Franklin D. Roosevelt — "The Great Communicator" The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Political Ascension

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1924 June 26

Speech Nominating Smith

To meet again so many friends whom I have not seen since the last Democratic national gathering gives me a thrill of pleasure. At that Convention, where I myself received one of the highest honors of the party, I had the privilege of working and speaking on behalf of the then Governor of New York. Today, four years later, I carry the same mission, presenting the same Governor, a man in whose behalf the best argument is the man himself.

At San Francisco, you who were there came to know him as one greatly loved by his State, whose personality was picturesque rise to high office produced as you will romember a spontaneous wave of good feeling among the delegates from every section of our land. Today he has become more than a favorite con. He is known chroughout the nation as one of the real leaders, of whom millions of Americans regardless of party are proud. It has been suggested that we would attempt to sweep him through to victory at this convention upon a wave of emotional appeal. Let me assure you at the outset that I shall make no such endeavor.

In the very suggestion, however, there is tribute to the strength or this man. There is no need for me to portray the profound love which goes out to him from every class and every section of the community. If you would know what the hearts of the masses hold for him, ask anyone; when you leave this session ask the woman who serves you in the shop; the banker who cashes your check; the man who runs your elevator; the clerk in your hotel; men, women and children, rich or poor, high or low; and you will be told with a convincing unanimity that first in the affections of the people of this state, first far above all others and the power of all others to attain, is the man who has been twice honored with election to the governorship of the State of New York. And this is true of men and women not only in this state, but in every part of the Union where his name has come to be a symbol for honesty, for deep understanding and for splendid service to the people.

These are factors, this is evidence which you as judges, or rather as a great jury of fourteen hundred assembled here to render an unbiased verdict; must take into account. You are stewards of a sacred trust. To you has been given the sclemn, two-fold duty of setting forth anew the principles of our party and of choosing a standard bearer who will at once give the greatest assurance of ability to perform the functions of the Chief Executive, and the greatest assurance of victory.

To be true to that trust, we must be true to ourselves, and put from our hearts and minds every sordid consideration, every ignoble personal prejudice and every individual allegiance to anything whatsoever other than the sacred principle upon which our country and our party stands. So, in our final action we shall put aside any appeal to any passion or to any prejudice.



And in regard to this platform I want in all sincerity to say a word to you, my fellow Delegates - you, equally, who come from the great cities of the East, and from the plains and hills of the West, from the slopes of the Pacific and from the homes and fields of the southland - I ask you in all sincerity, in balloting on that platform to keep first in your hearts and minds the words of Abraham Lincoln.
"With malice towards none - with charity to all."

and there is snother phase. The country cries out in consternation and consternation over the continued dissensions between the executive and the legislative branches of the government during the last four years. In theory our Constitution provides a system of checks and balances. Under the complete lack of leadership in a Republican White House and a Republican Capitol, we have had all of the checks but none of the balances.

Therefore we must give to the country a Fresident

respecianced in administration and capable of restoring team work
and good will between the Executive and the Congress. These
qualifications are rare, but I submit to you no experiment. This
man's record is history: At has brought the highest commendation from
the citizens of this state, men and women, Republican and Democrat,
farmer and city dweller alike That record was made doubly significant
in his first term as Governor when he faced a legislature wholly
controlled by the opposite party, and again in his second term when
he faced a Republican Assembly. His ability to persuade and to
co-operate without abandonment of principle — the very essence of
leadership — proves that his inauguration as Fresident would mark
the beginning of a new era of good feeling and practical accomplishment
between the Fresident and the Congress of the United States.

The platform which we adopt Tomorrow our decleration of principles, will unite every

Democrat and convince the men and women voters of the United States that the time is at hand when the guidance of our government is to be entrusted to the hands of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. The depths to which our federal government had fallen have been well portrayed to you by my old friends, the temporary and the permanent chairmen of this Convention. Corruption in government is and will be one of the overshadowing issues. Our candidate must be able to stand upon that. Make no mistake, the country will remember that and the country will remember, too, that on our Governor for over twenty years in public office the white light of publicity has pitilessly beaten, and revealed only spotless integrity. Save for those whose enmity is a badge of honor, he has no enemies and his bitterest political adversaries have never charged him with the slightest deviation from the highest standard of political and ethical morality and the highest ideals of responsibility.

Hor can the disgraceful shortcomings of our federal government be explained by cynics and pessimists who declare that the conduct of public business cannot approach the efficiency of private business. With this view I take determined issue. Here in this state, through the leadership of this governor, governmental efficiency has so increased that the executives of other states have done us the honor of seeking to copy our model. He was a pioneer for the budget system. He was a pioneer in the reorganization and simplification of governmental departments. Through it all he has held up and strengthened the system of promotion in the government service for merit only, and the appointment to public office of men and women presiminantly qualified for their tasks. Because of his ideals and methods of government, he has won not only the undivided support of his wom party but the public endorsement of great civic non-partisan bodies of the city and state.

Give this man the opportunity of wider service. I guarantee he will make the dry bones rattle in Weshington, and that no longer will cynics and pessinists point the finger of scorn at our executive machinery. And that machine under his directive force will function not only well but always forward in the vital service of humanity -- and that spells the true progressive.

I have had the good fortune to visit every state of this Union. I can understand and appreciate the just pride which you men and women from the West and South feel in the accomplishments of your progressive leaders. But we, too, under the inspiration of our Governor have been in the van of progress for humanity. Always his mind has been concerned with the condition of the less fortunate.

Under his guiding hand our State has recognized
by its statutes that its most priceless asset is the life and
health of its women and children. He obtained laws prohibiting
night work for women and the employment of small children. He
secured state pensions for widowed mothers, and state aid for
the promotion of the health of rural communities. That is
progressive! He has sponsored a practical workmen's Compensation
Law, and has established Labor Boards to modiate disputes between
employer and employes! he was responsible for the best factory
laws ever passed in any state. That is progressive! Under
his leadership, co-operative marketing, the extension of state
highways, built for miles, not votes, the diversification of
crops and the reforestation of demaded lands have marched hand
in hand. That is progressive!

In his first term as Governor, every penny of additional appropriation went to the extension of the educational system of the state, and the public schools have increased in their facilities and in their standard of teaching and scholarship more than at any previous time. That is progressive! But with all this, the efficiency of his administrative departments has been such that he was able to point

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and the direct tax on land values throughout the state by another twenty five per cent. —— a total of \$17,000,000.

The most pronounced EII from which the country suffers today is a lack of confidence in government. This loss of faith arises chiefly from the reprehensible acts, the low conception of duty and the complete lack of leadership of those now in power. We need as President one in whom the masses of the people, the great cross-section of American public opinion, will regain their lost faith. We need as President not a man who will satisfy some one section or some one class; the relations of labor and consumer, the rich and poor, here become so complex in our national life that Problems have arisen acute beyond the dreams of our forefathers, and calling for the steady guiding hand of one whose voice will be heeded by the vast majority of those who make up the 110,000,000 of our population.

Confidence and faith such as this has been won by the Governor of this State. The masses of labor look to him as a protector and good friend. The honest business man knows that he has never sought personal preferment by demagogic attack on honest business. The farmers who in this State raise crops valued at hundreds of millions of dollars bear willing testimony to his years of service in their behalf siding them to better living conditions and a more economic distribution of the produce of the form This faith in him, and in his fundamental rugged honesty, this knowledge of his intuitive ability to go down to the heart of any problem, to offer solutions understood by, and for the ultimate good of, the average man and woman -- these are the reasons why this man above all others will bring order out of chaos in the national capital, and will renew the respect and esteem in which our government should be held by the people whom it serves.

Republicans may have to go up and down the country explaining that they are; after all, in favor of the Constitution of the United States. Such action on our part is unnecessary. His is a record of law enforcement. He believes that our Constitution needs no explaining. His record of laws years as public servant proves that he stands on the Constitution from the first article to the seventh, and from the first amendment to the nineteenth; inclusive.

with him we can win. This Governor of ours is
the most dangerous adversary that the Republican party ever
had to fear; and you, in Convention here assembled, owe it to
the nation to choose a candidate whose name spells victory.
He has been elected to office seventeen times. Chosen Governor
of this State first in 1918, he suffered the only defeat of
his long career in 1920. But it was a defeat more glorious
than victory. When our national ticket in the State of New
York went down to defeat under a plurality of one million one
hundred thousand votes, he lost this State by only 74,000.
He got one million more votes than I did -- and I take off my
hat to him!

Over 500,000 people who voted the Republican national ticket split their ballots to testify their undying confidence in this Democratic Governor; and in 1922, when men came again to think clearly and to reason samely, when the black clouds of group hatred had been swept away, when sordid appeals to class and race had lost their evil spell; the people of this State rose again in their might and re-elected him Governor by a plurality of 384;945; the largest plurality ever given any candidate for Governor in the history of the United States. This is an overwhelming demonstration of ability to command the confidence of the great electorate. This record of his is the talk of citizens in every state; and when you give him the opportunity to appear before the larger electorate of the Union, the result in New York will be repeated by the vast majority of commonwealths which go to make up our nation.

But there are other reasons for this demonstrated success. All the world loves a man who carves his own career. Much of the romance of Lincoln is in the life story of our Governor. Born of american-born parents he took upon his shoulders while still a boy the responsibility for the support of his family. A wage-earner, toiling with his hands, this man in the space of twenty years; without fotune, without fortuitous aid, with nothing to rely upon except his own indomitable courage; his own unflagging perseverance; his own magnificent ability, has risen to be a commanding and outstanding figure in the life of the nation. This he has done not with the art of a demagogue, not with the wiles of a trickster; but with a dignity, a knowledge and a wisdom that demonstrated him a statesman. Can you conceive a career more appealing to the imagination or to the affections, more calculated to give hope and confidence to those who, in these trying times; have sometimes doubted the efficacy or American institutions? It was the illustrious Woodrow Wilson; my revered Chief and yours; who said; "The great voice of America does not come from the university. It comes in a murmur from the hills and the woods, from the farms; the factories and the mills -- rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of the common people."

Our Governor not only represents the common people -- but he embodies in his very being the aspirations of the average man, so that when he speaks he speaks with the voice of America -- he burns with the fire of a divine humanity -- the fire which has produced the greatest of leaders of the democracies of the world.

Four years ago lying opponents said that the country was tired of ideals -- they waged a campaign based on an appeal to prejudice -- bessed on the dragging out of bogies and hebgebline the subtle emouragement of false fears. America has not lost her faith in deals -- idealism is of her very heart's blood. Tricked once we have been -- millions of voters are waiting today for the opportunity next November to wreak their vengeance on those deceivers -- they swait the opportunity to support a man who will return America to the fold of Decency and Ideals from which she has strayed, and who will bring the government back to the people. This our candidate will do -- his is the quality of militant leadership. He has the ability to campaign and to campaign in the highest and finest sense. He has the rare power to express the great fundamental truths and ideals in homely language carrying conviction to the multitude. He has a power to strike at error and wrongdoing that makes his adversaries quail before him. He has a personality that carries to every hearer not only the sincerity but the rightecusness of what he says. He is the "Happy Warrior" of the political battlefield.

Ask your Republican friends whom they would least like to see nominated by this convention. You will get an answer that will lead you to love the Governor of this State for the fear that he has thrown into the camp of our adversary. Picture the coming campaign — imagine ringing through the halls of this nation this man's demunciation of official corruption, of un-imerican isolation, of sordid tariffs for the benefit of the few, attacking as only he can the Republican onalaught on the reserve powers of the States. Imagine his thrust and his genial seroses burning out the truth where all men can see it; the elequence of his simple, clean-out oratory; the wave of understanding and of belief in him which will follow his steps.

Picture to yourselves this campaign. You will see with me the consternation that his nomination will bring to the ranks of Republicaniam and privilege, and the assurance of Democratic victory which his nomination will bring to the hosts of our own party.

I ask your judgment -- I ask you to render it in the spirit of devotion to the principles of our party; in the faith that all citizens are equal before the law; in the conviction that the solid democracy of this nation will stand without fear and without hesitation loyally behind the nomines of this Democratic Convention.

If you will render your verdict in that sacred mood it can only be for the nomination of the man whom I present to you -- the one above all others who has demonstrated his power, his ability to govern; this leader whose whole career gives convincing proof of his power to lead; this warrior whose record shows him invincible in defense of right and in attack on wrong; this man, beloved by all; trusted by all, respected by all; this man who all samiles bring us an overwhelming victory this year -- this man of destiny whom our State proudly dedicates to the nation -- our own alfred £. Smith.

Frantilia Morawaha

SPEECH NOMINATING GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH

BY .

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

June 26, 1924

(Taken from New York "Times" June 27, 1924) To meet again so many friends whom I have not seen since the last Democratic National gathering gives me a thrill of pleasure. At that Convention where I myself received one of the highest honors of the party I had the privilege of working and speaking on behalf of the ten Governor of New York. Today four years later I carry the same mission, presenting the same Governor a man in whose behalf the best argument is the man himself.

At San Francisco, you who were there came to know him as one greatly loved by his state, whose personality and picturesque rise to high office produced, as you will remember, a spontaneous wave of good feeling among the delegates from every section of our land. Today he has become more than a favorite son. He is known throughout the nation as one of the real leaders of whom many millions of Americans, regardless of party, are proud. It has been suggested that we would attempt to sweep him through to victory at this Convention upon a wave of emotional appeal. Let me assure you at the outset that I shall make no such endeavour.

In the very suggestion however, there is tribute to the strength of this man. There is no need for one to portray the profound love which goes out to him from every class and every section of the community. If you would know what the hearts of the masses hold for him; ask anyone when you leave this session; ask the woman who serves you in the shop; the banker who cashes your check; the man who runs your elevator; the clerk in your hotel; men, women and children, rich or poor, high or low, and you will be told with a convincing unanimity that first in the affections of the people of this State, first far above all others and the power of others to attain, is the man who has been twice honored with election to the

Governorship of the State of New York. And this is true of men and women not only in this State, but in every part of the Union where his name has come to be a symbol for honesty, for deep understanding and for splendid service to the people.

These are factors; this is evidence which you, as judges, or rather as a great jury of 1400, assembled here to render an unbiased verdict, must take into account. You are stewards of a sacred trust. To you has been given the solemn twofold duty of setting forth anew the principles of our party, and of choosing a standard bearer who will at once give the greatest assurance of ability to perform the functions of the Chief Executive, and the greatest assurance of victory.

To be true to that trust we must be true to ourselves and put from our hearts and minds every sordid consideration, every ignoble personal prejudice and every individual allegiance to anything whatsoever other than the sacred principle upon which our country and our party stands. So, in our final action, we shall put aside any appeal to any passion or to any prejudice.

Our declaration of principles will unite every Democrat and convince the men and women voters of the United States that the time is at hand when the guidance of our Government is to be entrusted to the hands of a Democratic Congress. The depths to which our Federal Government has fallen has been well portrayed to you by my old friends, the Temporary and the Permanent Chairman of this Convention. Corruption in Government is and will be one of the overshadowing issues.

Our candidate must be able to stand upon that. Make no mistake, the country will remember that and the country will remember too, that on our Governor for over twenty years in public office the white light of publicity has pitilessly beaten and revealed only spotless integrity.

Save for those whose emmity is a badge of honor, he has no enemies and his bitterest political adversaries have never charged him with the slightest deviation from the highest standard of political and ethical morality and the highest ideals of responsibility.

And there is another phase. The country ories out in consternation and contempt over the continued dissensions between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government during the last four years. In theory our Constitution provides a system of checks and balances. Under the complete lack of leadership in a Republican White House and a Republican Capitol, we have had all of the checks but none of the balances.

Therefore we must give to the country a President experienced in administration and capable of restoring team work and good will between the Executive and the Congress. These qualifications are rare but I submit to you no experiment. This man's record is history; it has brought out the highest commendation from the citizens of this state, men and women, Republican and Democrat, farmer and city dweller alike. That record was made doubly significant in his first term as Governor when he faced a Legislature wholly controlled by the opposite party, and again on his second term, when he faced a Republican Assembly. His ability to persuade and cooperate without abandment of principle — the very essence of leadership — proves that his inauguration as President would mark the beginning of a new era of good feeling and practical accomplishment between the President and the Congress of the United States.

Nor can the disgraceful shortcomings of our Federal Government be explained by cynics and pessimists who declare that the conduct of public business cannot approach the efficiency of private

business. With this view I take determined issue.

Here in this State, through the leadership of this Governor, governmental efficiency has so increased that the Executives of other States have done us the honor of seeking to copy our model. He was a pioneer for the budget system. He was a pioneer in the reorganization and simplification of governmental departments. Through it all he has held up and strengthened the system of promotion in the Government service for merit only, and the appointment to public office of men and women pre-eminently qualified for their tasks. Because of his ideals and methods of government he has won not only the undivided support of his own party, but the public endorsement and of great civic non-partisan bodies of the City and State.

Give this man the opportunity of wider service, I guarantee he will make the dry bones rattle in Washington, and that no longer will cynics and pessimists point the finger of scorn at our executive machinery. And that machine under his directive force will function not only well but always forward in the vital service of humanity --- and that spells the true progressive.

I have had the good fortune to visit every state in the Union. I can understand and appreciate the just pride which you men and women from the West and South feel in the accomplishments of your progressive leaders. But we, too, under the inspiration of our Governor, have been in the van of progress for humanity. Always his mind has been concerned with the conditions of the less fortunate.

Under his guiding hand our state has recognized by its statutues that its most priceless asset is the life and health of its women and children. He obtained laws prohibiting night work for women and the employment of small children. He secured State pensions for widowed Mothers and State aid for the promotion of the health of rural communities. That is progressive! He has sponsored a practical

workmen's compensation law, and has established labor boards to mediate disputes between employer and employe; he was responsible for the best factory laws ever passed in any State. That is progressive! Under his leadership cooperative marketing, the extension of State highways built for miles not votes; diversification of crops and reforestation of denuded lands have marched hand in hand. That is progressive!

In his first term as Governor every peany of additional appropriation went to the extension of the educational system of the State, and the public schools have increased in their facilities and in their standard of teaching and scholarship more than at any previous time. This is progressive! But with all this, the efficiency of the administrative department has been such that he was able to point the way for the recent action of Congress by reducing the income tax of this State by 25% and the direct tax on land values throughout the State by another 25% -- a total of \$17,000,000. That is progressive too.

The most pronounced ill from which the country suffers today is the lack of confidence in government. This loss of faith arises chiefly from the reprehensible acts, the low conception of duty and complete lack of leadership of those now in power. We need as President one in whom the masses of the people, the great cross-section of American public opinion, will regain their lost faith. We need as President not a man who will satisfy some one section or some one class; the relations of labor and capital, the farmer and the city dweller, the manufacturer and consumer, the rich and poor, have become so complex in our national life that problems have arisen acute beyond the dreams of our forefathers, and calling for the steady guiding hand of one whose voice will be heeded

by the vast majority of those who make up the 110,000,000 of our population.

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The masses of labor look to him as a protector and good friend. The honest business man knows that he has never sought personal preferment by demagogic attack on honest business. The farmers who in this State raise crops valued at hundreds of millions of dollars bear willing testimony of his years of service in their behalf aiding them to better living conditions and a more economic distribution of the produce of the farm. This faith in him and in his fundamental rugged honesty, this knowledge of his intuitive ability to go down to the heart of any problem, to offer solutions understood by and for the ultimate good of the average man and woman — these are the reasons whythis man above all others will bring order out of chaos in the national capitol and will renew the respect and esteem in which our Government should be held by the people whom it serves.

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His is a record of law enforcement. He believes that our Constitution needs no explaining. His record of twenty years as public servant proves that he stands on the Constitution from the First Article to the Seventh and from the First Amendment to the Sineteenth, inclusive.

With him we can win. This Government of ours is the most dangerous adversary that the Republican Party ever had to fear and you, in convention here assembled, owe it to the nationato choose a candidate whose name spells victory. He has been elected to office seventeen times. Chosen Go vernor of this State in 1918 he suffered the only defeat of his long career in 1920. But it was a defeat more glorious than victory. When our national ticket in the State of New York went down to defeat under a plurelity of 1,100,000 he lost his State by only 74,000. He got one million votes more than I did -- and I take off my hat to him.

Over 500,000 people who voted the Republican National Ticket split their ballots to testify their undying confidence in the Democratic Governor and in 1922 when we came again to think clearly and to reason sanely when the black clouds of group hatred had been swept away, when sordid appeals to class and race hade lost their evil spell the people of this State rose again in their might and reelected him Governor by a plurality of 384,945 the largest plurality ever given any candidate for Governor in the history of the United States.

This is an over-whelming demonstration of ability to command the confidence of the great electorate.

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All the world loves a man who carves his own career.

Much of the romance of Lincoln is in the life story of our Governor.

Born of Americanborn parents, he took upon his shoulders while still
a boy the responsibility for the support of his family. A wage
earner, toiling with his hands this man in the space of twenty years
without fortune, without fortuitous aid, with nothing to rely upon
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his own magnificent ability, has risen to be a commanding outstanding figure in the life of the nation. This he has done not with the act of a demagogue, not with the wiles of a trickster, but with a dignity, a knowledge and a wisdom that demonstrated him a statesman. Can you conceive a career more appealing to the imagination or to the affections, more calculated to give hope and confidence to those who, in these trying times, have sometimes doubted the efficacy of American Institutions?

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ALFRED E. SMITH

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of

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Placing in Nomination

For The Presidency Of The United States

GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH

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To be true to that trust, we must be true to ourselves, and put from our hearts and minds every sordid consideration, every ignoble personal prejudice, and every individual allegiance to anything whatscever other than the sacred principle upon which our country and our party stands. So, in our final action we shall put aside any appeal to any passion or to any prejudice.

Our declaration of principles will unite every Democrat and convince the men and women voters of the United States that the time is at hand when the guidance of our government is to be entrusted to the hands of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. The depths to which our federal government has fallen have been well portrayed to you by my old friends, the temporary and the permanent chairmen of this Convention. Corruption in government is and will be one of the overshadowing issues. Our

candidate must be able to stand upon that. Make no mistake, the country will remember that, and the country will remember too, that on our Governor for over twenty years in public office the white light of publicity has pitllessly beaten, and revealed only spotless integrity. Save for those whose emmity is a badge of honor, he has no enemies, and his bitterest political adversaries have never charged him with the slightest deviation from the highest standard of political and ethical morality and the highest ideals of responsibility.

And there is another phase. The country cries out in contentation and contempt over the continued dissensions between the executive and the legislative branches of the government during the last four years. In theory our Constitution provides a system of checks and balances. Under the complete lack of leadership in a Republican White House and a Republican Capitol, we have had all of the checks but none of the balances.

Therefore we must give to the country a President experienced in administration and capable of restoring team work and good will between the Executive and the Congress. These qualifications are rare, but I submit to you no experiment. This man's record is history; it has brought the highest commendation from the citizens of this state, men and women, Republican and Democrat, farmer and city dweller alike. That record was made doubly significant in his first term as Governor when he faced a legislature wholly controlled by the opposite party, and again in his second term when he faced a Republican Assembly. His ability to persuade and to co-operate without abandonment of principle--the very essence of leadership--proves that his inauguration as Fresident would mark the beginning of a new era of good feeling and practical accomplishment between the President and the Congress of the United States.

Nor can the disgraceful shortcomings of our federal government be explained by cynics and pessimists who declare that the conduct of public business cannot approach the efficiency of private business. With this view I take determined issue. Here in this state, through the leadership of this Governor, governmental efficiency has so increased that the executives of other states have done us the honor of seeking to copy our model. He was a pioneer for the budget system. He was a pioneer in the reorganization and simplification of governmental departments. Through it all he has held up and strengthened the system of promotion in the government service for merit only, and the appointment to public office of men and women preeminently qualified for their tasks. Because of his ideals and methods of government, he has won not only the undivided support of his own party but the public endorsement of great civic non-partisan beddes of the city and state.

Give this man the opportunity of wider service. I guarantee he will make the dry bones rattle in Washington, and that no longer will cynics and pessimists point the finger of scorn at our executive machinery. And that machine under his directive force will function not only well but always forward in the vital service of numenity—and that spells the true progressive.

I have had the good fortune to visit every state of the Union. I can understand and appreciate the just pride which you

men and women from the West and South feel in the accomplishments of your progressive leaders. But we, too, under the inepiration of our Governor have been in the wan of progress for humanity. Always his mind has been concerned with the condition of the less fortunate.

Under his guiding hand our state has recognized by its statutes that its most priceless asset is the life and health of its women and children. He obtained laws prohibiting night work for women and the employment of small children. He secured state pensions for widowed mothers, and state aid for the promotion of the health of rural communities. That is progressive. He has sponsored a practical Workmen's Compensation Law, and has established Labor Boards to mediate disputes between employer and employee; he was responsible for the best factory laws ever passed in any state. That is progressive! Under his leadership, co-operative marketing, the extension of state highway, built for miles, not votes, the diversification of crops and the reforestation of denuded lands have marched hand in hand. That is progressive!

In his first term as Governor, every penny of additional appropriation went to the extension of the educational system of the state, and the public schools have increased in their facilities and in their standard of teaching and scholarship more than at any previous time. This is progressive! But with all this, the efficiency of his administrative department has been such that he was able to point the way for the recent action of Congress by reducing the income tax of this state by twenty-five per cent. and the direct tax on land values throughout the state by another twenty-five per cent.—a total of \$17,000,000. That is progressive, too.

The most pronounced ill from which the country suffers today is a lack of confidence in government. This loss of faith arises eniefly from the reprehensible acts, the low conception of duty and the complete lack of leadership of those now in power. We need as President one in whom the masses of the people, the great cross-section of American public opinion, will regain their lost faith. We need as President not a man who will satisfy some one section or some one class; the relations of labor and capital, the farmer and the city dweller, the manufacturer and consumer, the rich and poor, have become so complex in our national life that problems have arisen acute beyond the dreams of our forefathers, and calling for the steady guiding hand of one whose voice will be heeded by the vast majority of those who make up the 110,000,000 of our population.

Confidence and faith such as this has been won by the Governor of this State. The masses of labor look to him as a protector and good friend. The honest business man knows that he has never sought personal preferent by demagogic stack on honest business. The farmers who in this State raise crops valued at hundreds of millions of dollars bear willing testimony to his years of service in their behalf, siding them to better living conditions and a more economic distribution of the produce of the farm. This faith in him, and in his fundamental rugged homesty, this knowledge of his intuitive ability to go down to the heart of any problem, to offer solutions understood by, and for the ultimate good of, the average man and woman-these are the reasons why this man above all others will bring order out of chaos in the national capital, and will renew the respect and esteem in which our government should be held by the people whom it serves.

Republicans may have to go up and down the country explaining that they are, after all, in favor of the Constitution of the United States. Such action on our part is unnecessary. His is a record of law enforcement. He believes that our Constitution needs no explaining. His record of twenty years as public servant proves that he stands on the Constitution from the first article to the seventh, and from the first amendment to the ninteenth, inclusive.

With him we can win. This Governor of ours is the most dangerous adversary that the Republican party ever hed to fear, and you, in Convention here assembled, owe it to the nation to choose a candidate whose name spells victory. He has been elected to office seventeen times. Chosen Governor of this State first in 1918, he suffered the only defeat of his long career in 1920. Sut it was a defeat more glorious than victory. When our national ticket in the State of New York went down to defeat under a plurality of one million one hundred thousand votes, he lost this State by only 74,000. He got one million votes more than I did-and I take off my hat to him! Over 500,000 people who voted the Republican national ticket split their ballots to testify their undying confidence in this Democratic Governor; and in 1922, when men came again to think clearly and to reason sanely, when the black clouds of group hatred had been swept away, when sorid appeals to class and race had lost their evil spell, the people of this State rose again in their might and re-elected him Governor by a plurality of 584,945, the largest plurality ever given any candidate for Governor in the history of the United States. This is an overwhelming demonstration of ability to command the confidence of the great electorate. This record of his is the talk of citizens in every state, and when you give him the opportunity to appear before the larger electorate of the Union, the result in New York will be repeated by the vast majority of commonwealths which go to make up our nation.

But there are other reasons for this demonstrated success. All the world loves a man who carves his own career. Much of the romance of Lincoln is in the life story of our Governor. Born of American-born parents he took upon his shoulders while still a boy the responsibility for the support of his family. A wage-earner, tciling with his hands, this man in the space of 20 years, without fortune, without fortuitous sid, with nothing to rely upon except his own magnificent sbility, has risen to be a commanding and outstanding figure in the life of the nation. This he has done not with the art of a demagogue, not with the wiles of a trickster, but with a dignity, a knowledge and a wisdom that demonstrated him a statesman. Can you conceive a cereer more appealing to the imagination or to the affections, more calculated to give hope and confidence to those who, in these trying times, have sometimes doubted the efficacy of American institutions.

It was the illustrious Woodrow Wilson, my revered Chief and yours, who said, "The great voice of America does not come from the university. It comes in a murmur from the hills and the woods, from the farms, the factories and the mills--rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of the common people."

Our Governor not only represents the common people--but he embodies in his very being the aspirations of the average man, so that when he speaks he speaks with the voice of America--he burns with the fire of a divine humanity--the fire which has produced the

greatest of leaders of the democracies of the world.

Four years ago lying opponents said that the country was tired of ideals—they waged a campaign based on an appeal to prejudice—based on the dragging out of bogles and holgoblins—the subtle encouragement of false fears. America has not lost her faith in ideals—idealism is of her very heart's blood. Tricked once we have been—millions of voters are waiting today for the opportunity mext November to wreak their vengeance on those deceivers—they await the opportunity to support a man who will return America to the fold of Becency and Ideals from which she has strayed, and who will bring the government back to the people. This our candidate will do—ins is the quality of militant leadership. He has the ability to campaign and to campaign in the highest and finest sense. He has the rare power to express the great fundamental truths and ideals in homely language carrying conviction to the multitude. He has a power to strike at error and wrongdoing that makes his adversaries quail before him. He has a personality that carries to every hearer not only the sincerity but the righteousness of what he says. He is the "Happy Warrior" of the political battlefield. Asky your Republicam friends whom they would least like to see nominated by this convention. You will get an answer that will lead you to love the Governor of this State for the fear that he has thrown into the camp of our adversary. Ploture the coming campaign—imagine ringing through the halls of this nation this man's demunication of official corruption, of un-American isolation, of sordid tariffs for the benefit of the few, attacking as only he can, the Republican onslaught on the reserve powers of the States. Imagine his thrust and his genial sarcasm burning out the truth where all men can see it; the eloquence of his simple, clean-cut oratory; the wave of understanding and of belief in him which will

Picture to yourselves this campaign. You will see with me the consternation that his nomination will bring to the ranks of Republicanism and privilege, and the assurance of Democratic victory with his nomination will bring to the hosts of our own party.

I ask your judgment-I ask you to render it in the spirit of devotion to the principles of our party, in the faith that all citizens are equal before the law; in the conviction that the solid democracy of this nation will stand without fear and without hesitation loyally behind the nominee of this Democratic Convention.

If you will render your verdict in that sacred mood it can only be for the nomination of the man whom I present to you---the one above all others who has demonstrated his power, his ability to govern; this leader whose whole career gives convincing proof of his power to lead; this warrior whose record shows him invincible in defense of right and in attack on wrong; this man, beloved by all, trusted by all, respected by all; this man who all admit can bring us an overwhelming victory this year--this man of destiny whom our State proudly dedicates to the nation-our own Alfred E. Smith.

To meet again so many friends whom I have not seen since the last Democratic national gathering gives me a thrill of pleasure. At that Convention, where I myself received one of the highest honors of the party, I had the privilege of working and speaking on behalf of the then Governor of New York. Today, four years later, I carry the same mission, presenting the same Governor, a man in whose behalf the best argument is the man himself.

At San Francisco, you who were there came to know him as one greatly loved by his State, whose personality and picturesque rice to high office produced as you will remember a spontaneous wave of good feeling among the delegates from every section of our land. Today he has become more than a favorite son. He is known throughout the nation as one of the real leaders, of whom millions of Americans regardless of party are proud. It has been suggested that we would attempt to sweep him through to victory at this Convention upon a wave of emotional appeal. Let me assure you at the outset that I shall make no such endeavor.

In the very suggestion, however, there is tribute to the strength or this man. There is no need for me to portray the profound love which goes out to him from every class and every section of the community. If you would know what the hearts of the masses hold for him, ask anyone; when you leave this session ask the woman who serves you in the shop; the banker who cashes your check; the man who runs your elevator; the clerk in your hotel; men, women and children, rich or poor, high or low; and you will be told with a convincing unanimity that first in the affections of the people of this state, first far above all others and the power of all others to attain, is the man who has been twice honored with election to the governorship of the State of New York. And this is true of men and women not only in this state, but in every part of the Union where his name has come to be a symbol for honesty, for deep understanding and for splendid service to the people.

These are factors, this is evidence which you as judges, or rather as a great jury of fourteen hundred assembled here to render an unbiased verdict, must take into account. You are stewards of a sacred trust. To you has been given the solemn, two-fold duty of setting forth anew the principles of our party and of choosing a standard bearer who will at once give the greatest assurance of ability to perform the functions of the Chief Executive, and the greatest assurance of victory.

To be true to that trust, we must be true to ourselves, and put from our hearts and minds every sordid consideration, every ignoble personal prejudice and every individual allegiance to anything whatsoever other than the sacred principle upon which our country and our party stands.

So, in our final action we shall put aside any appeal to any passion or to any prejudice.



And in regard to this platform I want in all sincerity to say a word to you, my fellow Delegates - you, equally, who come from the great cities of the East, and from the plains and hills of the West, from the slopes of the Pacific and from the homes and fields of the southland - I ask you in all sincerity, in balloting on that platform to keep first in your hearts and minds the words of Abraham Lincoln.

"With malice towards none - with charity to all."

The platform which we adopt tomorrow our declaration of principles will unite every

Democrat and convince the men and women voters of the United States that the time is at hand when the guidance of our government is to be entrusted to the hands of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress. The depths to which our federal government has fallen have been well portrayed to you by my old friends, the temporary and the permanent chairmen of this Convention. Corruption in government is and will be one of the overshadowing issues. Our candidate must be able to stand upon that. Make no mistake, the country will remember that, and the country will remember, too, that on our Governor for over twenty years in public office the white light of publicity has pitilessly beaten, and revealed only spotless integrity. Save for those whose enmity is a badge of honor, he has no enemies and his bitterest political adversaries have never charged him with the slightest deviation from the highest standard of political and ethical morality and the highest ideals of responsibility.

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Under his guiding hand our State has recognized by its statutes that its most priceless asset is the life and health of its women and children. He obtained laws prohibiting night work for women and the employment of small children. He secured state pensions for widowed mothers, and state aid for the promotion of the health of rural communities. That is progressive! He has sponsored a practical workmen's Compensation Law, and has established Labor Boards to mediate disputes between employer and employee; he was responsible for the best factory laws ever passed in any state. That is progressive! Under his leadership, co-operative marketing, the extension of state highways, built for miles, not votes, the diversification of crops and the reforestation of denuded lands have marched hand in hand. That is progressive!

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He got one million more votes than I did -- and I take off my
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in hand. That is progressive!

In his first term as Governor, every penny of additional appropriation, went to the extension of the educational system of the state, and the public schools have increased in their facilities and in their standard of teaching and scholarship more than at any previous time. That is progressive! But with all this, the efficiency of his administrative departments has been such that he was able to point the way for the recent action of Congress by reducing the income tax of this state by twenty-five per cont. and the direct tax on land values throughout the state by another twenty five per cent. — a total of \$17,000,000.

The most pronounced III from which the country suffers today is a lack of confidence in government. This loss of faith arises chiefly from the reprehensible acts, the low conception of duty and the complete lack of leadership of those now in power. We need as President one in whom the masses of the people, the great cross-section of American public opinion, will regain their lost faith. We need as President not a man who will satisfy some one section or some one class; the relations of labor and capital, the farmer and the city-dweller, the manufacturer and consumer. the rich and poor, have become so complex in our national life that Problems have arisen acute beyond the dreams of our forefathers, and calling for the steady guiding hand of one whose voice will be heeded by the vast majority of those who make up the 110,000,000 of our population.

Confidence and faith such as this has been won by the Governor of this State. The masses of labor look to him as a protector and good friend. The honest business man knows that he has never sought personal preferment by demagogic attack on honest business. The farmers who in this State raise crops valued at hundreds of millions of dollars bear willing testimony to his years of service in their behalf siding them to better living conditions and a more economic distribution of the produce of the farm. This faith in him, and in his fundamental rugged honesty, this knowledge of his intuitive ability to go down to the heart of any problem, to offer solutions understood by, and for the ultimate good of, the average man and woman -- these are the reasons why this man above all others will bring order out of chaos in the national capital, and will renew the respect and esteem in which our government should be held by the people whom it serves.

Republicans may have to go up and down the "country explaining that they are; after all, in favor of the Constitution of the United States. Such action on our part is unnecessary. His is a record of law enforcement. He believes that our Constitution needs no explaining. His record of twenty years as public servent proves that he stands on the Constitution from the first article to the seventh, and from the first amendment to the nine teenth; inclusive.

With him we can win. This Governor of ours is
the most dangerous adversary that the Republican party ever
had to fear, and you, in Convention here assembled, owe it to
the nation to choose a candidate whose name spells victory.

He has been elected to office seventeen times. Chosen Governor
of this State first in 1918, he suffered the only defeat of
his long career in 1920. But it was a defeat more glorious
then victory. When our national ticket in the State of New
York went down to defeat under a plurality of one million one
hundred thousand votes, he lost this State by only 74,000.

He got one million more votes than I did -- and I take off my
hat to him!

Over 500:000 people who voted the Republican national ticket split their ballots to testify their undying confidence in this Democratic Governor; and in 1922; when men came again to think clearly and to reason samely, when the black clouds of group hatred had been swept away, when sordid appeals to class and race had lost their evil spell; the people of this State rose again in their might and re-elected him Governor by a plurality of 384,945; the largest plurality ever given any candidate for Governor in the history of the United States. This is an overwhelming demonstration of ability to command the confidence of the great electorate. This record of his is the talk of citizens in every state; and when you give him the opportunity to appear before the larger electorate of the Union, the result in New York will be repeated by the vast majority of commonwealths which go to make up our nation.

But there are other reasons for this demonstrated success. All the world loves a man who carves his own career. Much of the romance of Lincoln is in the life story of our Governor. Born of american-born parents he took upon his shoulders while still a boy the responsibility for the support of his family. A wage-earner, toiling with his hands, this man in the space of twenty years; without fotune, without fortuitous aid, with nothing to rely upon except his own indomitable courage; his own unflagging perseverance; his own magnificent ability, has risen to be a commanding and outstanding figure in the life of the nation. / This he has done not with the art or a demagogue; not with the wiles of a trickster; but with a dignity, a knowledge and a wisdom that demonstrated him a statesman. Can you conceive a career more appealing to the imagination or to the affections; more calculated to give hope and confidence to those who, in these trying times; have sometimes doubted the efficacy or American institutions? It was the illustrious Woodrow Wilson, my
revered Chief and yours, who said, "The great voice of
America does not come from the university. It comes in
a murmur from the hills and the woods, from the farms,
the factories and the mills -- rolling on and gaining
volume until it comes to us from the homes of the
common people."

Our Governor not only represents the common people -- but he embodies in his very being the aspirations of the average man, so that when he speaks he speaks with the voice of America -- he burns with the fire of a divine humanity -- the fire which has produced the greatest of leaders of the democracies of the world.

Four years ago lying opponents said that the country was tired of ideals -- they waged a campaign based on an appeal to prejudice -- bessed on the dragging out of begies and hobgobling the subtle emouragement of false fears. America has not lost her faith in/deals -- idealism is of her very heart's blood. Tricked once we have been -- millions of voters are waiting today for the opportunity next November to wreak their vengeance on those deceivers -- they await the opportunity to support a man who will return America to the fold of Decency and Ideals from which she has strayed, and who will bring the government back to the people. This our candidate will do -- his is the quality of militant leadership. He has the ability to campaign and to campaign in the highest and finest sense. He has the rare power to express the great fundamental truths and ideals in homely language carrying conviction to the multitude. He has a power to strike at error and wrongdoing that makes his adversaries quail before him. He has a personality that carries to every hearer not only the sincerity but the righteousness of what he says. He is the "Happy Warrior" of the political battlefield.

Ask your Republican friends whom they would least like to see nominated by this convention. You will get an answer that will lead you to love the Governor of this State for the fear that he has thrown into the camp of our adversary. Picture the coming campaign -- imagine ringing through the halls of this nation this men's denunciation of official corruption, of un-American isolation, of sordid tariffs for the benefit of the few, attacking as only he can the Republican onslaught on the reserve powers of the States. Imagine his thrust and his genial sarcasm burning out the truth where all men can see it; the elequence of his simple, clean-out cretory; the wave of understanding and of belief in him which will follow his steps.

Picture to yourselves this campaign. You will see with me the consternation that his nomination will bring to the ranks of Republicanism and privilege, and the assurance of Democratic victory which his nomination will bring to the hosts of our own party.

I ask your judgment -- I ask you to render it in the spirit of devotion to the principles of our party; in the faith that all citizens are equal before the law; in the conviction that the solid democracy of this nation will stand without fear and without hesitation loyally behind the nominee of this Democratic Convention.

mood it can only be for the nomination of the man whom I

present to you -- the one above all others who has demonstrated
his power, his ability to govern; this leader whose whole career
gives convincing proof of his power to lead; this warrior whose
record shows him invincible in defense of right and in attack
on wrong; this man, beloved by all, trusted by all, respected
by all; this men who all saint can bring us an overwhelming
victory this year -- this man of destiny whom our State proudly
dedicates to the nation -- our own Alfred E. Smith.

frantilia de franch