, in his speech accepting re-nomination as president, Roosevelt had said, "This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny." By 1938, Roosevelt was spending increasing amounts of time on international affairs. Until then he had acquiesced in congressional "neutrality" acts designed to keep the United States out of another world war. Roosevelt did not share the isolationist sentiments that lay behind such legislation. But he hoped very much to avoid war, and he dared not risk his domestic program by challenging Congress over foreign policy. For these reasons he was slow to warn the people about the dangers of German fascism.

Germany's aggressiveness in 1939 forced Roosevelt to take a tougher stance. Early in the year he tried unsuccessfully to secure revision of a neutrality act calling for an embargo on armaments to all belligerents, whether attacked or attacker. When Hitler overran Poland in September and triggered the formal beginning of World War II, Roosevelt tried again for repeal of the embargo, and succeeded. In 1940 he negotiated an unneutral deal with Britain whereby the British leased their bases in the Western Hemisphere to the United States in return for 50 overaged American destroyers. Roosevelt also secured vastly increased defense expenditures, which brought about domestic economic recovery at last. But he still hoped to keep out of the war and to appease the anti-interventionists in Congress. Thus he remained cautious.

Campaigning for reelection in 1940 against Wendell Willkie, a relatively progressive Republican who agreed with some of his policies, Roosevelt said misleadingly that he would not send American boys to fight in foreign wars. Many persons, including some leaders of the Democratic party, were not in favor of giving the president an unprecedented third term, and his margin fell sharply from his previous reelection. Nevertheless, he still defeated Willkie handily by margins of 27,243,466 to 22,334,413 in the popular vote and 449 to 82 in the electoral vote.

Safely reelected, Roosevelt called for "lend-lease" aid to the anti-German allies. This aid, approved by Congress, greatly increased the flow of supplies to Britain. After Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, lend-lease went to the Russians as well.

To protect the supplies against German submarines, U.S. destroyers began escorting convoys of Allied ships part way across the Atlantic. In the process the destroyers helped pinpoint the location of submarines, which Allied warships duly attacked. Roosevelt did not tell the people about America's unneutral actions on the high seas. When a German submarine fired a torpedo at the American destroyer *Greer* in September 1941, he feigned surprise and outrage and ordered U. S. warships to shoot on sight at hostile German ships. By December the United States and Germany were engaged in an undeclared war on the Atlantic.

Most historians agree that Hitler was a menace to Western civilization, that American intervention was necessary to stop him, and that domestic isolationism hampered the president's freedom of response. But they regret that Roosevelt, in seeking his ends, chose to deceive the people and to abuse his powers.

Historians also debate Roosevelt's policies toward Japan, whose leaders were bent on expansion in the 1930's. Hoping to contain this expansion, the president gradually tightened an embargo of vital goods to Japan. He also demanded that Japan halt its aggressive activities in China and Indochina. Instead of backing down, the militarists who controlled Japan decided to fight, by attacking Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on Dec. 7, 1941, and by assaulting the East Indies. These moves left no doubt about Japan's aggressive intentions. In asking for a declaration of war, the president called December 7 "a date which will live in infamy." He brought a united America into World War II. By December 11, the United States was at war with Germany and Italy.

Some historians argue, however, that Roosevelt should not have been so unbudging regarding the integrity of China and Indochina, which lay outside America's national interest--or power to protect. If Roosevelt had adopted a more flexible policy toward Japan, he might have postponed a conflict in Asia at a time when war with Hitler was about to erupt.

World War II at Home

In running the war effort Roosevelt encountered almost endless difficulties on the domestic front. Congress dismantled New Deal agencies such as the WPA and blocked such liberal proposals as aid to education and health insurance. Blacks, angry at continuing racial injustice, threatened to march on Washington in 1941. Fearful of racial disorder, Roosevelt responded by signing an executive order setting up a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to prevent discrimination in defense-related employment. Though the order was his most important action on behalf of civil rights, the FEPC did not have much power, and racial tension mounted throughout the war.

Industrial controversies proved equally troublesome for the president. In order to encourage cooperation from corporate interests, Roosevelt brought business leaders into policy-making positions, offered corporations generous contracts and tax breaks, and downgraded progressive domestic reforms. Furious liberals protested against this growing power of big business. Other critics complained

that Roosevelt refused to delegate authority over mobilization to a "czar" who would have power to establish priorities for production. The lack of centralized authority caused confusion, bureaucratic conflict, and delays in output.

Frustrated, some of Roosevelt's own appointees concluded that he was a sloppy administrator. In one sense their complaint was just, for Roosevelt welcomed rivalries among his subordinates. One bitter public quarrel pitted Vice President Henry WALLACE, who had replaced Garner on the Democratic ticket in 1940, against Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones. FDR had assigned both Wallace, a liberal, and Jones, a conservative Texas banker, important responsibilities in procuring urgently needed war supplies. Wallace was eager to spend money aggressively in underdeveloped countries and to introduce social reforms in the process. As other members of the administration chose sides, Roosevelt had to relieve both officials of their special assignments.

Despite such incidents, the president thought that competition bred new ideas. And, in fact, Roosevelt's untidy administrative methods did no serious harm. By 1943 he had created a number of boards and agencies to control prices, develop manpower policy, and supervise the allocation of scarce materials. Fired by zeal to win the war, workers and employers ordinarily cooperated with the government to create production miracles.

Military Policies

Roosevelt's military policies also provoked controversy. In 1941 critics blamed him for leaving Pearl Harbor unprepared. Extremists even claimed that he invited the Japanese attack in order to have a pretext for war. In 1942 liberals complained when he cooperated with Jean Darlan, the Vichy French admiral who until then had been collaborating with the Axis, in planning the Allied invasion of North Africa. In 1943, FDR's opponents grumbled that his policy of unconditional surrender for the enemy discouraged the anti-Hitler resistance within Germany. Other critics complained that he relied too heavily on strategic bombing. His own generals were angry because he postponed the "second front" against Hitler until June 1944. Such delay, critics added later, infuriated the Soviet Union, which had to carry the brunt of the fighting against Hitler between 1941 and 1944, and sowed the seeds of the Cold War.

Some of these criticisms were partly justified. Poor communications between Washington and Hawaii helped the Japanese achieve surprise at Pearl Harbor. Dealing with Darlan was probably not necessary to ensure success in North Africa. Strategic bombing killed millions of civilians and was not nearly so effective as its advocates claimed. The delay in the second front greatly intensified Soviet suspicions of the West.

But it is easy to second-guess and to exaggerate Roosevelt's failings as a military leader. The president neither invited nor welcomed the Pearl Harbor attack, which was a brilliantly planned maneuver by Japan. He worked with Darlan in the hope of preventing unnecessary loss of Allied lives. Unconditional surrender, given

American anger at the enemy, was a politically logical policy. It also proved reassuring to the Soviet Union, which had feared a separate German-American peace. Establishing the second front required control of the air and large supplies of landing craft, and these were not assured until 1944. In many of these decisions Roosevelt acted in characteristically pragmatic fashion--to win the war as effectively as possible and to keep the wartime alliance together. In these aims he was successful.

Wartime Diplomacy

Similar practical considerations dictated some of Roosevelt's diplomatic policies during the war. Cautious of provoking the British, he refrained from acting effectively against colonialism. Embarrassed by the delayin the second front--and anxious to secure Russian assistance against Japan--he acquiesced at the Teheran (1943) and Yalta (1945) summit conferences in some of Russia's aims in Asia and eastern Europe. In his dealings with Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain and Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union, Roosevelt also showed an exaggerated faith in the power of his personal charm. The joviality and exuberance that had soothed ruffled congressmen and bureaucrats during the early New Deal days were not so well suited for international politics.

In the larger sense Roosevelt's diplomacy, like his military policies, was statesmanlike. Despite occasional strains, the awkward wartime coalition among Russia, Britain, and the United States held together. Roosevelt was also wise in recognizing the futility of trying to stop Russian penetration of eastern Europe, which Soviet armies had overrun by early 1944. Accordingly, he sought to avoid unnecessary bickering with Stalin. Had FDR lived into the postwar era, he could not have prevented divisions from developing between Russia and the United States. But he might have worked harder than did his successors in compromising them.

Reelection in 1944

In 1944, with the war still in progress, the tired but willing commander in chief stood for reelection for a fourth term. His doctors knew that he was suffering from hypertension, hypertensive heart disease, and cardiac failure. Some of the president's advisers suspected as much, and they feared that he might not live through another term. So they persuaded him to drop Vice President Wallace, whom they regarded as too liberal and as emotionally unsuited to be president, and to accept Sen. Harry TRUMAN (Mo.) for the vice presidency. In the 1944 general election, Roosevelt defeated his fourth Republican opponent, Gov. Thomas Dewey (N. Y.), by 25,612,474 popular votes to 22,017,570, and by 432-99 in electoral votes.

Death

By 1945, Roosevelt was 63 years old. The events early in that year added to the

strains on his heart, and on April 12, 1945, he died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga. Three days later he was buried at Hyde Park. Despite his limitations, he had been a strong, decent, and highly popular president for more than 12 years.

James T. Patterson

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT Biography

Taken From Groliers (online) Encyclopedia:

Eleanor Roosevelt, (1884-1962), one of America's great reforming leaders who had a sustained impact on national policy toward youth, blacks, women, the poor, and the United Nations. The wife of Pres. Franklin D. ROOSEVELT, she was one of the most active First Ladies as well as an important public personality in her own right.

Early Life

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City on Oct. 11, 1884. Her parents, Elliott and Anna Hall Roosevelt, were members of socially prominent families, and she was a niece of Pres. Theodore ROOSEVELT. She had an intensely unhappy childhood. Her mother, widely known for her beauty, called Eleanor "granny," and her father, whom she adored, was banished from the family because of alcoholism. Her parents died when she was young, and she was raised strictly by her grandmother Hall. Her childhood and adolescent experiences left her with a deep sense of insecurity and inadequacy and a craving for praise and affection.

She first attended private classes and at the age of 15 was sent to Allenswood, a finishing school near London. With the encouragement of the headmistress, Marie Souvestre, the shy girl emerged as a school leader. She returned to New York in 1902 to make her debut in society, but soon sought to escape its rituals through work with the city's poor at a settlement house. On March 17, 1905, she married her distant cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt. She was given in marriage by Pres. Theodore Roosevelt.

Wife and Mother

In the next 11 years Eleanor Roosevelt gave birth to six children, one of whom died in infancy. In the bringing up of her children, she submitted to the domination of her formidable mother-in-law. After her husband's election to the New York state Senate in 1910, she performed the social role expected of the wife of a public official. As the wife of the assistant secretary of the navy during World War I, she pitched into war work with the Red Cross.

Personal Independence

The end of the war coincided with a grave personal crisis, the discovery of her husband's love for another woman. Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt were reconciled, but when they returned to New York in 1921 she determined to build a life of her own. She became active in the LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, the Women's Trade Union League, and the women's division of the DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Her personal emancipation was completed after Roosevelt was stricken with polio in 1921. Eleanor Roosevelt was determined to keep alive her husband's interest in public affairs. Encouraged and tutored by

Louis Howe, Roosevelt's close adviser, she became her husband's political stand-in. By 1928, when Roosevelt returned to the political wars as a candidate for governor of New York, she had become a public figure in her own right. In 1926 she helped found a furniture factory in Hyde Park to aid the unemployed. In 1927 she became part owner of the Todhunter School in New York City, serving as vice principal and teaching history and government.

First Lady

When her husband became president in 1933, she feared the move to the WHITE HOUSE would make her a prisoner in a gilded cage. But as First Lady she broke many precedents. She initiated weekly press conferences with women reporters, lectured throughout the country, and had her own radio program. Her syndicated newspaper column, My Day, was published daily for many years. Traveling widely, she served as her husband's eyes and ears and became a major voice in his administration for measures to aid the underprivileged and racial minorities.

In 1941 she made her one venture while her husband was president into holding public office herself, as codirector of the Office of Civilian Defense. But she resigned following criticism of some of her appointments. During World War II she visited troops in England, the South Pacific, the Caribbean, and on U.S. military bases.

Later Years

When her husband died on April 12, 1945, Eleanor Roosevelt assumed that the “story was over.” However, she went on to 17 more years of notable public service, perhaps the most satisfactory of her career. She was appointed a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations by Pres. Harry TRUMAN in December 1945. As chairman of the Commission on Human Rights she was instrumental in the drafting of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. She resigned from the United Nations in 1952 but was reappointed by Pres. John KENNEDY in 1961. She remained active in Democratic party politics and was a strong supporter of Adlai STEVENSON in the presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956 and at the Democratic convention in 1960. In her later years Eleanor Roosevelt presided over her large family at Val-Kill, her home at Hyde Park. She kept up a voluminous correspondence and a busy social life. "I suppose I should slow down," she said on her 77th birthday. She died the next year, on Nov. 7, 1962, in New York City, and was buried in the rose garden at Hyde Park next to her husband. Her many books include *This Is My Story* (1937), *This I Remember* (1949), and *On My Own* (1958).

Joseph P. Lash
Author of *Eleanor and Franklin*

Letters/ Writings/Speeches.

First Inaugural Address. (Taken from The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School

SATURDAY, 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 is faced by 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. 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 conduct in banking and in business which too often has given 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 cannot 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 efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the 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 today 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 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 cannot 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 stem 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 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.

Fireside Chats of Franklin D. Roosevelt (contributed by the FDR Presidential Library)

1. On the Bank Crisis.
   Sunday, March 12, 1933

2. Outlining the New Deal Program.
   Sunday, May 7, 1933

3. On the Purposes and Foundations of the Recovery Program.
   Monday, July 24, 1933

4. On the Currency Situation
   Sunday, October 22, 1933

5. Review of the Achievements of the Seventy-third Congress.
   Thursday, June 28, 1934

6. On Moving Forward to Greater Freedom and Greater Security.
   Sunday, September 30, 1934

7. On the Works Relief Program.
   Sunday, April 28, 1935

8. On Drought Conditions.
   Sunday, September 6, 1936

9. On the Reorganization of the Judiciary.
   Tuesday, March 9, 1937

10. On Legislation to be Recommended to the Extraordinary Session of the Congress.
    Tuesday, October 12, 1937

11. On the Unemployment Census.
    Sunday, November 14, 1937

12. On Economic Conditions.
    Thursday, April 14, 1938

13. On Party Primaries.
    Friday, June 24, 1939

14. On the European War.
    Sunday, September 3, 1939

15. On National Defense.
    Sunday, May 26, 1940

16. On National Security.
Sunday, September 29, 1940

17. Announcing Unlimited National Emergency.
Tuesday, May 27, 1941

18. On Maintaining Freedom of the Seas.
Thursday, September 11, 1941

19. On the Declaration of War with Japan.
Tuesday, December 9, 1941

20. On Progress of the War.
Monday, February 23, 1942

21. On Our National Economic Policy.
Tuesday, April 28, 1942

22. On Inflation and Progress of the War.
Monday, September 7, 1942

23. Report on the Home Front.
Monday, October 12, 1942

24. On the Coal Crisis.
Sunday, May 2, 1943

25. On Progress of War and Plans for Peace.
Wednesday, July 28, 1943

26. Opening Third War Loan Drive.
Wednesday, September 8, 1943

27. On Teheran and Cairo Conferences.
Friday, December 24, 1943

28. State of the Union Message to Congress.
Tuesday, January 11, 1944

29. On the Fall of Rome.
Monday, June 5, 1944

30. Opening Fifth War Loan Drive.
Monday, June 12, 1944

First Fireside Chat, March 12, 1933.

Address of President Roosevelt by radio, delivered from the President's Study in the White House at 10 P.M. today.

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 small fraction 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 temporarily closing them in whose 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 reconstruction 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 entend (sic) 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 Engraving and Printing in large volume to every part of the country. It is sound currency because it is backed by actual, good assets.

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 their 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 checkups. 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 members 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 -- 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. People will again be glad to have their money 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 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 those 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 of our processes may not have seemed clear to them.

After all there is an element in the readjustment 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.

FDR and Polio. (from NPS brochure)

> *The next morning when I swung out of bed my left leg lagged…I tried to persuade myself that the trouble with my leg was muscular, that it would disappear as I used it. But presently it refused to work and then the other. -- Franklin Delano Roosevelt*

Illness. In 1921, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's life changed forever. At the age of 39 he contracted poliomyelitis (polio) - an acute neural virus that left him paralyzed from the waist down. During the early twentieth century polio epidemics infected thousands of Americans.

Prior to his paralysis Roosevelt had led a vigorous life. He had served four years with the New York State Senate, had been the Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, and in 1920 had been nominated by his party to run for Vice President of the United States. Prosperous, popular, and physically active, he was the epitome of success.

On August 10, 1921, Roosevelt was vacationing on Campobello Island in New Brunswick, Canada. He had concluded an exhilarating and strenuous day of fighting a brush fire, swimming, and playing with the children. He went to bed aching and fatigued.

The next morning he woke up ill and unable to move his legs. A family physician misdiagnosed the symptoms as a cold. Roosevelt's condition grew worse. High fevers and extreme physical pain brought him close to death.

Two weeks after the initial attack a Boston internist positively identified the illness as polio.

Recovery. Through determination and by following a lengthy and strenuous regimen of physical therapy, he was able to regain and develop his upper body strength. His wife, Eleanor, became his chief ally in the battle for recovery and as his body strengthened, so did their partnership.

In October 1924, Roosevelt took the advice of a friend and visited a resort in Warm Springs, Georgia, to try hydrotherapy in the naturally heated mineral springs. The buoyancy of the gushing waters and the warm 88 degree temperature helped him to excercise his muscles. In a matter of months, FDR was feeling healthy and displaying his characteristic charm and vigor.

Using his wealth and influence, FDR created a hospital and polio treatment center at Warm Springs. He made a major investment of money and energy and was able to make the therapeutic center and the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation a success. Roosevelt had lived a life of wealth and privilege and had only limited contact with average Americans. At Warm Springs he worked side by side with the center's handicapped clients, rich and poor, and helped them through their therapy. He continued to set the direction of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation and champion causes for disable people for the rest of his life.

Politics. After his illness Roosevelt generally avoided the limelight of politics. Then in 1928 Al Smith, the

governor of New York, was running for the President on the Democratic ticket against Herbert Hoover. He wanted FDR to run for governor as his replacement. After some initial hesitation, Roosevelt obliged and ran a spirited campaign that dispelled any belief that polio had taken away his political ambitions. Smith lost. FDR won.

In the 1920s and 30 there was great prejudice against people with disabilities. While running his campaign FDR mastered his ability to disguise his handicap. He appeared robust and physically fit, traveled locally by car and would stand erect when giving a speech. He wore heavy leg braces and supported himself on whatever was around him. Roosevelt tried diligently to assure that his disability did not become an issue with the voters.

While running for president in 1932 FDR continued to conceal his disability. Reporters, photographers and even his political opponents, downplayed his handicap and rarely made it an issue. Political cartoons often depicted the candidate standing, leaping and running.

During his four terms as president FDR traveled extensively. Prior to his arrival at an engagement ever detail was considered to assure things were accessible. Sometimes this involved extraordinary measures, including the construction of ramps form the street to the building entrances. His wheelchair provided mobility when he was our of view from the public.

And End to Polio. In 1938, FDR established the March of Dimes, a nonprofit organization dedicated to putting an end to polio, which now raises money to reduce birth defects and infant mortality. After his death it funded the development of a vaccine and an immunization effort that ultimately eliminated the incidence of polio in the Americas.

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