
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**

Franklin D. Roosevelt
1st Edition!

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.

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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 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 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 national problems which confront the President at Washington differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the fundamental principles 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 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.

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 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.

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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

~~Chairman - my friends :~~

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Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hawston - Jan 27
1928

NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION
20 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Spent by F. S. R.
before Nat. Convention
placing Geo. Alfred G. Smith in
nomination June 27th 1928

Shots in cardboard are the originals
used in convention

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Triple Space
Cut width.
to this

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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 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 material^{ism} ~~ization~~ that has engulfed so many of the great civilizations of the past. ~~(Insert G. A. 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 fully mindful of

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,

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~~who not only discuss success but~~
~~concentrate on it~~

9 A.

It is the privilege of democracy
not only to offer such a man
but offer him as the
surest leader to victory.
To stand upon the ramparts &
die for our principles is heroic.
To rally forth to ~~the~~ battle & win
for our principles is something
braver 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



Mr. Chairman - my friends :

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

Enc #258
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".

(Lower)

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.

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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} 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

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 office¹⁾ 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 ^{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.

And 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 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 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.

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 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.

100.
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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.

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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. ^(quint) 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

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Houston - June 27
1928

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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 uncompromizing 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 natural 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 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 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.

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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 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.

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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 demagog, 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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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 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 these 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 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 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.

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 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

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

Convention of my party
I come for the third time to urge upon a ~~partisan~~ ~~convention~~

Convention the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The

faith which I held *I still hold* ^{to} in the promise of those earlier days has been justified

in the achievement. Now at last ^{now has learned} the whole country sees as I saw, and as

the fellow citizens of my State saw then, the ^{measure of his} ~~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,

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What sort of President do we need today? A man, I take it, great Presidents? New York gave us Grover Cleveland teaching us who has four great characteristics, every one of them an essential to the ability that public office is public trust; and Theodore Roosevelt preaching the office. First of all leadership, articulate, virile, willing to bear doctrine of the square deal for all; Virginia and New Jersey gave us responsibility, needing no official spokesman to interpret the oracle. Next, the pioneer of fellowship between nations, our great leader, Woodrow Wilson, experience, that does not guess but knows from long practice the science of

Let us measure our present Governor against those high standards. governing, which is a very different thing from mere technical bureau Personal leadership is a fundamental of successful government. I do not organizing. Then honesty - the honesty that hates hypocrisy and can not when the leadership of the best of good fellows and good citizens will live with concealment and deceit.

Followed President Harding, was the purely perfunctory party loyalty which Last, and in this time, most vital, that rare ability to make has part of the time in part of the country sustained speechless leadership popular government function as it was intended to by the Fathers, to reverse I mean the leadership which by sheer force of mind, by chain of command, the present trend towards apathy and arouse in the citizenship an active Eagle has brought friends and foes alike to public-spiritedly shared interest - a willingness to reassume its share of responsibility for the measures of government reform.

nation's progress. So only can we have once more a government not just His staunchest political adversaries concede the Governor's for the people but by the people also.

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History gives us confident assurance that a man who has given— *disloyal* ~~the display~~ of the machinery of government, in the business-like management of state finances, in the enactment of a legislative program carried them with him to become a great President. Look back over our list for the protection of men, women and children engaged in industry in the

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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 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

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During the past month alone, the Republican controlled Congress of the United States ^{repeatedly} ~~has~~ passed ~~several~~ 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} ~~duties~~ but able to

give the highest administrative success to their ^{tasks} ~~duties~~. The

^{attendants} ~~high quality~~ of appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ^{his} ~~ability~~, has made strong appeal to the citizens of ^{urban + rural} ~~the~~ state, regardless

of party.

*I add 'rural' adverbially. For each one needs
Federalism creating has shown for him even greater
material gain in the agricultural sections than in the ^{urban} ~~central~~ ^{communes} -*

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

^{at Washington}
the President differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the

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 the Assembly of Maine
and again elected by large majorities in a normally rebellious State,
fundamentals of political principle. The Governor's study

of the needs of his own State has given ~~to him the opportunity~~
to study the special demands of Maine, ~~and to~~
~~of obtaining~~ deep insight into similar problems of the other
States and also of their application to the machinery and needs of the
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reform, of industrial betterment, of the regulation of public
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How well the people of ^{his} State have understood. In

spite of the disagreements of the body the Governor set in motion
operations the machinery which resulted in her conviction. In a part of

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and again elected by ^{Governor in 10th hundreds of thousands} ~~large~~ majorities in a normally Republican State.

^{Now} ~~Then~~ as to the requisite of honesty. ~~I shall not stoop~~
~~to parry the ungainly thrusts of Senator Moses and other pettifogg-~~
~~ing 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~~ ^{that}
honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no ^{Senatorial} ~~congressional~~
investigation, ^{that} ~~the~~ honesty that demands faithfulness to the public
trust in every public servant, ^{that} ~~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 ^{probity} ~~honesty~~ in public ~~conduct~~ ^{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

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fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of ^{official} Albany with ^{official} 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 role of our country

lulled by the cry of material progress
has turned through
~~and 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
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~~We substitute golf for voting on election day; In an era of the~~

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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} demagoguery, in no wish to attack the legitimate ^{source of the} life or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to ^{that} the participation by the people in their government which ^{murder} ~~has~~ ^{shattered} ~~slung~~ us out for a century and a half as the great outstanding success ^{hitherto} ~~among~~ ^{among} democratic republics,

That hope lies in the ^{personality} ~~personal~~ ^{new} power of the man at the wheel, and especially in ^{his} the personal purpose ~~of the President himself~~ to arouse ^{The} 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 ^{during same} ~~that~~ these eight years not only his desire but his power to make the people as interested in ^{their} the government as he is ~~himself~~.

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(Insert 10A)

~~That subtle bond~~

Instinctively he senses the popular
need because he himself has lived
through the hardships. Between him and
the people is that ~~subtle~~ bond
which makes him their champion.
And makes him understanding but vain



~~I spoke with words~~

^{Amencer}
The ~~nation leads~~ needs not only
an administrator but a leader - a
pathfinder a closer of ~~the~~ ^{the} trail ~~back~~
to the high ~~ground~~ ^{front} that will avoid the
flooded masses of ~~the~~ ^{cross} mountains. They
have engulfed so many of the great
^{civilization} ~~people~~ of the past. It is the ~~work~~ ^{mission}
of democracy to offer such a man -

Two
Our ~~three~~ greatest Presidents of modern times possessed *the quality* to an unusual degree. It was, indeed, what above all made them great. It was Lincoln's human heart, ~~Reverend's sympathy with his work~~, and Woodrow Wilson's passionate desire to ~~bring about happiness~~ *the of* in the whole world which will be the longest remembered by the historians of a hundred years from now. It is ~~the quality~~ *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 ~~world~~ *other nations* toward ~~our nation~~ *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 ~~the~~ 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* ~~It is also because of this quality that 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 ~~of~~ a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

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~~Mr. C. W. Smith~~, I name to you again ^{one} ~~the man~~ who has acquired
the habit of victory, ^{victory is his habit} the man who has the will to win, ~~the man who~~
~~will inspire his~~ the happy warrior - ALFRED E. SMITH.

1. During his 4 terms as Gov.
2. & about 3 Presidents

I come for the third time to urge upon a Democratic-National-
 Convention ^{of my party} the nomination of the Governor of the State of New York. The
 faith which I held ^{I still hold:} ~~in the promise of these earlier days~~ ^{it} has been justified
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~~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
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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 ^{ed} 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~~^a 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 Harding~~^{one time the president of the}.

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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 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~~ ^{work} but able to give the highest administrative success to their ~~duties~~ ^{task}. The high ~~quality~~ ^{standard} of appointees of the Governor, their integrity, their ability, has made strong appeal to the citizens of ~~the~~ ^{his urban and rural,} state regardless of party. (Insert 5a)

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 ^{at Washington} differ chiefly in geographic extent and not in the

5a (No 4)

add "rural" advisedly, for each succeeding
gubernatorial election has shown for him
even greater ^{proportional} gains in the agricultural
~~and small town~~ sections than in the
larger communities.

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 ~~and~~ other States and also of their application to the machinery and 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} ~~the~~ 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 ^{Governor} huge majorities in a normally Republican State.

77 Now 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 ^{senatorial} honesty that lets a man sleep well of nights, fearing no ~~corruption~~ 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. ^A 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 ^{public} ~~conduct~~ ^{conduct} in public ~~life~~ ^{life}

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} ~~on~~. The voting public of the nation is fully wise enough to compare the ethical standards of ^{official} Albany with ^{official} 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,
The vital soul of
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the same tendency shows itself. We are not the only people to acquiesce in
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ion 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 adver-
tising we fall for the false statements of the most highly organized propa-
ganda 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 per-
petuating 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~~ ^{the} in no wish to attack the legitimate ~~business~~ ^{course of the life} or business of our citizens. I see only one hope of a return to the participation by the people in their government which ~~has~~ ^{hitherto marked us} ~~has~~ ^{has} singled us out for a century and a half as the great outstanding success among democratic republics.

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

The Governor of the State of New York stands out today as having that purpose, as having ~~possessed~~ ^{having} ~~in~~ ^{same} these eight years ^{desired} 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 ~~the~~ little children, by ~~the~~ dumb animals, ^{that quality} of soul ~~which~~ ^{that} makes him a strong help to all those in sorrow or in trouble, ^{quality which} 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.

9.
America needs not only an administrator
but a trader, a Pathfinder, a blazer
of the trail to the high road that will
avoid that bottomless morass of crass
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-helmed I Smith.

Two
Our ~~three~~ greatest Presidents of modern times possessed ~~an~~ *this quality* 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~~ *to* bring about ~~the~~ *the* happiness ~~of~~ *of* 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~~ *the other nations* toward ~~our nation~~. 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 ~~the~~ 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. *It is also* because of this quality that 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 ~~of~~ a kinder, happier civilization in the days to come.

10 A

(No 4) Distinctly he senses the popular
mind because he himself has lived
through the hardships. Between him
and the people is that subtle bond
which makes him their champion.

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 ~~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 ~~the~~ 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 Proskauer, out
of which I took an occasional
phrase.

FWR.

N.Y.

June 18. ¹¹
1928.

60

Judge Proskauer's proposed speech for
me to deliver at Houston FWR.

To the last Democratic National Convention I
^{the pleasure} presented, a happy warrior for the Party, for the people and
for progressive principles of government. Four years have
passed. The cry for ^{leadership} ~~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
^{for office} nominations of a Republican President have failed of con-
firmation in a Republican Senate, and the vetoes of a Repub-
lican President have been ruthlessly overridden by his own
party colleagues. The need of ^{our} 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} ~~reconstruction~~ of the state government, ^{business-like management} ~~in the rehabilitation~~ of its 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} ~~for him~~ 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~~ ^{He} sprung from them. Instinctively he senses the popular need because he has himself lived through ^{and poverty of the working man} 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 wage-earner,} 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 ~~his~~ ^{him with loyalty and love.} trusting 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 ~~served his~~ ^{was a} studentship. There Grover Cleveland learned that public office is a public trust. The administration

of a great executive requires 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 recognized expert. In any conference of scholars and economists upon taxation, upon social welfare, upon factory legislation, upon governmental finance, ^{or administration,} upon penology, upon legislative procedure and practice, the Governor of New York ^{fits} ~~falls 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} ~~that power~~ which the Governor of New York possesses ^{to make} ~~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 accomplishment.

ment. Whether the issue be a ^{duh} ~~any~~ monetary question ^{such as} 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 two 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 ^{great leaders of our party} ~~entirely missing~~. To 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, ^{there is} ~~the~~ light in 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.

Wilson, Brown, Cleveland - and the hundreds of thousands who followed them - Endowed with this rare and precious talent -

We are dedicating ourselves to a successful struggle for
the reestablishment of Democratic government in this country
of our love. And the word ^{of triumph} 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 ^{two hundred}
1,150,000, he lost the state by a bare 70,000. 500,000
human beings, ~~unreached 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. ^{how the who nation ~~has~~ ^{appeals} trust him}
~~But the good tidings have spread.~~ Maine
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
^{And grazing lands}
farming plains of the middle west and the mines of the moun-

tain states ^{the surging voice of the people proclaims the hope in their hearts}
~~we hear the same cry.~~ There are no essential
^{diff this heart with democracy}
differences in humanity. All real men and women will march

behind the standard of the ^{man} ~~one~~ who has so bravely fought and
so nobly won. ^{for} ~~for~~ Victory is his habit.

~~I bring you these tidings today. I present to~~

I name

you as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States

one who has not only voiced, ^{*who has*} 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

^{*for was a candidate for the Presidency of the U.S.*}
need, I present to you ~~as~~ the living embodiment of democracy

and victory ~~the name of~~ Alfred E. Smith.

Give Arthur Long
to file with the
1928 Campaign File.

FDR

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 fundamental 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

Government 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. Theirs 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 accomplishment. 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? In 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.

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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.

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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 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, 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, ~~which~~ 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^{a lack} 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.

File

Draft of
Speech at Kaist
Nominating
A. C. Smith

FWR
June 18th
1928

Will inspire America. The people will not be taken in.

the people of America. The man who has the will to win. The man who

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 organising. 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 greatest 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 these 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 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^{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, 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 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 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.

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 stands 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 crying need of our time. The soul of our country, lulled by mere material prosperity, has passed through eight gray years.

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 assured us that we shall there find a full bank account and a soft bed.

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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 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 civilization in the days to come.

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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.

John on Linn =

The first of these is the fact that the first of the three is the most important of the three, and the second is the most important of the two.

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①
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..

Needs some commentary, esp. in the word or two

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. 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.

which is a very different thing from mere technical competence

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 *unmeasurable* logic has brought friends and foes alike to put through vitally needed measures of government reform.

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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

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5 a to read out
Karlson*

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In any conference of scholars in the field of ~~constitutional law and of practical~~ ~~Executive administration~~, whether it be the ~~service of taxation~~, in these subjects he ~~has no position~~ takes his place naturally as a trained and efficient specialist. He also possesses that most unusual quality of ~~the ability~~ ~~in~~ 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 ~~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 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

~~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.

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This is a time of national danger when America can be roused again to ~~the~~ realizations. I say this in no spirit of clamor, in no wish to attack the legitimate lives or business of ~~the~~ 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 ~~the~~ purpose of the President himself to arouse that

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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 ~~all~~ only these qualities for a man to be a reasonably efficient President, but there is one ~~other~~ ^{more} 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~~ ^{at once} made them great. It ~~was~~ ^{Lincoln's} the human heart ~~was~~ ^{of Lincoln},

^{Roosevelt's} the sympathy with the weak of ~~Roosevelt~~ ^{Woodrow Wilson's}, and ~~the~~ ^{his} passionate desire to help

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quality so conspicuously lacking in our present ~~Chief Executive~~ ^{administration} ^{a Cade} 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

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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} ~~make the intricate details of our government in-~~ ~~teresting and clear~~ to the people, there is no doubt that our Governor will make an efficient President, but ~~it is~~ ^{is} because he also possess^{es}, to a superlative degree, this rare faculty of sympathetic understanding ~~that~~ I prophesy he will also make a great President, ~~and~~ ^{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} ~~above even its~~ material prosperity, ~~as~~ a land that has no selfish designs on any weaker power, ^{a land} ~~the~~ ideal and ^{inspiration} ~~hope~~ of all those who dream of a kinder, happier civilization in the ^{days to come} ~~future~~.

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15.

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(16.)

(Put this on separate page)

My friends, I name to you again The
man who has acquired the habit of
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NATIONAL CRIME COMMISSION
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Speech by FDR
before Ann. Nat Convention —
placing Gov. Alfred E. Smith in
nomination — June 27th 1928

Notes on cardboard are the originals
used in convention —

Franklin D. Roosevelt