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**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”**  
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**Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension**

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**File No. 273**

**1928 October 19**

**Jamestown, NY - Campaign Speech**

EAGLE TEMPLE HALL - JAMESTOWN, January 1st.

Friday Evening

October 19, 1928

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 A great deal of water has gone  
 over the dam this morning. (Laughter)

Mr. Chairman, my friends of Chautauqua County:

Do I look to you good people like an unfortunate, suffering, dragooned candidate? We started -- the Democratic State Ticket and I started, day before yesterday, from Jersey City, and since then, commencing with Orange County, we have spoken in every single county along the Southern Tier. That is pretty good for an unfortunate invalid and a lot of other cripples. (Laughter.)

We left Elmira this morning by motor, and we have had six outdoor meetings today. So I hope you will pardon me if my voice is a little bit frayed tonight. That is the only part of me, except a couple of weak knees, physically, but not morally. (Laughter and Applause.)

We are planning to go on for another two weeks and a half of it, and I sort of got back into my old stride in these past three days. I am getting more and more keen about it all the time, and am getting more and

more personally anxious to go to Albany on January 1st and  
(Laughter and Applause.)

The last time I was in Jamestown was in 1920. Seems a long time ago. A great deal of water has gone over the dam since that time - Republican water. (Laughter) I don't know how it is here. I have not been here long enough yet -- only about an hour -- but judging by a comparison of our trip in 1920, when I was running on the national ticket, at the tail of it compared with this trip when I am running at the top of the State Ticket, there is all the difference in the world. In 1920 we were met throughout the Southern Tier of counties by loyal, enthusiastic, never-say-die Democrats. They have all been out during these past three days again, and it has been fine to see the faces and shake the hands of these die-hard Democrats. But where in 1920 these were the only people who came out to see us, this year the story has been a very different thing. For from the moment that we started on this trip we have been met by other people. First of all, by people who are willing to call themselves Democrats, who have not been in the habit of coming out to meet candidates for a great many

years. Secondly, an enormous amount of new voters, young people, and in all my days of campaigning in this State and in other states, I have never seen a year where the young people were as much interested as they are this year, and especially attending Democratic meetings as they are this year.

And then there is a third element in these meetings that is something quite new to me -- people who come up and shake me by the hand and say, "I am a Republican and I am going to vote for you." (Applause.)

Republicans in every walk of life, Republican politicians, former State Senators, former Mayors, former Assemblymen -- of course, present Mayors, Senators and Assemblymen could not afford to do it -- but we have got a lot of ex-Republican officeholders with us, we know, and that is certainly a sign of the times.

There is a mighty something stirring through this State, when you can get people, acknowledged Republicans, to come forward and shake the hand of a mere Democrat (Laughter and Applause), and I would like to talk to you about all the issues of this campaign, there are so many of them, but unfortunately the people of

this State have rather become accustomed to a habit that was started ten years ago by the then Democratic candidate for Governor, and that man has been following that habit through four later campaigns, and the people of the State like the habit and they want to have the candidates now, so far as possible, talk to them fairly exhaustively about one subject at a time.

In other words, the people throughout the State today are reading the newspapers far more than ever before, and they are getting what the candidates say about the issues, no matter where the speech is delivered. That is particularly true of the Presidential campaign. As you know, Governor Smith has carried into the Presidential campaign the same political tactics as he has used in State campaigns, and in each city he makes an exhaustive speech in regard to one particular subject, covering the ground in every particular.

So tonight, partly because of the fact that I have been coming through agricultural counties, and partly because I know that for many years Chautauqua County has been one of the greatest agricultural counties in the State of New York, I want to talk to you about a subject.

that is not so tremendously interesting to a lot of <sup>than</sup> people, but a subject that is of vital importance to you who live in the cities, no matter whether they be cities of the size of Jamestown or of Buffalo or of the greatest city of all, with its seven million people, down in New York; because it is a subject that perhaps does not seem to us in the cities very close, but actually it is affecting our daily lives and our pocketbooks, and even more than that, is going to affect the future of our children.

It is a mighty broad subject, and let me sum it up in one or two sentences by way of an explanation. In the early days of this Republic, at the time of the Revolution, ninety-five per cent. of the population of the thirteen states lived on farms; only five per cent. in the cities; and gradually that ratio has decreased, very slowly during our first one hundred years; more rapidly during the next twenty-five; and during the past twenty-five years a situation has been brought about that is serious to our future.

We think of the agricultural population of this country as the backbone of the nation, don't we? We were

But we are not even approaching that through the advent of taught that in our schoolbooks, and yet today less than forty million people out of our one hundred and ten or one hundred and fifteen million live on the farms, and every single day that passes, more and more of them are moving into the cities.

Well, I don't quite like the idea that some scientists and professors have that we are approaching with rapid strides the synthetic age, when all of our food will be produced synthetically instead of grown in the ground; that when we get up in the morning we will go to a bottle and take out a pill, that pill being labelled "Two poached eggs" (Laughter), and go to another bottle and take out another pill labelled "Corn flakes and cream", and still another pill labelled "One cup of coffee". (Laughter.)

Of course, that may be in store for future generations of Americans, but I hope it will not happen in your day or mine. Now we are confronted with this situation, the drift of the rural population into the cities. There are two causes for it, two essentially economic causes. The first is the attraction of the city. It is mighty slow in these modern times to live on a farm.

But we are rapidly overcoming that through the advent of the automobile and of good roads, and I don't have to tell you people in this State what has happened to the roads of the State under the administration of Alfred E. Smith. (Applause.)

But there is another reason outside of that question of where the young people can have the best time. There is the practical question of how you can best make both ends meet; how you can best feed yourself and your family and put a little money by into the savings bank. Every day that goes by, between sunrise this morning and sunrise tomorrow morning, one thousand farm families will have left their farms in the United States. That sounds almost incredible, doesn't it? -- not farm population, but farm families. Nearly a thousand abandoned farms every single day in the year!

Why, in one part of the country alone, out there in the corn belt, four hundred and forty-four farms are being abandoned from day to day. They are not being abandoned for anything but the good economic reason that they cannot make both ends meet by staying there.

This evening when I got here I was interested



in seeing the copy of the evening paper in Jamestown and I want to say through this audience, if I may, that I am very grateful to the editors of the paper for an extremely generous editorial about the Democratic State Ticket. But the next editorial is worth looking at, because it represents statements that are being made in this campaign, probably in perfectly good faith, which unfortunately do not square with the facts in our national life.

The paper says this evening, speaking about Senator Copeland, who happens to have been United States Senator from this State for the past six years, the senior Senator, and as you know, he is running for re-election, and as you know, he has been down there in the State Senate for six years, and as you know, he is a man of a certain amount of intelligence -- I may say a great deal -- and it is almost inevitable that in six years in the United States Senate, he must have taken in a great deal of information about the agricultural problem. And yet the editorial says this: "But it is when this city man" -- mind you, he was born and brought up on a farm, but that doesn't make much difference -- "takes up the

become a political one. I would much rather have it taken up by this nation in a non-partisan way. It ought not to be made the football of party politics. But the reason it is there today as a political issue this year is due to a very simple series of facts. In that year the Repub-

Back in 1920, after the close of the World War, we began the present decline of agriculture, and I don't think there is anybody in this audience that will go so far as to say that there has not been a decline in agricultural conditions. I have heard something about the grape industry in this country, for instance. Back there in 1920 both the Republicans and Democrats in their planks promised some kind of relief to the farmer. They were pretty vague. I don't think either party knew exactly what ought to be done. But the Republicans came into power, with their Republican President and a Republican Congress, and having come into power it was assumed that they would try to carry out their pledges. During the first four years, although the agricultural situation was daily growing worse, nothing was accomplished. There were various bills introduced in Congress, but they did not even pass, and in 1924 there came another Presidential

campaign, and in that campaign again both parties promised some kind of relief, and still they were fairly vague, although by that time agricultural opinion in this country, the opinions of the experts, were headed towards a pretty definite program. Again in that year the Republican party won. They elected a Republican President. They elected a Republican Congress. And during these past four years down in Washington, the whole nation has been interested in the struggle to obtain farm relief.

Now, whether it was the fault of the Republican Party, either of their President or of their national legislature, is quite immaterial. Congress passed the first agricultural relief plan over a year ago, and it was vetoed by the Republican President. This past spring they passed another plan, somewhat similar, passed both the Senate and the House, and that was vetoed by the Republican President. The result is that they come into this third campaign pledging that they will give some relief to the farmer. If you will read the Republican platform and take in connection with it the speeches on farm relief

made by President Coolidge -- and mind you, I am trying to state this case, as much as I can, like a lawyer, not engaging in any special pleading, but trying to give both sides fairly -- the Republican attitude at present on farm relief is the general pledge, in the first place, and secondly, the suggestion that they will work it out in some way through the expansion of the cooperative movement among the farmers, and that they will endeavor in some way to finance the general farm situation.

It is awfully vague, and when you come down to what the agricultural interests in the wheat and cotton and corn belt states believe, the question of dealing with the surplus crop, both the Republican platform and the Republican candidate have been singularly reticent. Nobody knows today what the exact attitude of Mr. Hoover is in that regard.

On the other side, the Democrats, both in their platform and through their candidate have recognized that the crux of the matter, the meat in the cocoanut is dealing with this problem of the surplus crop, and Governor Smith in his campaign, in his speech of acceptance, has pledged definitely that if he is elected on November Sixth

he will immediately call together the best experts that he can find to devise a definite way and means for taking care of this exportable surplus. So much for that.

The Democratic Party has not got any record on farm relief for the past eight years for the very simple fact that nationally we have not been in power. On the other side, the Republican Party has a record of eight years of broken promises and a failure to accomplish anything. This year the Republican Party is vague, and I think that every person in the land feels that too, in regard to what they will do, and the Democratic Party is pretty specific.

Why have I talked all about this national situation when I am running on a State ticket? For two reasons: In the first place, I am just as much interested in the election of the Democratic Ticket as I am in that of the State Democratic Ticket. (Applause.) And in the second place because, necessarily, agriculture in any one State, while it is a state problem, ties in in a thousand different ways with agriculture in the other States; in other words, with the national problem.

Let me give you a very good example that was

brought to my attention -- yesterday, in fact. Further along the Southern Tier, in the dairy country, the dairy-men in the middle of the Southern Tier seem to have been doing fairly well of late, largely because of the fact that the New York City Health authorities have put a ban on uninspected, unsanitary Western milk which was coming into the New York City market, and driving out the milk of New York State farmers. But then this was brought to my attention, tying in even the New York milk situation with the national problem. Out there in the Middle West, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, they have been making a failure of crop farming. They have not been getting enough for their corn and their wheat and their other crops to make it worthwhile for them to continue. So a great many of these farmers out there, instead of abandoning their farms, having enough to keep them going for a short while, have gone in for dairying.

Well, it is not a dairy country, as we know our wonderful dairy country in the State of New York, and they do not take kindly to dairy farming the way a lot of people in this State do. And they are away from the New York City market. But the point is that the failure of

the normal and natural crops to bring a profit to the farmer of the Middle West is upsetting the whole agricultural balance. They are quitting raising corn and wheat and other crops, and they are going into dairying, and they are treading on your toes right here in this State, and upsetting our balance.

And so it goes with the other crops in the United States. You have got to regard it from a State point of view, but you have also got to regard it from a national point of view, and that is why in the dairy industry, for example, in the State of New York, they are all hoping that under a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress down in Washington, the raising of wheat, and corn and other crops in the Middle West and Far West can again be made profitable for the farmers of that region, so that they will quit raising milk and be trying to sell it in competition with us in the New York market.

Governor Smith well said in his Rochester speech the other day, "I have been reading the agricultural plank of the Republican State Platform, and it comes to me again and again, this thought - Oh, how the Republican

Party loves the farmer in October." (Laughter and Applause.) And if you will read that Republican platform you will agree with me and with him that you can reduce the twenty-seven long lines that it contains to this simple sentence: "We Republicans love our farmers." (Laughter.)

They have sort of a pride of ownership, and it goes back in a great many of the counties of this State to before the days of the Civil War, and it has been a pretty certain ownership, day in and day out, voting just the way dad did; proud of it. No objection to that. But this year I found a change; found it even in Chautauqua County.

Now, on the other side of this problem, what do the Democrats say? The Democratic Platform is far more specific, because it first gives six definite examples of definite helpfulness to the farmer and his problems under the administration of Governor Smith, and then goes on to pledge certain new efforts to give further help. That is the important part of it. These are, first, a pledge to name a commission of experts to study the problems of distribution and to make definite constructive recom-



mendations. Secondly, a pledge to give scientific study and investigation of the whole farm assessment and tax situation in order to obtain a fair adjustment of the farmer's taxes. Chautauque County, I noted the unwavering

These two short paragraphs, hidden away in the party's platform, and therefore probably read by only about one citizen in a thousand -- maybe that average is too high. I rarely read them myself; I had to this year. (Laughter.) These two short paragraphs constitute, nevertheless, a tremendous and far-reaching step in the economic life of this state. They furnish another proof that the Democratic Party has become farm-minded, and seeks this year, as it has during all of the administrations of Governor Smith, to undertake the solution of a critical problem affecting a very large body of the people: are getting right. At these prices these potato

I personally, born and raised on an up-State farm, and living there today, am not boasting when I state in very simple words that all my life I have had a deep and vital interest in farm problems of all kinds, and I might add that I know by personal experience at the end of each year how difficult it is to make both ends meet

on my farm, let alone make any profit on it. I do know the incontrovertible fact that in every county in this State more and more farms are being abandoned. Today, in coming into Chautauqua County, I noted the unanswerable fact that in vineyard after vineyard thousands and thousands of tons of grape have been allowed to rot on the vines, and as I have come along the road today I have seen in Steuben and Cattaraugus Counties -- the leading potato growing counties of the State -- potatoes advertised for sale on the road at sixty-five cents per bushel, and two potato growers - Democratic Committeemen they happened to be - came in and told me that I was wrong in that figure, that the best they could get for mighty good potatoes alongside car was only thirty-five cents a bushel. Does anyone think that these potato growers are getting rich? At these prices these potato growers will find it difficult to pay for their fertilizer bills, and in this County of Chautauqua alone I understand that 389 farms, totalling over 31,000 acres, are now being advertised for unpaid taxes for the tax year 1927. This is an area greater than that of any single town in Chautauqua County, except the township

of Chautauqua itself. words to the plight of the rural population. It seems to me that is pretty significant, and we could go on and give you similar statistics on farms abandoned and on tax sales in every single one of the rural counties of New York State. And yet they say there isn't any farm problem, and they go on and they say, and I think in the same paper, that it is silly for any Democrat to charge that we haven't got the most super-abundant prosperity all over our land. (Laughter and Applause.)

I cannot help wondering a little how long Republican farmers in up-State counties are going to continue to hope for relief from their Republican leaders and legislators. These leaders and legislators have been going on year after year, talking platitudes, and seeing the population of their home counties decreasing and their agricultural lands reverting to uncultivated wastes.

It is a simple matter of record that the Republican Party in Albany and in Washington has been devoting most of its energies to building up an industrial development in the country. They have failed utterly to

give anything but fine words to the plight of the rural population. (Applause.)

They have been unable to agree on plans, and they have been unable even to admit obvious facts and figures, and the Republican State Platform this year is the usual mere gesture towards the farmers, because the Republican leaders did not have enough imagination or cohesion to offer a practical remedy.

And now I am going to make a somewhat unusual statement in a campaign for the Governorship. Most people who are candidates get up and say, "I subscribe to everything that is said in the State Platform." Well, as a matter of fact, I think I can take about everything there is in our State Platform. Part of it I might have expressed differently if I had been in Rochester instead of in Georgia at the time. But I am perfectly willing to go along and say, "I will stand on our Democratic State Platform." Only this, and it is the unusual part of it: I go even further than the Democratic State Platform, and I offer to the State an ultimate objective for the State to aim at, even though it may take a long time to attain the whole of that objective.

(Applause.)

I am satisfied with those two pledges in our present platform; I am satisfied that those two pledges are excellent. The pledge for a careful study, and the pledge for investigation of that farm tax situation. Put into a nutshell it is this: beyond those two pledges, let us ask ourselves just what we are aiming at. What is the goal? Put into plain language, it is just this: I want to see the farmer and his family receive at the end of each year as much for their labor as if they had been working not on a farm, but as skilled workers under the best conditions in any one of our great industries. (Applause.)

I want our agricultural population, in other words, to be put on the same level of earning capacity as their fellow Americans who live in the cities. (Applause.) Toward that end the Democratic Platform offers two steps: first, that immediate study of the farm problem of distribution of farm product, to the end that the unnecessarily high differential between what the farmer receives and what the consumer pays may be materially lowered, giving a better price to the farmer for his products, and a lower cost to the consumer for what he buys. (Applause.)

Right there is just one place where the city dweller comes in. When you good ladies go to market in the morning, or, as is more customary nowadays in the cities, call up your market on the telephone and tell them to send a day's supply, which is a mighty expensive way of doing business anyway, it is all very simple. You may inquire into the price that is being charged you. Sometimes you don't even bother about it, to do even that, and your eggs and butter and your vegetables, everything from the farm, it arrives on your table. You don't think of how it got there. All you know is that the price, the cost of living to you in the cities, has gone up, gone up a lot, hasn't it, everywhere, the cost of food, the cost of feeding the children, the cost of feeding everybody in the household, and you don't stop to think of some of the reasons why it has gone up, and you don't stop to think that where you are paying such and such a figure for such and such a farm product, the poor devil and his family back there on the farm who grew that product for you, the price they got for it. You don't bother to consider that the price they got for it was anywhere from, say, twenty to forty percent. of what you

are paying for it. That somewhere out of that dollar you are paying for it, somebody along the road got from sixty to eighty cents and the farmer got the balance, and those are pretty conservative figures. I suppose a complex situation such as we have in our modern life will bring that thing about, but it has been going on for a number of years now, and it is time that we found out two things: How, out of that dollar, the farmer can get more, and how, out of that dollar, you will have to pay a bit less.

I believe it can be accomplished. And then that other pledge -- a pledge to carry out a scientific investigation of the whole farm tax situation. Because it is a curious fact in this land of ours that if you are in business, your taxes fluctuate very largely on the success or the failure of your business, and in poor years you pay less taxes, and in good years you pay more taxes but the poor devil out on the land -- well, he pays never less, and in almost every case that I have ever known of in the State of New York he pays just a little bit more year in and year out, whether he makes more or less, and you can guess whether he has been making more

or less during these past eight years just as well as it can. Yes, I go one step further than my platform, for I am convinced that there are many other factors which a careful study will show to have a direct bearing on the continued abandonment of the farms and the decrease of our rural population. I propose, therefore, that the study of the problem of distribution and the study of the farm tax situation shall be broadened to cover these other factors so that we may have broad recommendations covering the entire economic farm situation.

It is obvious that the future of the State depends on the proper use of every acre within the borders of the State. It may be that adequate investigation will show that many of the farms abandoned within the period of depression since 1920 should not be restored to agriculture, but should be especially used for the growing of a future timber supply for the people of this State, and at the same time we do not want the present alarming rate of farm abandonment to continue, and we must therefore make special efforts to make possible for those who are now engaged in agriculture on suitable agricultural land, to continue to do so under more and



profitable conditions. I want this whole situation, this whole problem, studied by the representatives of some of those great bodies who know something about it, not just by Senators and Assemblymen. I want it studied by representatives of the State College of Agriculture, of the State Grange, the Farm Bureau, the Home Bureau, the Dairymen's League, and other farm cooperatives. I want it studied without regard to partisan politics, and it is my hope and belief that the recommendations resulting from this study will be acted on by the legislative branch of our government without the interference of partisan politics. And I am very certain, too, that the people of our great cities will understand the vital need of this program, for it is obvious that their own prosperity is in large part dependent on the rural population as well.

Yes, I am speaking to the State of New York as a farmer, as one who has been in pretty close touch with this situation since I was Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture in the State Senate fifteen years ago, and in 1913 there were a lot of problems about New York State Farms, and we tried to do a lot to help, but they were

problems of the surface, not problems that ate down into the whole system. Today the problem is different from 1913. Today it has become a wave, a movement that is affecting every one of us, and I am wondering what is going to happen if this wave keeps up, what is going to happen to the growing of everything we ought to have, what is going to happen to our farm population. Are we going to give that up entirely in this country? What is going to happen to our children? We are getting perhaps to the point, as I suggested before, when synthetic food will be substituted, and then as a substitute for agricultural life for a farm population we will have so many more parks in this State, that whenever we need a little fresh air we will just drive out of Jamestown, or Poughkeepsie or any other city into one of the State parks and picnic. Wouldn't that be a grand life? people (Laughter.) Wouldn't this be a great State if we all lived in cities? Wouldn't it be great for the cities?

Now, my friends, I think that you realize, living here in a pretty sizeable and growing city, that this problem means something, and I think you will agree with me we have to tackle it in a progressive way. Well, I

have had experience in doing that back through event that further than 1913. I started in the legislature in Albany in 1911, which was quite a famous year. It was famous for two rather interesting facts. In the State Senate where I was, there was a young man, very young, who was the leader of the Democratic majority, and we used to call him Bob Wagner, and now we call him Senator Wagner (Applause), the junior Senator for this State. And on the other side of the Capitol there was another young man, almost equally young, who was the majority leader over there, and we used to call him Al Smith. (Applause.) And there was a curious fact about that year of 1911. It was the first year that the Democratic Party had been in control of the legislature since way back in the days of, I think, David B. Hill; so far back that I was not in politics myself at that time. And the people of this State were a good deal worried. A lot of us up-State people were awfully worried, because a lot of these terrible Tammany Hall Democrats were in charge of the legislature of the State; and what happened? Well, to the intense surprise of everybody, that legislature not only behaved itself very well, but established a record.

A record for what? A lot of the people at that time, when they heard that we Democrats, and I didn't belong to Tammany Hall, as you know, that we young Democrats were trying to put through a program -- it was the first time in I don't know how long that the people of this State ever heard of a program. What was the program all about? All sorts of queer, unheard of things that a lot of very worthy, liberal people, called socialism -- radical -- terrible legislation. We were talking about putting through a Workmen's Compensation Act. Why, the very idea for us old conservatives, a Workmen's Compensation Act. Why, workmen had been able to get along without a compensation law in this State ever since the State was started, and there was no reason to try any of these new fangled notions. If a workman got hurt, it was awful hard luck, but that was about all there was to it, hard luck, and if he had a pretty good employer, maybe the employer would look after him for about a week or so, and maybe he would get all right. But that was a chance that the workman was taking. And we young radicals of that legislature, we started a factory investigating Committee, and just about the time it was started, or that

law is one of the greatest safeguards that men and women

we were trying to get the bill through the legislature, and were having a great deal of difficulty about it, because a lot of factory owners thought it was presumption on the part of the legislature of the State of New York to interfere with anything inside of the walls of their factories, a lot of the old-fashioned type of employer -- thank God there are mighty few of them left -- took the point of view that when he hired a man or girl to work for him in his factory, as soon as they came inside of the walls it was nobody's business what happened to them.

And we were having a bad time in getting that bill through when there occurred a horrible disaster in New York called the Triangle Fire, where a lot of young girls, garment workers, were trapped away up high on the floor of a burning building, and all the doors were locked. Many of you remember the cry of horror that went up all over this State as a result of that tragedy. But it put the bill through, and we investigated the factories of this State, and we made recommendations that were passed by the following legislature for the correction of many abuses, and today, as you who work in factories or run factories know very well, the State Factory Inspection Law is one of the greatest safeguards that men and women

in this State who are working in them could possibly have. vels when the Republicans were in power in Albany,

Another thing that came along about that same time that these young Democrats were putting through was the first direct primary bill that this State had ever had. A lot of people thought we were very radical in that regard. We put through a full trained crew bill, which was regarded as absolute socialism for daring to tackle that. It is rather amusing when you come right down to it, to think how times have changed in seventeen years. Why, the opposition to a law that I finally put through called "A Law to Limit the Hours of Women in Industry to Fifty-four Hours a Week" -- six into fifty-four goes nine times -- it was regarded as so radical in those days that they sent lobbyists and money and tried every known trick of the trade in Albany to keep us from putting through that law. And yet today that law is regarded as so out of date that we laugh at the thought of stopping at fifty-four hours a week, and we are trying to reduce it more and more even from the present standard.

Yes, Smith and Wagner and some of the rest of us in that legislature started a pace, and we have been year in and year out that they have contributed year in

keeping it up ever since. There were one or two short intervals when the Republicans were in power in Albany, and even during the past six years of the State administration the Republicans have controlled both houses of the legislature, and in spite of that we have continued a progressive program.

My fight in this campaign is not against the Republican Party. I know perfectly well as a practical proposition that if every Democrat in the State of New York were to vote for me two weeks from Tuesday and nobody else, I couldn't get elected. I know also that when we do elect Democratic State officials of the State of New York, we do so with the help of independents and Republican voters, and that is why, beginning in 1918, and with the single exception of 1920, carried down as a regular practice, every two years since the Republicans have been supporting Governor Alfred E. Smith in succeeding elections to insure his return to Albany. (Applause.)

My own fight, and the Democratic Party's fight is not with the Republican rank and file. Our fight is with the leadership of that Republican Party, a leadership which has been so barren of imagination, so stupid year in and year out that they have contributed year in

and year out to Democratic success. That beauty sleep.

I don't want, if I am elected, to have a row with the Republican legislature. I hope that they will in most instances go along as well with my program as they have been forced to do with Governor Smith's program. (Applause.)

And I can tell you quite frankly that I shall have a program. You have heard part of it tonight. In the course of the next ten days the people of this State are going to hear some more programs from me. I believe in programs, because I believe in moving ahead. I am not one of those who is very keen about those periods of standing still that a nation or a state sometimes has to have. It is just possible that after the war in 1920 it may have been in some respects a good thing for the United States to have had a period of -- what shall we call it, politely? -- beauty sleep under President Harding and President Coolidge. (Laughter.) It may have been a good thing for us to quiet our nerves after the struggle of the great war. Some of the farmers of this country don't think that that beauty sleep did them an awful lot of good, and some of us are beginning to realize that we Government. They are talking about our social legislation.



have fallen pretty far behind during that beauty sleep. But be that as it may, the time has come for us to wake up, and I believe that it is better for us when we wake up, instead of stretching and yawning comfortably and putting our head back to doze upon the Hoover pillow, that it is better for us to get up and take a cold Al Smith shower and feel fit for another four years.

(Laughter.)

In this State you have got a little different alternative. We have been going about our business, right on our toes, for the last six years. We have been full of pep and we have gotten somewhere. We have made our State Government a model for every state in the Union, and as I go around this country they are talking to me about the State of New York and what we have accomplished in improvement of the whole system of State Government. They are talking about our better educational laws, the vast expenditures -- jumping from eleven million dollars ten years ago to eighty-six million dollars last year -- in the cause of education in this State. They are talking about our good roads program. They are talking about the reorganization of our State Government. They are talking about our social legislation.

Yes, we have been on our toes, because we have had a real leader, and we are proud of it, and the rest of the country is proud of New York, and the rest of the country is beginning to understand why Republican New York goes year after year Democratic, because it has got an Alfred E. Smith. (Applause.)

The rest of the country has still got another two weeks and a half to learn more about him, and I wish it were two months and a half, because if it were two months and a half, there isn't any question at all about how this election is going. There isn't much question in my mind. I think that the Democratic leader of the United States is beginning to sit pretty. (Applause.)

Yes, in this State we have been on our toes, and every morning that we get up we take a cold shower and we feel fine, and we go down and eat a good breakfast, and we go about our work and we accomplish a lot, and we are being offered an alternative. We are being told, "Yes, it is all right to talk about feeling fine all day, right on our toes, but people are whispering to us and they are saying, 'Isn't it time to take a little nap? Don't you think you had better put your head down?

There is a comfortable Ottinger chair. (Laughter.) Just sit down and pull the shades down half way and we will let the Republican Legislature stand at the door and keep everybody quiet in the house, and before you know it your head will be back on that Ottinger pillow and you will have just the nicest nap that you have ever had in your life." (Laughter.)

Well, I am in favor of staying awake. We have not got to the point where we need even a two year's nap in the State of New York, and I am proposing to you young New Yorkers, young in spirit and young in heart, that we want to continue good government in Albany for another two years (Applause), and I am asking the people of this State when they send Alfred E. Smith to the White House (Applause), at least to give us here back home another two years of vision and progressive rule. (Continued Applause.)

Well, this looks like Democracy. It looks like the kind of thing that we have been finding in every city in the State of New York that so far we have visited.

There is something abroad in the air this year.