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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1928 June 27

Houston, TX - Placing Alfred E. Smith in Nomination
THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS BY FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT NOMINATING
GOVERNOR SMITH AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN
HOUSTON, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE UNTIL DELIVERED.

I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my
party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The
faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the
achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his
greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the
searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting.
Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread
from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is
this fact, that the understanding of his stature has spread
by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than
devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high
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ponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popu-
ularity among the people of this country. He is well called "the
Pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popular-
ity as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation
falls upon us. We must, first of all, make sure that our nominee
possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office
of President of these United States. Merely expediency must be
subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are
Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take
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willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to
interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but
knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very
different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then hones-
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cealment and deceit.
Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest - a willingness to reassert its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people, but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a public trust; Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us that pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained the present Chief Executive. I mean that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.
During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work, but able to give the highest administrative success to their task. The high standard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural, regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural sections than in the large communities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamental political principle. The Governor's study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight into similar problems of other States and also of their application to the
machinery and the needs of the Federal Government. In the last analysis a matter of administrative reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvement of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta, or in Washington.

How well the people of his State have understood and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected, and again elected Governor by huge majorities - in the hundreds of thousands - in a normally Republican state.

Now as to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal smirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no Senatorial investigation, that honesty that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, that honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private probity in public places is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic which need not be enlarged upon. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of official Albany with those of official Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their Governmental machinery, to take the engine apart and show the function of each wheel.

Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in, government is the crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

Our people must not acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb...
our comfort. We must be concerned over our destination, not merely satisfied that the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We must be interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell and not content that the man at the wheel has assured us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

In an era of the ready-made we must not accept ready-made government; in a day of high powered advertising we must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. We do not want to change these United Sovereign States of America into the "United States, Incorporated", with a limited end self-perpetuating board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.

This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogue, in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us out as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

That hope lies in the personality of the new man at the wheel, and especially in his purpose to arouse the spirit of interest and the desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved during these same eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in their government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, - the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality of soul which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, - the quality of sympathetic understanding of the
human heart, of real interest in one's fellowmen. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mould who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and low estate. Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically trust him with their loyalty and their love.

Our two greatest Presidents of modern times possessed this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about the happiness of the whole world which will be the best remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is what is so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, a lack which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations toward us. For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President, and because of this I further prophesy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously depreciating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who
understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material, a leader also who grasps and understands not only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wage-earner -- the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs not only an administrator but a leader - a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man but to offer him as the surest leader to victory. To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is heroic. To sally forth to battle and win for our principles is something more than heroic. We offer one who has the will to win - who not only deserves success but commands it. Victory is his habit -- the happy warrior.

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ALFRED E. SMITH
Typed by F. R.
before Hon. Nat. Chandler
placing for Alfred & Daniel
examination June 27, 1938

Marked as not found on the original
mark as examination

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In many parts of the world the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our destination, but only that the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We are not really much interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell so long as the man at the wheel assures us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.
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The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved during these same eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in their government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his
office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality of soul which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, — the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest in one's fellowmen. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship. Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion.

The labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mold who struggles of to emerge from obscurity and low estate, and makes them authentically trust in their loyalty and their love.
Our two greatest Presidents of modern times possessed this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about the happiness of the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is what is so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, a lack which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations towards us. For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President, and because of this I further prophesy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity—a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abashment of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively,
the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material; a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of our financial wealth alone.

America needs not only an administrator but a leader - a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of Democracy to offer such a man. One who has the will to win, victory is his habit, the happy warrior - ALFRED E. SMITH.

A leader who understands not only the affairs of business and government but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual.

The leader, the wage-earner - the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of any nation.
It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man but to offer him as the earnest seeker to victory. To stand upon the ramparts, die for our principles is heroic. To rally faith to battle faith for our principles is something far more than heroic. We offer one who has the will to win— who not only desires but commands it. Victory is his habit— the hard worker. 

ALFRED E. SMITH
Mr. Chairman - My friends:

Please let me at the outset thank my old friends from Arizona for yielding to the State of New York —

I come for the third time to urge upon a convention

of my party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast-to-coast, from North-to-South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called "the Pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obliga-
tion falls upon us. We must, first of all, make sure that our nominee possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the office. First of all, leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest - a willingness to resume its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people, but
by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President.

Look back over our list of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a public trust; Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us that pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards.

Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows (and good schemers) who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained the present Chief Executive. I mean that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed
measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.
The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist.

He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work, but able to give the highest administrative success to their task. The high standard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural, regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural sections than in the large communities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which
this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight
years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Wash-
ington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the
Governor of New York and those national problems which confront
the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic extent
and not in the fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's
study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight
into similar problems of other States and also of their application
to the machinery and the needs of the Federal Government. In the
last analysis a matter of administrative reform, of industrial
betterment, of the regulation of public carriers, of the develop-
ment of natural resources, of the retention of the ownership
of primary water power in the people, of the improvement of
the lot of the farmer, differs little, whether the problem occur
in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta, or in Washington.

How well the people of his State have understood and
approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown by
the fact that he has been elected, and re-elected, and re-elected,
and again elected Governor by huge majorities - in the hundreds
of thousands - in a normally Republican state.
Now as to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal smirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no Senatorial investigation, that honesty that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, that honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private probity in public places is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic which need not be enlarged upon. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of official Albany with those of official Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their Governmental machinery, to take the engine apart and show the function of each wheel.
Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in, government is the crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

Our people must not acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We must be concerned over our destination, not merely satisfied that the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We must be interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell and not content that the man at the wheel has assured us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

In an era of the ready-made we must not accept ready-made government; in a day of high powered advertising we must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. We do not want to change these United Sovereign States of America into the "United States, Incorporated", with a limited and self-perpetuating Board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.
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not merely admired, but loved by all the people, - the quality of
sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest
in one's fellowmen. Instinctively he senses the popular need
because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and
the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mould
who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and low estate. Between
him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion
and makes them enthusiastically trust him with their loyalty and
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this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all
made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's
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For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no Chief
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Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President, and because of this I further prophesy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolition of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character
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America needs not only an administrator but a leader -
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but commands it. Victory is his habit - the happy warrior

ALFRED E. SMITH

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Houston, June 27, 1928
and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material, a leader also who grasps and understands not only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wage-earner — the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs not only an administrator but a Leader — a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless mire of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man but to offer him as the surest leader to victory, to stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is heroic. To rally forth to battle and win for our principles is something more than heroic. We offer one who has the will to win — who not only deserves success but commands it. Victory is his habit — the happy warrior.

ALFRED E. SMITH

[Signature: Franklin D. Roosevelt, Houston, June 27, 1928]
THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS BY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT NOMINATING
GOVERNOR SMITH AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN
HOUSTON, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE UNTIL DELIVERED.

I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my
party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The
faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the
achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his
greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the
searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting.
Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread
from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is
this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread
by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than
devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high
office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising op-
ponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popu-
laritv among the people of this country. He is well called "the
Pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popular-
itv as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation
falls upon us. We must, first of all, make sure that our nominee
possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office
of President of these United States. Here party expediency must be
subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are
Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take
it, who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essen-
tial to the office. First of all leadership, articulate, virile
willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to
interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but
knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very
different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty-
the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with concealment
and deceit.
Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest - a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people, but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a public trust; Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us that pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained the present Chief Executive. I mean that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.
During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work, but able to give the highest administrative success to their task. The high standard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural, regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural sections than in the large communities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those rational problems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight into similar problems of other States and also of their application to the
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How well the people of his State have understood and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and again elected Governor by huge majorities - in the hundreds of thousands - in a normally Republican state.

As to the requisite of honesty, I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal snare, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no Senatorial investigation, that honesty that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, that honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private probity in public places is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic which need not be enlarged upon. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of official Albany with those of official Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their Governmental machinery, to take the engine apart and show the function of each wheel.

Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in, government is the crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

Our people must not acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb
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In an era of ready-made government we must not accept ready-made advertising. We must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. We do not want to change these United Sovereign States of America into the "United States, Incorporated", with a limited and self-perpetuating board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.

This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogue; in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us out as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

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understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material, a leader also who grasps and understands not only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wage-earner -- the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs not only an administrator but a leader -- a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man but to offer him as the surest leader to victory. To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is heroic. To sally forth to battle and win for our principles is something more than heroic. We offer one who has the will to win -- who not only deserves success but commands it, Victory is his habit -- the happy warrior.

ALFRED E. SMITH
I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called "the Pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must, first of all, make sure that our nominee possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the office.
First of all leadership, articulate, virile willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty -- the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest -- a willingness to reassert its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people, but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a public trust; Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us that pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time
in part of the country sustained the present Chief Executive. I mean that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare,
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all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an
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conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a
trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual
quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of
their work, but able to give the highest administrative success to their task.
The high standard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their
ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural,
regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial
election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural
sections than in the large communities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Gover-

nor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an
administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness
that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national
problems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in
geographic extent and not in the fundamentals of political principle. The
Governor's study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight
into similar problems of other States and also of their application to the
machinery and the needs of the Federal Government. In the last analysis a
matter of administrative reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation
of public carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention
of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvement
of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in
Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta, or in Washington.

How well the people of his State have understood and approved
the wise solution of these questions is best shown by the fact that he
has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected, and again elected Gov-
ernor by huge majorities - in the hundreds of thousands - in a normally
Republican state.

Now as to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty
that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding
personal enrich, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty
that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no senatorial investigation,
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servant, that honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure
the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private
probiity in public places is so well understood by the voters of his State
that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This
is a topic which need not be enlarged upon. The voting public of the nation
is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of official Albany
with those of official Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the
political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in
the mechanics of their Governmental machinery, to take the engine apart and
show the function of each wheel.

Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in, government
is the crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere
material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

Our people must not acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We must be concerned over our destination, not merely satisfied that the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We must be interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell and not content that the man at the wheel has assured us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

In an era of the ready-made we must not accept ready-made government; in a day of high powered advertising we must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. We do not want to change these United Sovereign States of America into the "United States, Incorporated", with a limited and self-perpetuating board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.

This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogue, in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us out as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

That hope lies in the personality of the new man at the wheel, and especially in his purpose to arouse the spirit of interest and the desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved during these same eight years not only his
desire but his power to make the people as interested in their government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind - the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality of soul which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people - the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest in one's fellowman. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mould who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and low estate. Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically trust him with their loyalty and their love.

Our two greatest Presidents of modern times possessed this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about the happiness of the whole world which will be the best remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is what is so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, a lack which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations toward us. For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.
Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophecy he will also make a great President, and because of this I further prophecy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolition of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material, a leader also who grasps and understands not only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wage-earner -- the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs not only an administrator but a leader -- a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialism that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not only to offer such a man
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ALFRED E. SMITH
I come for the third time to urge upon a Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held in the promise of those earlier days has been justified in the achievement. How at last the whole country, as I saw, and as the fellow citizens of my State saw then, the real greatness of this man.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the measure of his stature has been made by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called "the Pathfinder in the open road for all true Corners of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the main criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must first of all make sure that our candidate possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these
United States. More party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the office. First of all leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and can not live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest - a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people but by the people also.

History gives us confidant assurance that a man who has given the display of these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list.
of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is public trust; and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us the pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those great standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained President Coolidge. I mean the leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to put through vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry, in the
improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard
of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished
by a personality of vibrant, many-sided appeal, which has swept along with
it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republican controlled
Congress of the United States passed important bills over the
veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom
of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican
legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been
recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State
Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion
rejected the nominations sent in by titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer
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which comes from long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the
basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare,
of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration.
of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work but able to give the highest administrative success to their duties. The high quality of appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of the state regardless of the party, ... urban rural.

As one who has served his state in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the
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and again elected by large majorities in a normally bungling State,
fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's study
of the needs of his own State has given to him the opportunity
of obtaining deep insight into similar problems of the other
States and also of their application to the machinery and needs of the
Federal Government. In the last analysis a matter of administration—
reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public
carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention
of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the
improvement of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether
the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta or in
Washington.

How well the people of this State have understood
and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown
by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected,
Governor in more hundreds of thousands,
and again elected by majorities in a normally Republican State.

Now, as to the requisite of honesty. I shall not seek
to parry the unsavory thrusts of Senator Moses and other pettifogging
politicians who seek to divert attention from the known crooks in high places in their party councils. I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal smear, hides the corruption of others. I speak of the honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no congressional investigation, the honesty that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, the honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

Let me illustrate. In the State Government an unfortunate lady holding high elective office was charged with malfeasance. In spite of the disagreeableness of the task the Governor set in immediate operation the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In a part of
the hugh City of New York dishonest practices in relation to certain
sewer contracts were brought to light. Immediately upon the legal
presentation of the matter to his authority the Governor used his
power to its fullest extent, even though it involved the investigation
of local leaders of his political faith. The whole story of his
constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit
as well as the letter of official and private
is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more
Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic
which need not be enlarged on. The voting public of the nation is
fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of Albany with
those of Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all
the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the
people in the mechanics of their governmental machinery, to take the
cogs apart and show the function of each wheel. (The average voter
of our States knows more of the functions of our officials and their
offices than in any other portion of the country.)
Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in government is, the road of our country, called by some of our materialists, motherly end of eight gray years, colorless in part because of lack of progressive, positive accomplishment in Washington, but sombre principally because our mental-habits have been lulled into a false coma. In many parts of the world the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our destination so long as the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We are not really much interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell so long as the man at the wheel assures us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

We substitute golf for voting on election day. In an era of the ready made we accept ready made government; in a day of high powered advertising we fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican party. It is a course which if pursued to its logical end will change these United Sovereign States of America into the United States, Incorporated, with a limited and self perpetuating Board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.
This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of demagoguery, in no wish to attack the legitimate lives or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to the participation by the people in their government which has engaged us out for a century and a half as the great outstanding success of democratic republics.

That hope lies in the personal power of the man at the wheel, and especially in the personal purpose of the President himself to arouse that spirit of interest and desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved in these eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in the government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest in one's fellow men.
That political
frustration he incurs the American
need—become he, himself, has clung
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which makes him their champion
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America

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Our three greatest Presidents of modern times possessed to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, Roosevelt's sympathy with the weak, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about happiness on the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is this quality so conspicuously lacking in our present administration which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the world toward us. For without this understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President. It is also because of this quality that I further prophesy he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.
If the vision of real world peace, of the abolition of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor through the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material and a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of our financial wealth alone.
My friends, I name to you again one

who has acquired

the habit of victory, the man who has the will to win, the man who

will inspire success, the happy warrior - ALFRED E. SMITH.
I come for the third time to urge upon a Democratic National Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held in the promise of those earlier days has been justified in the achievement. Now at least the whole country sees as I saw, and as the fellow citizens of my State saw then, the real greatness of this man.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the stature of his stature has been made by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called "The Pathfinder of the unenraged for all true lovers of humanity."

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History gives us confident assurance that a man who has
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of Presidents since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is public trust; and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us the pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those same standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained President Coolidge.

I mean the leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to push through vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry in the
improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

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The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office — I mean that practical understanding which comes from long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration,
of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional
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high quality of appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their
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How well the people of the State have understood
and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown
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Now as to the requisite of honesty. I shall not stoop
to parry the ungainly thrusts of Senator Moses and other pettifogging
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Let me illustrate. In the State Government an unfortunate
lady holding high elective office was charged with malfeasance. In
spite of the disagreeableness of the task the Governor set in immediate
operation the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In a part of
the hush City of New York dishonest practices in relation to certain sewer contracts were brought to light. Immediately upon the legal presentation of the matter to his authority the Governor used his power to its fullest extent, even though it involved the investigation of local leaders of his political faith. The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit as well as the letter of official and private conduct in public office is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic which need not be enlarged. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of Albany with those of Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their governmental machinery, to take the cogs apart and show the function of each wheel. The average voter of our State knows more of the functions of our officials and their offices than in any other portion of the country.
Power to impart knowledge of, and create interest in government is, in many instances, one of the crying needs of our time. We are today at the end of eight gray years, colorless in part because of lack of progressive, positive accomplishment in Washington, but more principally because our mental habits have been lulled into a false sense. In many parts of the world the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our destination so long as the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We are not really much interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell so long as the man at the wheel assures us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

We substitute golf for voting on election day; in an era of the ready made we accept ready made government; in a day of high powered advertising we fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican party. It is a course which if pursued to its logical end will change these United States of America into the United States, Incorporated, with a limited and self perpetuating Board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.
This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of demagogic attack the legitimate or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to the participation by the people in their government which for a century and a half as the great outstanding success as a democratic republic.

That hope lies in the personal of the man at the wheel, and especially in the personal purpose of the President himself to arouse that spirit of interest and desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having these eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in the government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, - the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, the of soul makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people - the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart - of real interest in one's fellow men.
America needs not only an administrator but a leader, a Pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid that bottomless morass of mass materialism that has engulfed the great civilizations of the past.

It is the privilege of Democracy to offer such a man, one who has the will to win. Victory is his habit — the happy warrior— Abraham Lincoln.
Our three greatest Presidents of modern times possessed to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, Roosevelt's sympathy with the mass, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about happiness to the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is the quality so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the world toward our nation. For without this understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President. It is also because of this quality that I further prophesy he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.
(No. 4) Distinctively he is one of the popular mind because he himself has lived through the hardships. Between him and the people is that double bond which makes him their champion.
If the vision of real world peace, of the abolition of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor through the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material and a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of financial wealth alone.
My friends, I name to you again the man who has acquired the habit of victory, the man who has the will to win, the man who will inspire America, the happy warrior - ALFRED E. SMITH.
This is the draft of the 1928 Smith nomination speech written by Judge Proctor, and of which I took an occasional phrase.

F.R. N.Y.

Jan 18, 1928
To the last Democratic National Convention

I presented a happy warrior for the Party, for the people and for progressive principles of government. Four years have passed. The cry for leadership rises stronger from the masses of our people and these years have strengthened his powers, added new laurels of greatly won triumph to his glory and demonstrated anew that he not only deserves success but commands it.

The chief magistrate in a democracy must have above all else the power to lead understandingly and sympathetically by force of character, ability and personality. For four years our country has veered wildly from course to course without guidance or direction. A President, with a Congress of his own political faith, has been unable to accomplish the solution of a single major problem of government. The very nominations of a Republican President have failed of confirmation in a Republican Senate, and the vetoes of a Republican President have been ruthlessly overridden by his own party colleagues. The need of a country is for a leader who can lead. I present a candidate who has shown beyond all doubt that he is able to make popular government function
for the people. For eight years the Governor of the State of New York, with a politically hostile legislature, has made more appointments to office than has the President of the United States; not one failed of confirmation in the State Senate. His staunchest political adversaries concede his unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the state government, in the rehabilitation of state finances, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of the men, women and children engaged in industry, and for the preservation of the public health and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. The personal qualities which have made that record will likewise make the record of a great President, for he is a personality of vibrant, many-sided and colorful appeal. He is, in a literal sense, a man of the people, as was Lincoln, who said that God must love the common people because He made so many of them; He has sprung from them. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he has himself lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifice which must be endured by every man of heroic mold who struggles up to
eminence from obscurity and poverty. There is nothing of condescension in his love for and sympathy with the masses of the toilers and the wage earners, because he himself has lived through their problems, known their needs, felt their aspirations. Large affairs of business and of government he grasps and understands, but in an equal degree he knows and understands the individual business man, the farmer, the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of the nation, because he, too, has counted them in thousands among his intimates and friends. Between him and the people there is that subtle bond of sympathetic understanding which makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically trust his followers. Thus he has the true heart of a statesman of democracy. Then, too, he has made himself intellectually a great scholar within the domain of government. Without pedantry he has learning; without pose he has the finest mental equipment for statesmanship.

The governorship of New York is a great school for the training of presidents. There Martin Van Buren was a student. There Grover Cleveland learned that public office is a public trust. The administration
of a great executive required study, toil, self-sacrifice and unceasing application to the mastery of political problems. In every field of governmental science to which he has applied himself, the Governor of New York has made himself a recognized expert. In any conference of scholars and economists upon taxation, upon social welfare, upon factory legislation, upon governmental finance, upon penology, upon legislative procedure and practice, the Governor of New York fell into his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. The qualities of the heart which give him the impulse to achieve for the people are matched and supplemented by the qualities of the head which teach him what to do in their behalf and how to do it. But in a great executive there must exist still another quality. He must have the dynamic power to rally public opinion to the measures which his heart dictates and his brain devises. He must have the gift of which the Governor of New York possesses to make a great popular issue of a governmental reform. He must know how to go to the people and have the people respond with those great waves of approbation and support which alone can sweep a project on to successful accomplish-
ment. Whether the issue be a monetary question like the ratification of a bond issue, a technical governmental problem like the reconstruction of the machinery of state government, or a throbbing endeavor to mold the law for freedom of speech or social betterment of the lives of human beings, the Governor of New York has proved himself to be charged with this dynamic and energizing force. But we men in our time have had it before him - Roosevelt and Wilson. In the wisdom of divine Providence we in this convention shall place him upon the national stage to take the place left vacant by the qualities of the heart and the head in him there is added this great quality of a forceful and appealing personality. As we turn to the future, the ardor of our eyes the ardent hope of victory for those principles of Jefferson and Jackson whose trustees we are today. It is not the least part of our duty to name here a leader who can realize that hope. To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is heroic. To stand in the battle line and win for our principles is something more than heroic. We do not enter upon this campaign to fight for the glory of fighting.
We are dedicating ourselves to a successful struggle for the reestablishment of Democratic government in this country of our love. And the word has gone forth through the land. It began in his native state. Normally Republican by a majority of a quarter of a million, it has four times made him its Governor. Once he was defeated. When the avalanche of party votes carried the State of New York by 1,150,000, he lost the state by a bare 70,000. 500,000 human beings, encapsulated by party organization, cast their votes for him for Governor while voting the Republican national ticket, because they loved him and respected him and trusted him.

Calls for him and the echo rebounds from California, Minnesota rallies behind him and the answering call comes from Louisiana. From the factories of the east, the great grazing lands farming plains of the middle west and the mines of the mountain states the singing voice of the people proclaims he is their heart. There are no essential differences in humanity. All real men and women will march behind the standard of the who has so bravely fought and so nobly won. Victory is his habit.
you as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States

who has

one who has not only voiced, but lived the traditions of
democracy. Strong in contest, wise in counsel, compelling
in accomplishment, tried in the fiery test of the experience
of public life, and found a fit champion for the popular
need, I present to you, the living embodiment of democracy
and victory the name of Alfred E. Smith.
Give 100 mm long 7 ft. 10 in. 1928 campaign fish.

FR
In every field of human endeavor some individual stands forth, blessed with the quality of continuing growth. That is why it falls to my lot to name for the third time before a national convention of our party in support of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held in the promise of those earlier days has been justified in the fulfillment.

Eight years ago my State presented its Governor, then in his first term, and the spirit of affection in which he was even then held was made clear to his party. Four years later the deeper note of accomplishment was sounded, and he was widely recognized as a public servant who had increased in usefulness and in public favor. It was perhaps difficult at that time for the delegates from other parts of the country to understand the almost violent loyalty in which this Governor was held in his own state - a loyalty that could not be curbed, an affection that insisted on being vocal.

Such personal feeling for a man is nothing new, but it is rare in a democracy that it should last. Yet it is an undoubted fact that the personal feeling for our Governor is not only even stronger today in his home State, but has spread to every other part of the nation - Today there is support for his nomination - in some parts an almost unanimous approval, in others a strong undercurrent - which is of far greater extent than ever before.

It is, however, not the duty of this convention to set up mere
popularity as the chief criterion in the choice of its nominee. A higher obligation falls upon us. We are choosing for presentation to the electorate a man who, in trust, will become the Chief Executive of the United States, and we must first of all ask ourselves what qualifications are imperative for the well-being of the nation. Party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

It is right to visualize the historic position of the two great political parties, and their fundamentals; differences of approach to the methods and practice of governing those differences seem in this latter day to be approaching once more the basis of the struggle of a century and a quarter ago when the citizens of the young Republic had to choose between government by a class and government by true popular representation.
Of late a chain of economic and social developments has brought about so much emphasis on material things, such a crowding of new activities into our daily lives that the average American has been prone to let his interest in his government sleep. To allow others to conduct the affairs of state is the easiest road, but is one which through all history has led to inevitable national downfall. In one unit of the union of states we have witnessed a remarkable exception to the general rule. During the past Ten years the citizens of New York have had their thought and interest projected on the problems of State affairs, largely because of the extraordinary faculty of the Governor in making these questions vital and clear and interesting. He has been able, without appeal to partisanship, to make the complications of budget figures understandable, to obtain the popular support for drastic changes in the structure of administration and to tear off the veil of mystery and of political cant from matters in which the electorate is personally concerned.

The ignorance that springs from apathy is the most dangerous spectre that casts its shadows over the democratic-republican form of government, and it may exist even where so-called education is of the
highest. The Governor's accomplishment of familiarizing the men and women of his state with the current problems, of holding their interest and of obtaining definite expression of their opinions in a noteworthy contribution to political progress.

The biggest single problem is to bring the Federal government of our forty-eight states close to the people, to stem the tide towards complexity and mystery and oligarchy and start it flowing back towards simplicity and openness and popular expression. Many men can point the method, but it will take a personality like that of the Governor to sell the thought to the people of the nation so definitely, so permanently that a complete reversal of present methods will become an active practical fact.

Our national machinery is today in much the same condition as that of the state of New York ten years ago. A multiplicity of departments, of boards, of commissions make a system inefficient and impossible for the average citizen to understand. It is part of the plan of those who seek to retain the control of government in the hands of the self-perpetrating "Best Minds" that the machinery shall continue to be so complex that ultimate responsibility can never be settled on a
If the theory and practice of our government, by which the simplification of machinery makes for definite responsibility had existed in Washington during these past eight years, long and costly senatorial investigations would not have been required to unearth malfeasance in the highest places. Nor would years elapse and public interest wane before the guilty are punished and the innocent exonerated.

Definite responsibility in Government at Albany has been achieved and other commonwealths are following the lead, but the National system is out of tune with the new order. It is time to put into office a President who will create an aroused public opinion throughout the country, point the way to practical reorganization and let the public do a little thinking for themselves.

To accomplish anything like a return of true public interest in the daily affairs of the National government and the public voice in those affairs, vigorous leadership is an essential
Governments may be of laws, but it is also very definitely
of men. The most perfect system will fail in the hands of the weak;
the law succeeds only to the extent of its proper administration.

That is why personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government.

Our own history shows great periods and every one of these is
associated with leadership by individuals. There are the names in
our history books. Great happenings, important developments in our
civilization, steps in material or in moral progress are interesting
in themselves, but are made human and understandable when they are
associated with the individual who was the moving spirit in their ac-
complishment. The difference between two theories of government would
be less understandable without the outstanding figures of Jefferson and
of Hamilton; the the War between the States without the heroic Lincoln
and Lee; the World War without its Woodrow Wilson.

The time is ripe for another leader. Eight, gray years have
left their mark on this Nation. Where have we advanced? En more dollars,
yes; in more comforts, yes. That is all. In these years no finer concept
of national life has been advanced by the President or his Cabinet than
in catering to the theory that the Nation wants to be left alone to
increase its wealth in its own way. Leadership has nowhere been visible,
We drift on the sea of apathy.

I visualize at Washington a new era - a Government in the open,
in which the hundred millions of our citizens will feel that they have a
part - a Government led by a man who will be in truth President of all
the people. That leader must be one who can and will work with both
parties for the common good.

A month ago the Republican controlled Congress of the U. S.,
passed at one session four Bills over the veto of the Republican President.
It is interesting to note that in eight years in Albany a Republican
Legislature has passed not one single Bill over the veto of a Democratic
Governor.

In eight years the Republican Senate of the United States has
on occasion after occasion declined to confirm appointments sent to it
for approval by a Republican President. In six years at Albany a
Republican Senate has confirmed every appointment made by a Democratic
Governor.

This ability to
I come for the third time to urge upon a Democratic National Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held in the promise of those earlier days has been justified in the achievement. Now at last the whole country sees as I saw, and as the fellow citizens of my State saw then, the real greatness of this man.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the measure of his stature has been made by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country.

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the sole criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must first of all make sure that our candidate possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these
United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national
good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it,
who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the
office. First of all leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear
responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next,
experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of
governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau
organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and can not
live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make
popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse
the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active
interest - a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the
nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just
for the people but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has given
the display of these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably
carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list
of Presidents since the war between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is public trust; and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us the pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those four standards.

Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained President Coolidge.

I mean the leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic has brought friends and foes alike to put through vitally needed measures of government reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finances, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry in the
improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month along, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States passed four (?) important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by the titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time of office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration,
of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars in these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their duties but able to give the highest administrative success to their duties. The high quality of appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of the state regardless of party.

As one who has served his state in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the
fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's study of the needs of his own State has given to him the opportunity of obtaining deep insight into similar problems of the other States and also of their application to the machinery and needs of the Federal Government. In the last analysis a matter of administration reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvement of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta or in Washington.

How well the people of this State have understood
and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown
by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected,
and again elected by hugh majorities in a normally Republican State.

Then as to the requisite of honesty. I shall not stoop
to parry the ungainly thrusts of Senator Moses and other pettifogging
politicians who seek to divert attention from the known crooks in
high places in their party councils. I do not mean an honesty that
merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding
personal smirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of the
honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no congressional
investigation, the honesty that demands faithfulness to the public
trust in every public servant, the honesty which takes immediate action
to correct abuse.

Let me illustrate. In the State Government an unfortunate
lady holding high elective office was charged with malfeasance. In
spite of the disagreeableness of the task the Governor set in immediate
operation the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In a part of
the huge City of New York dishonest practices in relation to certain
sewer contracts were brought to light. Immediately upon the legal
presentation of the matter to his authority the Governor used his
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Power to impart knowledge of and create interest in government is, in my judgment, one of the crying needs of our time. We are today at the end of eight gray years, colorless in part because of lack of progressive, positive accomplishment in Washington, but sombre principally because our mental habits have been lulled into a false coma. In many parts of the world the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquiesce in the easy thought of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our destination so long as the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We are not really much interested in whether that national destination be heaven or hell so long as the man at the wheel assures us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

We substitute golf for voting on election day; in an era of the ready made we accept ready made government; in a day of high powered advertising we fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican party. It is a course which if pursued to its logical end will change these united sovereign states of America into the United States, Incorporated, with a limited and self perpetuating Board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.
This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of demagogery, in no wish to attack the legitimate lives or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to the participation by the people in their government which has singled us out for a century and a half as the great outstanding success as a democratic republic.

That hope lies in the personal power of the man at the wheel, and especially in the personal purpose of the President himself to arouse that spirit of interest and desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved in these eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in the government as he is.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, - the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality which makes a man loved by all little children, by all dumb animals, that of soul, makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that make him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart of real interest in one's fellow men.
Our three greatest Presidents of modern times possessed it to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, Roosevelt's sympathy with the weak, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to help bring about happiness in the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is the quality so conspicuously lacking in our present administration, which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the world toward our nation. For without this understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of all lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President. It is also because of this quality that I further prophesy he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.
If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor through the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material and a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of our financial wealth alone.
My friends, I name to you again the man who has acquired the habit of victory, the man who has the will to win, the man who will inspire America, the happy warrior - ALFRED E. SMITH.
Draft of speech at-Heidelberg
Nominating
A. E. Smith

[Signature]

June 18, 1928
I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my party, the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held I still hold. It has been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the understanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country. He is well called “the Pathfinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity”.

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must first of all make sure that our nominee possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the office. First of all leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with concealment and deceit.
Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make
popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse
the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active
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country's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for
the people but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has displayed
these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them
with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents
since the War between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's
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gave us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a public
trust; Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all;
Virginia and New Jersey gave to us that pioneer of fellowship between nations,
our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards. Personal
leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the
leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed Presi-
dent Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the
time in part of the country sustained the present Chief Executive. I mean
that leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanswerable logic
has brought friends and foes alike to enact vitally needed measures of govern-
ment reform.

His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique
and unparalleled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganisation
of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finance,
in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women
and children engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health,
and in the attainment of the finest standard of public service in the inter-
est of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many
sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointments has been recognised and confirmed without exception by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by its titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I refer not merely to length of time in office - I mean that practical understanding which comes from the long and thoughtful study and daily dealings with the basic principles involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional law. In all these matters the Governor of New York has developed himself into an expert, recognised and consulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work but able to give the highest administrative success to their task. The high standard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his state, urban and rural, regardless of party. I add "rural" advisedly. For each succeeding gubernatorial election has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agricultural sections than in the large communities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an adminis-
trative post under President Wilson at Washington, I can bear witness that
the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national pro-
blems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic
extent and not in the fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's
study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight into similar
problems of other States and also of their application to the machinery
and the needs of the Federal Government. In the last analysis a matter of
administrative reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public
carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention of the
ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvement of the lot
of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane,
in Atlanta, or in Washington.

How well the people of his State have understood and approved the
wise solution of these questions is best shown by the fact that he has been
elected and re-elected, and re-elected, and again elected Governor by huge
majorities in a normally Republican state.

Now as to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty that
merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal
smirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty that lets a
man sleep well of nights, fearing no Senatorial investigation, that honesty
that demands faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, that
honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.
Futl bank accounts at a safe place.

Once we are in the middle of the process to determine if we only need to
be aware of whether any potential damage to the government or not. We are not really
worried about it. We are not essentially concerned over our destruction so far
progressive to use the determine and measure to not disturb our

Moreover we are not the only people to accomplish in the same thought of being

In any part of the world the same president's house exists.

By more important presidential the passed through the city you

want to the existing need of our time. The soul of our country, I know

power to track knowledge or, it's come into interest in God.

(And seconds than in any other portion of the country

our states know more of the function of our officials and their

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people in the hundreds of their government's function to take
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endurance of creativity which is based on different mechanisms.

unsure of creativity which is based on different mechanisms.

nothing put into the nation is fully what someone who campaigned

unavailable. This is a job which need not be carried onward.

since that more and more hypnotic note for him eager to be

provide in parallel process as so well understood by the observers of the

presentation of the equal and well as the greater of official and parallel

the whole story of the conscious and pentathlon efforts to induce the
We substitute golf for voting on Election Day; in an era of the ready-made we accept ready-made government; in a day of high powered advertising we fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican Party. It is a course which if pursued to its logical end will change these United Sovereign States of America into the "United States, Incorporated," with a limited and self-perpetuating Board of Directors and no voting power in the common stockholders.

This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogue, in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us out as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

That hope lies in the personality of the new man at the wheel, and especially in his purpose to arouse the spirit of interest and the desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having proved during these same eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in their government as he is himself.

I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind,—the mental and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the administrative and material problems of his
office. It is possible with only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one thing more needed to make him a great President. It is that quality of soul which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, - the quality of sympathetic understanding of the human heart, of real interest in one's fellowmen. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship. Between him and the people is that subtle bond which makes him their champion.
Our two greatest Presidents of modern times possessed this quality to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to bring about the happiness of the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is what is so conspicuously lacking in our present administration a lack which has been at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations towards us. For without this love and understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for his land that international friendship which is alone the sure foundation of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to bring the government home to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an "efficient" President, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding I prophesy he will also make a great President, and because of this I further prophesy that he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals as much as its material prosperity - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilisation in the days to come.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, ever comes true, it will not be through the mere mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively,
the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that will be more than material a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of our financial wealth alone.

America needs not only an administrator but a leader— a pathfinder, a blazer of the trail to the high road that will avoid the bottomless morass of crass materialization that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of Democracy to offer such a man. One who has the will to win, victory is his habit, the happy warrior — ALFRED E. SMITH.
I come for the third time to urge upon a Democratic National Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith which I held in the promise of those earlier days has been justified in the achievement. Now at last the whole country sees as I saw, and as the fellow citizens of my State saw then, the real greatness of this man.

During another four years his every act has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has spread from coast to coast, from North to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the measure of his stature has been made by no paid propaganda, by no effort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his heart to the duties of his high office and the welfare of the State. His most uncompromising opponent will not deny that he has achieved an unprecedented popularity among the people of this country.

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge, as the sole criterion in making our choice. A higher obligation falls upon us. We must first of all make sure that our candidate possesses the unusual qualifications called for by the high office of President of these United States. Mere party expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democrats.

What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, who has
four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the office.

First of all leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of governing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active interest - a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just for the people but by the people also.

History gives us confident assurance that a man who has given the display of these qualities as a great Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the war between the States, when our rapid growth made our nation's business an expert's task. Who stood out as our great Presidents? New York gave to us Grover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is public trust; and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave to us the pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson.
Let us measure our present Governor by those four standards. Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not mean the leadership of the band of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which has part of the time in part of the country sustained President Coolidge. I mean the leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of immeasurable logic has brought friends and foes alike to put through vitally needed measures of government reform.

The staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparalled record of constructive achievement in the total reorganization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finances, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry in the improvement of the public health, and in the attainment of the finest standard
of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has
accomplished by a personality of vibrant many sided appeal, which
has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republican controlled

Congress of the United States passed four (?) important bills over
the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albany
the wisdom of every veto by a Democratic Governor has been sustained
by a Republican legislature. In the same way the fitness of his
appointments has been recognized and confirmed without exception
by a hostile Republican State Senate, whereas a friendly Federal
Senate has on occasion after occasion rejected the nominations
sent in by the titular party leader.

The second great need is experience. By this I
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understanding which comes from long and thoughtful study of and
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budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and
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of New York has developed himself into an expert recognized and consulted by men and women of all parties.

As one who has served his State in the Legislature of which this Governor was then also a member, and who later for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson, I can bear witness that the problems which confront the Governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's study of the needs of his own State have given to him the opportunity of obtaining deep insight into similar problems of the other States and also of their application to the machinery and needs of the Federal Government.

In the last analysis a matter of administration reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public carriers, of the development of natural resources, of the retention of the ownership of water power in the people, of the improvement of the lot of the farmer differs little, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta or in Washington.

How well the people of this State have understood...
in any conference of scholars in the
field of constitutional law and of practical
Executive administration, whether it be the
science of taxation or these subjects he
proposed takes his place naturally
as a trained and efficient specialist. He
also possesses that most valuable quality of
the ability of getting at points of view
skilful in the theoretical side of their duties
that while to gain the highest administrative
success in their duties. The high quality
of the appointees of the Governor, their
integrity, their ability, has made strong
appeal to the citizens of the State
regardless of party.
and approved the wise solution of these questions is best shown
by the fact that he has been elected and re-elected, and re-elected,
and again elected by huge majorities in a normally Republican State.

Then as to the requisite of honesty. I shall not
stoop to parry the ungainly thrusts of Senator Moses and other
pettifogging politicians who seek to divert attention from
the known crooks in high places in their party councils.
I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or
an honesty that while avoiding personal smear, hides the corruption
of others. I speak of the honesty that lets a man sleep well of
nights, fearing no congressional investigation, the honesty that
Demands
asks for faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant,
the honesty which takes immediate action to correct abuse.

Let me illustrate. - In the State Government an unfortunate
lady holding high elective office was charged with malfeasance. In
spite of the disagreeableness of the task the Governor set in
immediate operation the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In
a part of
the huge city of New York dishonest practices in relation to certain sewer contracts were brought to light. Immediately upon the legal presentation of the matter to his authority the Governor used his power to its fullest extent, even though it involved the investigation of local leaders of his political faith. The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit and as well as the letter of official and private honesty in public office is so well understood by the voters of his State that more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked.
This is a topic which need not be enlarged on. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of Albany with those of Washington.

And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all the political leaders of this day, comes the ability to interest the people in the mechanics of their governmental machinery, to take the cogs apart and show the function of each wheel. The average voter of our State knows more of the functions of our officials and their offices than in any other portion of the country.
9.

Power to impart knowledge and create interest in government is in my judgment one of the crying needs of our time. We have taken for granted, at the end of a long gray years, the idea that in part because of lack of forethought in Washington, but principally because our mental habits have been molded into a false code. In many parts of the world, the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquire in the very thought of long more passengers, do long as the drivers and mechanics do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our distance, do long as the passing scenery is pleasant to the eye. We are not really,
much interested in whether that national
constituent be hon-our or bill or long
as the man at the wheel assures us
that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

We substitute golf for voting on
election day; we neglect the study in
an era of the study much we accept
A truly made government in a day
of high powered advertising we fall
for the false statements of the most
highly organized propaganda ever devised
by the the owners of the Republican
party. It is a course which is foamed
to its logical and will change the centurial
dominion states who the chain stores into
the United States, incorporated, with a
limited and self-directed Board of Directors and no voting power in the
Common stockholders.

This is a time of national danger and
America can be rescued again to
reform purposes. I say this in no spirit
of clamor, but in no wish to attack
the legitimate lives in business by
outcitizens. I see only one hope
of a return to the participation of the
people in their government which has
served us well for a century and a
half as the great outstanding success
as a democratic republic.

That hope lies in the personal
power of the man at the wheel, and
especially in the personal
offices of the President himself to advance that
spirit of interest and desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands next today as the Secretary of State
at that rank, as having served in three right years. Not only his duty,
but his power to make the people as interested in the government as
he is.
I have described so far qualities entirely of the mind, the mental
and moral equipment without which no President can successfully meet the
administrative and material problems of his office. It is possible without
only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but
there is one other thing needed to make him a great President. It is that
quality of soul which makes a man loved by all little children, by all dumb
animals, that makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble,
that makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, the quality of
sympathetic understanding of the human heart of real interest in one's fellow
men.

Our three greatest Presidents possessed it to an unusual degree.

It was, indeed, what most of all made them great. It was the human heart,
the sympathy with the weak of Roosevelt, and the passionate desire to help
bring about happiness in the whole world of Woodrow Wilson which will be the
longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is the
quality so conspicuously lacking in our present Chief Executive which has been
at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the world toward our
nation. For without this understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can
win for his nation that friendship which is alone the sure foundation of all
deep peace.
Because of his power of leadership, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to make the intricate details of our government interesting and clear to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an efficient President, but this is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding that I prophesy he will also make a great President. It is also because of this quality that I further prophesy he will again place us among the nations of the world as a country which values its ideals above material prosperity, as a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, as the ideal and hope of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the future.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, is ever to come about, it will not be through the mathematical calculations of a reduction of armament program nor through the platitudes of multi-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict, but because this great nation, whose people have no desire for other nation's territory, who have, as President Wilson so clearly showed the world, a heart and high ideals, no matter how coldly mercenary and businesslike our temporary administration has become. It will be because this nation will select as its head, a leader who understands the human side of life, who has the force of character and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively, the right course and the real course toward a prosperity that
will be more than material and a greatness that cannot be expressed in cold figures of our financial wealth alone.
My friends, I name to you again. The man who has acquired the habit of victory, the man who has the will to win, the man who will inspire America, the happy warrior — Alfred E. Smith
Speech by FDR

before Dem. Nat Convention

placing Gov. Alfred E. Smith in

nomination - June 27, 1928

Note on card board are the originals
used in convention

Franklin D. Roosevelt