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

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt's Political Ascension

File No. 258

1928 June 27

Houston, TX -
Placing Alfred E. Smith in Nomination


THE FOLIONING ADDRESS BY FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT NOMINATING GOVERTIOR SMITH AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN HOUSTON, MUST BE HELD IN STRICT CONFIDENCE UNTIL DELIVERED.
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I come for the third time to urge upon a convention of my party, the nomination of the Govemor 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 cast, 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. lis 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 f 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, the does not guess but knows from long prectice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from: mere technical bureau organizing; Then hones-ty--the honesty that hates hypocrisy and cannot live with coneealment 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.

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Let us mcasure 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 allke to enact vitally needed measures of government reform.

His 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 bus-iness-like management of state finanoe, 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 intorest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a persanality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept alone with it a legislature of a different politioal faith.

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As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Govemor was then also a member, and who latar for nearly eight years held an administrative post under President Wilson at Wasmiagton, I can bear witress that the problems winich confront the Govemer of Now York and those netional moblems which confront the President at Weshington differ chiefily in geogrephic extent and not in the frimathoter.s of poilitical principie. The Govirnor's study of the mpeats of his cwr State has giver. him deop insight into simiLar problems of otratanginterared also of thalr 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 elocted 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 avoidinc 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 erying need of our time. The soul of our country, luiled by mere material prosperity, has passed through cight, rray vears.
our people must not aequiesce in the easy thotight of being mere passengers so long as the drivers and mechanios do not ciaturb
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 destinction 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 govermment; in a day of high powered advertising we must not fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propaganda ever beveloped by the owners of the Repubiican Party. We do not want to change these United Sovereign States or 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 denger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in $n 0$ spirit of the demagog, in no wish th attack the legitimate course of the life or busiiness of our oftizens. I see only one hope of a return to that participation by the people in their government which hitherto marked us put as the grest 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 in* terest 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 deaire 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 auccessfully meet the administrative and material problers 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 animils, that quality of soul which makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, that quality which mekes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people, - the quality of sympsthetic understanding of the
human heart, of real interest in one's fellowmenc Instinctively he senses the popular need because he himself has lived through the hardship, the labor and the sacrifioe which must he encured by every men of heroic mould who struggles up to eminence from obscurity and Jow estate. Eetween hin; and the peoplo is that aubtla bond wioh makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically trust him with their loyalty and their love.

Our two greatest Fresidents of modern times possessed this quelity to ar unusual degree. It was, indeed what above all made them greet. It was Lincoin'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 lecking in our present administration, a lack which has beon at the bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of the other nations toward 12. For without this love and uncterstanding of his fellow men no Chiof Executive can win for hie land that international friendship which is alone the sure founantion of lasting peace.

Because of his power of leadersinf, because of his unequalled knowledge of the science of govemment, 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 "efficiont" Presicient, but it is because he also possesses, to a superlative degree, tins rare faculty of sympathetic uncerstanding I prophesy he vill also make a great President, and because of this I further prophesy that ho 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 selfiah designs on any weaker power, a land the ideal and inspiration of all those who dream a kinder, happier civilization in the days to comc.

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 amament 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 ana understands net only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wageearner -- the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs net 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 materiallsm that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. It is the privilege of democracy not cnly to offer such a man but to cffer hin as the surest leader to victory. To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is hercic. 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 warricr

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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-
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This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness. I say this in no spirit of the demagogy, 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

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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 hin 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 onsets 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 sympathic 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 mach 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 armanent 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 oharacter and the keenness of brain to take, instinctively,
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 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 unprecendented 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 oblige-
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 offioe. First of all leadership, artioulate, virile, willing to bear responsibility, needing no offioial 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 hypoorioy and oannot 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 oitizenship an aotive 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 $\alpha$
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 oarried 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 offioe 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 bend 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


His staunchest political adversaries conoede 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 finance, in the enactiment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women and ohildren 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 person-
 ality of vibrant, many sided appeal, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political faith.

During the past month alone, the Republioan 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 oocasion 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 basio prinoiples involved in the soience of taxation, of social welfare, of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penology, of legislative procedure and practioe, 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.
final He also possesses that most unusual quality of seleoting 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, thoir 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 eleotion has shown for him even greater proportional gains in the agrioultural sections than in the large communities.
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 fundamentals of politioal 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 mattor 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 eleoted and re-eleoted, and re-eleoted, and againeleoted Governor by huge majorities - in the hundreds of thousands - In a normally Republican state.

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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. ${ }^{\text {To }}$ 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

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This is a time of national danger unless America can be roused again to wakefulness, I say this in no spirit of the demagog, in no wish to attack the legitimate course of the iffe or buaiiness of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to that payticipation by the people in their govermment which hitherto marked us out as the grest outstanding sucaess among democratic republice.

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

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

I have described so far qualities ontirely of the mind, the mental and moral equipment without which no President oan auccessfully 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 uim a great Prosident. It is that quality of soul whach makes a man loved by little children, by dumb andmals, that quality of soul which makes him a strong holp to all those in sorrow or in tyuble, that quality which makes him not merely admifitd, but goved by all the people, - the quality of sympathotic underatanding of the
humen heart, of real interest in one's fellowmen.
Instinctively he senses the popular need because ho 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 worfd 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 uriderstanding 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 pover of leadership, because of his unequalled lnowledge 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 ereat 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 prospority - a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker pewer, 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 multiolateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because tris nation will select as its head, a leader who
understands the human side of iffe, 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 net only large affairs of business and government, but in an equal degree the aspirations and the needs of the individual, the farmer, the wageearner -- the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of our nation.

America needs net 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 enly to offer such a man but to effer hit as the surest leader to victory. To stand upon the ramparts and die for our principles is hercic. 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 1t, Victory is his habit -- the happy warricr

ALFRED E. SMITH

THE FOLLO ING ADDRESS BY FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT NOMIN TING GOVIRNOR SMITH AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVEITION IN HOUSTON, MUST BE HRID IN STRICT CONEIDENCS UNTIL DELIVERED.
: 1 : :
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 hes been justified in the achievement. The whole country now has learned the measure of his greatness.

During another four years his every sct has been under the searchlight of friend and foe and he has not been found went ing. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this men has apread 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 propagende, 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 Pathinder to the open road for all true lovers of Humanity".

It is, however, not my belief that I should urge popularity as the oriterion in making our ohoice. A higher obligetion 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 perty expediency must be subservient to national good. We are Americans even before we are Democratis.

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

First of sll leadership, articulnte, virile willing to beer responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the orsole. Next, experience, that dces not guess but knows from long practice the science of eoverning, shich is a very different thing from mere technical buresu organizing. Then honesty -- the honesty that hates lypocrisy and cannot live with concealment and deceit.

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

History eives us confldent essurence thet a man who has displayed these qualities as a greet Governor of a State, has invariably carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list of Presidents since the Wer between the States, when our rapld erowth made our nation's business an expert's task. Tho stand out es our grent Presidents? New York geve to us Crover Cleveland teaching in Albany thet 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, inoodrow $\pi$ ilson.

Let us measure our present Covernor by those standards. Fersonal leadership is a fundemental of successful covernment. I do not mean the leaderahip of the bend 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 Exeoutive. I meen that leadersinip which by sheer force of mind, by chain of unanawerable logic has brought friends and foes allke to ensct vitally needed measures of governmant reform.

His steunchest political sdversaries concede the Covernor's unique and unparallelad record of constructive achievament in the totol reorgnnization of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finence, in the ensctment of a legislative progran for the protection of men, wanen and nhfrawn engaged in industry, in the improvement of the public health, nud in the attainment of the finest atandard of public service in the interest of humanity. This he has accomplished by a personality of vibrant, many sided appesl, which has swept along with it a legislature of a different political foith.

Durine the past ranth alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States repeatedly passed important bills over the veto of a Republican President. During eight years at Albeny 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 Pederal Senate has on occasion after occesion 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 tine in office - I mean thet practical underatending which comes from the long and thoughtful study of and daily dealings with the besic minciples involved in the science of taxation, of social welfare,
of industrial legislation, of governmental budgets and administration, of penolosy, of legislative procedure and practice, of constitutional lew. In all these metters the Governor of New York has developed hinself into an oxpert, recognized and congulted by men and women of all parties. In any conference of scholars on these subjects he takes his place nnturally as a treined and efficient specinlist. He also possesses that most unusubl quality of selecting appointees not only skilled in the theoretical side of their work, but able to of ve the highest saministrative success to their task. The hith atandard of the appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of his stete, urben and rural, regardiess of party. I add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding gubernatorial olection has shown for him even greater noportionsl gains in the agricultural sections thon in the inrge commuities.

As one who served his state in the Legislature of which this Govemor wes then also onember, and who later for nearly eight years held an adrainistrative post under President lilson at fashington, I can bear witnese that the problems which coneront the Governor of New York and those national problems which confront the President ot Iashington differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamentels of political principle. The Covernor's study of the needs of his own State has given him deep insight into similar problens of other States and also of their application to the mechinery end the needs of the Federal Covernment. In the last nhalysis a matter of ndministrative reform, of industrial bettement, 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 improvernent
of the lot of the fermer aiffors ilttle, whether the problem occur in Albany, in Spokane, in Atlanta, or in aehington.

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, end re-elected, and again elected covernor by huge ma jorities - in the mundreds of thousands - in a nomnily Ropublican state.

Now ns to the requisite of honesty. I do not mean on honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or en honesty thit while evoidine peraonal emirch, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honesty thet lets a man sleop well of nichts, fearing no Senstorial investigetion, thit honesty thet demends faithfulness to the public trust in every public servant, that honesty which takes immaiate ection to correct abuse.

The whole story of his constant and peraistent efforts to insure the prectice 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 thet more and more Republicans vote for him every time he is attacked. This is a topic which need not be ealarged upon. The votine public of the nation is fully wise enouph to compare the ethical atendards of officisi Albeny with those of officiel Mashington.

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ALFRED E. SSITTH

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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 teohnioal bureau organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypoorioy 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 strow-
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 trusts and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for ally Virginia and Now Jersey gave to us 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 bead of good fellows and good schemers who followed President Harding, nor the purely perfunctory party loyalty which the |quisent Chary has part of the time in part of the country sustained Breadiand-6oedinger Tho
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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 rejeoted the nominations sent in by
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Lat -me illustrate. In the State Government an unfortunate
lady holding high elective office was charged with malfeasance. In spite of the Aisagreeablengss of the task the Governor set in immediate operfion the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In a part of presentation of the matter to his authority the Governor used -ils power to its fullest extent, even though it/ involved the investigation of local leadersmonhis pottiest factor. The whole story of his constant and persistent efforts to insure the practice of the spirit
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And now last of 211 , 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.)?

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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 dficinl
those of Washington.
And now last of all, and where the Governor excels over all
the politian 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 Stated 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 oreate interest in, government is, The mitral aspect
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 positive accomplishment in Washington but sombre prinoipaliy"becauae-oun ripatul habits hive been lulled intora false flat io no 9 9 )
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 organised propaganda ever developed by the owners of the Republican party. It is a course which if pursued to its logical on will change these United sovereign enates 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 demagogeang in no wish to conc: of /he $l_{1} /-2$
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 is/terito Jnarehics es
 Answer
peldemocratio republics.
That hope lies in the personaylymer of the man at the wheel, and especially in the personal purpose of the President himself to arouse that /he in spirit of interest and desire to participate.

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having if) Ding vases Nomad that purpose, as having mopeds these eight years not only his desire but $\rightarrow \wedge$ his power to make the people as interested in the government as he is orin, $1 /$. 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 heeded to make him a great President. It is that quality which makes a man loved by little children, by dumb animals, there of soul make him a strong holp to all those in sorrow or in trouble, yes.laty, which
that makes him not merely admired, but loved by all the people the quality of

America nivels not unly an adminicitiala turt a fiader, a Pathfinder, a blazer wf the linil to the high swad that mill avaid thatballoulves merass $\mathrm{N} /$ crass Enaterialiens that Kus inguefid the quat rivilizalivess N/ the pecol. (I) is the prieitegi of Nmoriacy Koffer veech a mana, wi who has the mitl to min. tictory is ha io Lubit - The Rupfery wniniostoffod Inmil?

Our three greatest Presidents of modern times possessed a 4 to an unusual
degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart. Hoolevilt'l sympathy with theldgekn and Woodrow wilson's passionate desire Why He bring about happiness the whole world which will be the longest re-
 membered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is the quality so

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conspicuously lacking in our present administration which has been at the
bottom of the growing dislike and even hatred of thgiworiti toward, gurventarghe iss
fou are 1
For without this understanding of his fellow men no Chief Executive can win for A
his land that internationalmfriendship 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. $\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { the alae because of this quality that I }\end{array}\right.$ What 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 a kinder, happier civilisation in the days to come.

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(No \#t) Inismetierty ne emses the farfonlar siriel hocauce the himealf hos loved thaugh the haad Nhigls. Dיt wisen hani and the ferofele is that sinbtle bound which nafins tries theci cheres pion.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, over comes true, it will not be through the mathematical caloulations of a reduction of armament program nor the platitudes of malti-lateral treaties piously deprecating armed conflict. It will be because this nation will seleat 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.

Wh friendt. I name to you again the man who has aoquired the habit of victory, the man who has the will to win, the man who will inspire Amerioa, the happy warrior - ALPRED E. SMITH.

This is the shaft of the
1928 simith nominntion eperch writtion ln fucler Proskauer, un/ yf which \& trơ an uccasemal phanse.


## Inly Pioskmers dunfreel about for man $r$ driven at thanston

To the last Democratic National Convention I hither ice
presented, happy warrior for the Party, for the people and for progressive principles of government. Four years have south
passed. The cory for leaderwitp 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 for office nominate tons of a Republican President have failed of conA Iimation in a Republican Senate, and the vetoes of a Republican President have been ruthlessly overridden by his own party colleagues. The need of 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 achieve－ mont in the total reaganaination of the state government， bes－itsmanaganelet in the ehanilgation of its state finances，in the enact－ ment of a legislative program for the protection of the men， women and children engaged in industry，and for the preserve－ tion 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 bise is a personality of vibrant，many－sided and colorful appeal．He is，in a literal sense，\＆man of the people，as was Lincoln，who said that God must love the common people because He made so many of them，倍e sprung from them．Instinctively he senses the popular need because he has himself lived through ambpowerty if the mat $-g$ when， the hardship，the labor and the sacrifice which must be en－ dured 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 the wage-Eanuer, and understands the individual business man, the farmer, the great mass of average citizens who make up the backbone of the nation $A$ because he, now, hats counted them in ofrousante among his intimates and intents:

Between him and the people
there is that subtle bond of sympathetic understanding which makes him their champion and makes them enthusiastically hin with legally and love. trusting followers. Thus he has the true heart of a statesman of democracy. $\#$ hen, 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
 that public office is a public trust. The administration

Of a great executive required study, toil, self-sacrifice and unremitting 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 reoognized expert. In any conference of scholars and economists upon taxation, upon social welfare, upon or adurimetration factory legislation, upon governmental ifnance upon penology, upon legislative procedure and practice, the Governor of New idles
York fall o 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 the ix behalf and how to do it. But in a great execufive 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
 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-
sent. 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.
 men in our time have had it before hill $=$ surosevolutwemar

Prem. 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 great leaders on the qualities of the heart and the head in him there is added this great quality oi a forceful ancappeatifre personality. there As we turn to the future,
 our eye 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. So 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, unreached by naxtymanganiantion, 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 comes from Louisiana. From the factories of the east, the great aud graznig Randi farming plains of the middle west and the mines of the montain states Che sungingurue oft people frochamis here are no essential 1 tother hen tartu demonic differences in humanity.

All real men and women will march behind the standard of thblat who has so bravely fought and so nobly won ictory is his habit.

Irving tow these tidings today. I
 one who has not only voiced, butjlived the traditions of democracy. Strong in contest, wise in counsel, compeling in acoomplishment, tried. in the liery test of the experience of public ife, and found a fit champion for the popular

Par nies a curveladite te. The Phudere peh i.S need, I present to you ene the living embodiment of democracy and viotory thenemer Alfred. E. Smith.

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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 oonvention 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 hes been justified in the fulfillment.

Eight years ago wy State presented its Governor, then in his first term, and the spirit of affection in which he was oven then hold was made clear to his party. Four years later tho deeper note of acoomplishment was sounded, and he was widely reoognized as a public servant who had inereased in usefulness and in publio favor. It was perhaps diffioult at that time for the delegates from other parts of the country to understand the almost violent loyalty in whioh this Governor was held in his own state a loyalty that could not be ourbed, an affeotion that insisted on being vocal. Such personal feeling for a man is nothing now, but it is rare in a demooracy that it should last. Yot it is an undoubted faot 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 underourrent - 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 ohief oriterion in the ohoice of its nominee. A higher obligation falls upon us. We are ohossing for presentation to the electorate a man who, in trust, will beoome the Chief Executive of the United States, and we must firstvof all ask ourselves what qualifiastion are imperative for the well-being of the nation. Party expedienoy must be subservient to national good. We are Amerioans even before we are Demoorats. It is right to visualise the historio position of the two great political parties, and their fundamenta; differences of approach to the methods and practice of governing those difforonces seem in this latter day to be approaching onoe more the basis of the struggle of a century and a quarter ago when the oitizens of the young Republic had to ohoose between government by a olass and government by true popular representation

Of late a chain of esonomio and sooial developments has brought about so much emphasis on material things, such a orowding 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 affiars, largely because of the extraordinary faculty of the Governor in making these questions vital and olear and interesting. He has been able, without appeal to partianship, 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 conc rned.

The ignorance that springs from apathy is the most dangerous spectre that casts its shadows over the democratio-republican form of governnent, and It may exist even whef e so-called education is of the
highest. The Governor's accomplishment of familiarizing the men and women of his state with the ourrent problems, of holding their interest and of obtaining definite expression of their opinions in a noteworthy contribution to politioal 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 oligarohy and start it flowing baok 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 aotive practical fact.

Our national machinery is today in mach the same condition os that of the state of Now York ton years ago. A multiplicity of departments, of boards, of commissions make a system inefficient and impossible for the average oitizen to understand. It is part of the plan of those who seek to retain the control of government in the hends of the self-perpatrating "Best Minds" that the machinery shall continue to be so complex that ultimate responsibility oan never be settled on a

If the theory and praotice of our governnente by whioh
the simplifloation of machinery males for definite responsibility had existod in Wasiangton during these past eight yoars, long and oostly senatorial investigations would not have been required to unearth malfoasanoe in the hightost plaoes. Nor would yoars elapse and publio interest wane before the glilty are punished and the innocent exonerated. Befinite responsibility in Governnent at Albany has been aohieved and other commonwedths 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 oreate ar aroused public opinion throughout the country, point the way to practical reorganization and let the publio do a little thinking for themselves.

To acoomplish anything like a return of true publio
interest in the daily affairs of the National government and the publia voice in those affaire, vigorous leadership is an ossential

Government may be of laws, but it is also very definitely of mon. The most perfoct syotem will fail In the hands of the weak; the lew sueoeede oniy to the extent of its proper administration. That is why porsonal leadership is a fundamental of sucoessful government. Our oun history shows great poriods and every one of these is sasooiated with leadership by individualsmen. Thoirs are the nemes in our history books. Great happeninge, important dovelopments in our evilization, stops in matorial or in noral progress are intereating In thomeelves, but ere made human and undorstandable when they are essociated with the individual who was the moving spirit in their ac* complishnent. The difference between two theories of government would be less understandable wi thout the outgtanding flgures of Jefferson and of Hemiltom; the the Var between the States without the heroic Linooln and Loe: tho World War without its lloodrow Wilson.

The time is ripe for another leader. Elght, gray years have left their fark on this Hation. Where have we advanced? In mbre dollarg. yess in more oomforts, yos. That is all. In these years no finer concept of national 1ife has been advanced by the Prosidont or his Cabinet than

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In catoring to the theory that the Nation wants to be lei alone to increase its wesith in its own way. Leaderghip has nowhere been viaible. We drift on the sea od apathy.

I visualize at Washington a now ora- a Government in the open, in which the hundred millions of our oitizens will feol that they have a parte a Government led by a en who will be in truth President of all the people. That leader must be one who can and will work with both partias for the common good. A month ago the Republican controlled Congress of the $\mathrm{U}_{\mathrm{E}}$ Ses passed at on session four Bills over the voto of the Repubiloan President. It is interesting to note that in eight years in Albany a Republican Legislature has pagsed not one single Blll over the veto of a Demooratic Governor.

In eight years the Republican Sonate of the United States has on occasion after occasion declined to confirm appointments sent to it for approval by a Republioan Presidont. In $31 x$ years at Albany a epublioan Sonate has confirmed every appointraent made by a Domocratic Governor.

I come for the third time to urge upon a Demooratio 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 mast 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 frpm long practice the science of governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocricy and can not live with concealment and deceit.

Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to maice popular governnent 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 Theadore Roosevelt preaching the doctrine of the square deal for alls 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 bead 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 Governoris 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 faitho

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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 Democratio 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 Senatio 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
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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 $Y_{0}$ rk and those national problems which confront the President differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the
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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 isagreeableness 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 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 a.11, 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, 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 worlc 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 mechanies do not disturb our comfort. We are not especially concerned over our destinetion 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 oi the ready made we accept ready made government; in a day of high powered advera tising 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 pirpose 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 heeded 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 soula 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 onets 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 Hilson'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
a lack
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 internationalmfriendship 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 govenment, 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 sympathotic 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 sice 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.


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I sem for the third time to urge upen a oonvention of $\overline{m y}$ party, the nemination of the Governor of the state of Iivw Tork. The faith whioh I held I still hold. It has been Juatified in the achieverent. The whele sombtry now has learned the measure of his groatmess.

During another four yeare his every aet has been under the searohlight of friend and foe and ho has not been found wanting. 8lowly, suroly, the proper underatanding of this man has spread from ooast to soant, from Morth to South. Most noteworthy is this fact, that the underatanding of his stature has been spread by no paid propagande, by no offort on his part to do other than devote his time, his head and his hoart to the duties of his high office and the wolfare of the 8tate. His most unocmpromising opponent will not dony that he has aohieved an unpreoendonted popularity among the people of this ocuntry. Be is well oalled "the Pathinder to the open road for all true lovers of Ilumanity".

It 10, however, not by bolief that I ohould urge popularity as the oriterion in making our ohoice. A highor obligation falle upen us We must firgt of all make sure that our nominee possosses the unusual qualifin ostions oalled for by the high office of President of these Daited Itrates. More party expedienoy must be subservient to national good. We are ArepLeans even before we are Demoorate.

What sort of President do wo need teday! $A$ man, I take it, who hae four great oharaoteristies, every one of them an essential to the offioe. Firgt of all leaderohip, articulate, virile, willing to bear respenaibility, needing no offioial spokeaman to interpret the oracle. Ioxt, experionee. that does not guess but lnews frea long practice the soience of geverning. which is a very difforent thing frem more teohnieal bureau organising. Thon honesty - the honesty that hates hypeorloy and oannot live with coneealment and deoeit.

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History gives us confident assuranee that a man who has displayed these qualitios as a groat Governor of a State, has invariably oarried them with hile to beoome a great President. Look beok ovor our list of Presidente sinee the War between the States, when our rapld growth mede our nation's business an expert's task. Who stand out as out greatel Presidental Mow York gave to us orover Cleveland teaching in Albany that public office is a publio trust; Theodore Roosovelt preaohing the doatrine of the aquare deel for all; Virginia and Mew Jorsoy gave to us that pioneer of fellowahip between nations, our great leador, Woodrow Wilson.

Let us measure our present Governor by those standards. Porsenal leadorahip is a fundemental of suecessful government. I do not mean the loadorship of the band of good follows and good sohemers who followed Presidont Harding, nor the purely perfunotory party loyalty whioh has part of the time in part of the oountry sustained the present Chiof Bxeoutive. I mean that leadership whioh by sheer foree of mind, by ohain of unanuwerable logic has brought friends and foes allke to onoct vitally needed moasures of governmont reform.

His ataunohest politioal adveraaries ooncede the Governor's unique and unparalled record of construotive aohievament in the total reorganisation of the mohinery of governsiont, in the business-1ike managoment of state finance, In the onactment of a legislative program for the proteotion of mon, women and ohildren ongaged in industry, in the improvemont of the publio bealth. and in the attainment of the finest standard of public sorvice in the intereat of humanity. This he has aecomplished by a parcocality of vibrant, many
sided appeal, whioh has awopt aleng with it a logiolature of a difforent pelitioal faith.

During the past month alene, the Rogublican controlled congress of the Onited states ropeatediy passed lmportant bills over the voto of a Ropubilean President. During alght yoars at Albany the wisdem of overy veto by a Domoeratio Governor has been sustained by a Ropublisan legislature. In the same way the fitness of his appointmonts has been reeognised and confirmed without exeoption by a hestile Ropublican state sonate, whereas a Irleadly Fedoral sonate has on eocasion aftor occasion rojeoted the nominations sent In by its titular party leador.

The seoend groat need is exporience. By this I refor not morely to length of tim in office - I mean that practioal undorstanding whioh comes from the long and thoughtful atudy ond daily dealinge with the besio prindples involved in the soionce of taxation, of sooial welfare, of industrial logiolation, of covermantal budgote and adninistration, of penology, of logislative prosedure and practice, of oonstitutional lam. In all these matters the covernor of Hew York has developed himself into an expert, reoognised and conoulted by men and womon of all parties. In any conforance of soholars on these subjeots he takes his place naturally as a traized and offieiont speoialist. Ho also possesses that most unusual quality of soleotIng appointees not only akilled int the theorotical aide of thoir work but able to cive the highest administrative auecess to thoir taik. The high standard of the appointees of the covernor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the oftisons of his stato, urben and rural, regardleas of party. I add "rural" advicediy. For each aueseeding gubernatorial eleotion has shom for him even greater proportional gains in the agrioultural seotions than in the large oommunities.

As one whe served his state in the Legisiature of whioh this oovernor was then also a member, and who later for noarly olght yoara held an adminis-
trative pest under President Wilson at Waghington, I oan bear witness that the probleme whioh oonfront the Govornor of IVW Yoric and those national prow bleas whioh oonfront the Prosidont at Waehington differ ohiofiy in geographio extent and not in the fundarentals of politial prinoiple. The Govermoria etrudy of the neede of his own State has given hin deop insight into ainilar problems of other 8tates and also of thoir applieation to the madinery and the noeds of the Federal Governoent. In the lest analyais a mattor of administrative reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of probile earriers, of the developnent of natural resouroes, of the rotention of the ownership of primary water power in the people, of the improvoment of the lot of the farmer differe 1ittle, whether the problem osour in Albsny, in spoleane, In Atlanta, or in Washington.

How woll the people of his State have underatood and approved the wise solution of these question is best shown by the faot that ho has been eleoted and re-eleoted, and re-eieoted, and again eleoted dovernor by huge mojoritios in a normelly Republioan state.

Fow as to the regquisite of honesty. I do not mean an honesty that merely keeps a man out of jail, or an honesty that while avoiding personal enfroh, hides the corruption of others. I speak of that honeaty that lets a man aleep well of nighte, fearing no Sonatorial inventigation, that heneaty thet demands faithfulness to the publio trust in overy prablis servant, that honesty whioh takes immediate aetion to oorreot abuce.
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Bith on leum =

I cone for the third time to urge upon a Democratic National Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The faith whioh 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/been under the searchlight
of friend and foe and he has not been found wanting. Slowly, surely, the proper understanding of this man has sproad 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

## Demoorats.

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 gland' 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.

## -3-

Let us measure our present Governor by those four standards. Per-
sonal 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 anamanofuec
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.


She staunchest politioal adversaries concede the Governor's unique and unparelled 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 programfor 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

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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. Duting the past month alone, the Republican controlled
yangers
the veto of a Republican Predident. 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 ocoasion after occasion rejected the nominations sent in by the titular party leader.

The second great need is exporionce. 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.

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.

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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 oonviotion. In a part of
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## - No. 8

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
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peace.
knowledge of the science of government, because of his uncompromising honesty, because of his ability to make the-antriate details-of-our governmont-in-
treating and clear to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make on efficient President, but 侁, "ts because he also possess, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding thetic 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 abovemerseltes material prosperity, a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, A faith ideal and the per, drays $\bar{x}$ cone of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the fubera.

If the vision of real world peace, of the abolishment of war, ever tor comes $1 / / 1 / 2$
and, 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-beaausa 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 mercenany 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.
(Put thro ma appants piga)
Bey friemds, o nami To yun again The man suhe tao aequaird the habits of bieting, the man who har the will es wain, the suam who will ingerese fmeveirea, the kabbey mamion - atfonl ti Amila

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