
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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Albany, NY - Campaign Speech

HARMANUS THEATRE - ALBANY

Saturday Evening

October 27, 1928.

Mr. Mayor, my friends of Albany; I am very glad to come back to Albany (applause); very glad especially in view of the fact that Colonel Lehman, Mr. Conway and Mr. Tremaine and Judge Couch intend to live in your midst for the next two years. (Applause.)

Tonight marks the close of our up-State campaign. For eleven days we candidates on the State Ticket have swung around the circle of the State, first the Southern Tier, all the way out to Lake Erie, then back through the center of the State, with a visit up to the Northern counties.

It is proper, in accordance with that splendid custom of the gentleman whom I propose to succeed, that I make an accounting (applause), a record of this trip to the Capitol City, this Capitol City for so long the adopted city of our great Governor -- or, to put it even more correctly, the city that has adopted him. (Applause.)

I shall always be glad that I had in the olden days some part in the Albany life of Alfred E. Smith, (Applause) for I spent three happy winters here in 1911, 1912 and 1913. That was when the Governor and I first began that intimate association which has been carried on through all the succeeding years. That was when we started side by side in the long battle for the bettering of the Government of the State of New York. (Applause.)

I have referred in this campaign a good many times to the fact that this great national campaign for the Presidency, that in these campaigns the principal opposition to our Governor comes in those places and among those people where he is not known. (Applause.) The definite proof of this lies in what you all know in this city, that where he lives he is loved. (Applause.) You, his neighbors and friends, will subscribe to what the United States is beginning to learn, that the song of humanity is written in Al Smith's heart. (Applause.) We know that where he is known he is respected and followed with a depth of sincerity and affection that transcends all lines of party and prejudice, and it is

(Applause.)

the growth of this personal knowledge of Governor Smith in those other parts of the country on the part of those who have never seen him until this campaign that makes me very confident of what the nation will do as a whole a week from next Tuesday (applause); that they will learn for the first time to do what we in the State of New York have been accustomed to doing time out of mind. (Applause.)

And there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that Alfred E. Smith will be the next President of the United States. (Applause.)

Now, I am rather pleased with the fact that I, in company with you, formed the Alfred E. Smith habit a long time ago. Will Rogers was heard to remark after the Houston Convention that "That fellow Franklin Roosevelt, if you woke him up in the middle of his sleep, he would start in nominating Alfred E. Smith." (Applause.) Well, since the convention I have been so certain of what is going to happen, that I have been trying to break myself of that habit and learn another one (laughter); now I am trying to stop myself from calling him Al and trying to learn to say "Mr. President." (Applause.)

What makes me so certain of that? First of all, the general history of the past three months. This has been a campaign that bears a striking similarity to the life-story of Governor Smith himself. He stands out as the greatest example since Abraham Lincoln of the man who has continued to grow, grow in knowledge, grow in human understanding, grow in ability, grow in idealism, and the country needs today in the Presidency more than at any time during the Civil War a man that has continued to grow in just that way. (Applause.)

So it is with this campaign. The success of Smith depended on the growth of knowledge of Smith throughout the United States. If the election had come on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in July, the story would have been a very different one from what it is at this moment. Through that month and through August people began asking questions, and everywhere I went, through the South and Middle West and New England, I found interest; interest was the keynote on the farms and in the cities. What manner of a man is this, this man that has grown so in the affection and support not just of his own City of New York, but of the whole State

of New York? This man who has the well-nigh unanimous support of the Capitol City of the State where he has lived so long? (Applause.)

Then came that great series of speeches, the great acceptance speech in this city; then the trip out through the corn belt and the wheat belt, out into the heart of the Rocky Mountains. The interest became local. The cities of the plains and the mountains duplicated the story, the old story that we know so well in this State. People travelled hundreds of miles to get a glimpse of him; look not alone at the hundreds of thousands of people who were turned away from the halls in the great cities where he spoke, but think also of the homes of the millions who were listening to his voice. Compare that interest with the interest that these same good people have been taking in the carefully edited didactic utterances of that expert statistician who is running on the other ticket. (Applause.) Compare the understanding heart of the one with the calculating heart of the other.

And the citizens of this Capitol City will give to our Governor an overwhelming majority on

Election Day, and I am confident that through the growth of the understanding of this man all the other cities of this State will do the same.

On this trip of ours in the past few days, there has not been a single community, large or small, country or big city, in which I have not come in contact with a new class of voter, not the regular Democrat, the Regular Republican, or even people who call themselves independent. I am talking about people who have been willing to stand up, to come forward to shake me by the hand and say, "Mr. Roosevelt, I am a Smith Republican." (Applause.)

And by the same token, every meeting we have held has been swelled to unprecedented size by the type of citizen who heretofore has not attended political meetings, those who for the first time are taking great personal interest in a national campaign, and I am not boasting when I state that it is a matter of record that during these eleven days, the Smith-Roosevelt meetings in the State of New York have been from two to three or four times the size of the Hoover-Ottinger meetings. (Applause.)

That must mean something, and I, who have campaigned in this State for the last eighteen years, up and down the city and country, have been astounded the way the people of the State of New York are turning out, at the way they are proving ten days, two weeks, three weeks before election, the definite fact that this State is going Democratic from the top to the bottom of the ticket on Election Day. (Applause.)

Now, for a month past the Governor has continued his personal appeal through the border States, out through the Middle West, and of late into New England. The drift of public sentiment has been gathering momentum, and during this past week the flow of the tide has set definitely and strongly towards this triumphant flow of Smith votes on Election Day. (Applause.)

I would call your attention to the close parallel between this campaign and the campaigns of 1912 and 1916. Not so far back that most of us can remember them. If you will go back to those two years and take up the file of any of the Republican newspapers in this State, or in the United States, you will find that ten days before election they were making the same kind of

claims for victory for Taft in 1912 and Hughes in 1916, victories by enormous majorities, just as they are claiming in this year of 1928. But in those years in the inside circle of the Republican leaders, it is a well-known fact that panic had already set in. They were doing much fine talking for public consumption, but in 1912 Mr. Taft had already been told that things were going wrong, and in 1916 Mr. Hughes was being pleaded with to do something, anything, to stem the adverse tide.

Yes, there is a psychology in general elections that history makes perfectly clear, the slow gathering of headway in one direction or the other, and this year I have definite knowledge from this trip of ours, definite knowledge of the fright and confusion among the Republican leaders in the State of New York. (Applause.) They were quiet and complacent enough up to a month ago. Now they are, as in 1912 and 1916, sensing that gathering momentum, the swing to Smith, and they are running around in circles asking what can be done (Applause.) Well, the answer is this year, as it was then, "nothing can be done," for the tide is in

full swing. (Applause.) "great must be completed."

(Laughter) One compelling motive behind this undoubted surge of the tide is the better understanding of why our Governor has achieved successive victories, victories in the cause of good government against apparently overwhelming odds. Albany has had the personal contact with these great struggles. Albany knows better than any other part of this State the odds against which Smith has had to fight. I want to cite just a few examples of the battles from which he has emerged victorious.

Take, for instance, of recent years, that Smith proposal for the issuing of \$100,000,000 of State bonds, bonds to be issued for the purpose of catching up with the sadly neglected condition of our State institutions. (Applause.) Well, what was the history of that bond issue? First, look at the way that the Republican leaders, when it is too late, are trying to grab credit for this program of public improvements. Their platform says this year: "We pledge our party to carry out this work of construction with all possible speed." Too late. And my friend Mr. Ottinger says,

"The State building program must be completed." (Laughter and Applause.)

Yes, we here in Albany know the history of that bond issue. We are talking about people who climb up the band wagon, but some of them try to make the band wagon after it has got going too fast, and land on their face in the street. Who was it that proposed that bond issue? Smith. Who was it that fought a hostile legislature to get it adopted? Smith. Who was it that persuaded the voters in the election of 1925 to approve it by an overwhelming majority? Smith.

Let us see what happened on the other side.

Let us see where our friend, Senator Hewitt stood. I remember Charlie Hewitt; he used to be in the Senate in 1913, the last survivor of the Old Guard, and in those days my old friend Charlie Hewitt used to carry a good luck horse chestnut around with him in his trousers pocket (laughter), and I guess he has still got it with him, because he is a believer in economy (laughter). Let us see where Senator Hewitt stood on that bond issue. In June, 1925, he and his side partner, my

friend Assemblyman Hutchison, controlling the purse strings of the Legislature between them, issued an attack on Governor Smith's proposal, and they called the Governor of this State "A political Ponzi." They continued their attack on the bond issue throughout the campaign, and in their own counties it is a matter of record that they persuaded an overwhelming majority to vote against the bond issue. Even bigger political fry than they attacked the Governor's program. Former Governor Miller called the Governor's plan for rehabilitating the State institutions, "Arrant economic folly and political bunk." for the women and children of the

I understand that you people here are fairly well acquainted with the gentleman named Senator Knight. He represents that fine constructive Republican leadership in the upper House of our Legislature. Senator Knight continued to oppose the bond issue and persuaded his county to vote against it. The late Mr. George Morris, Republican State Chairman, called upon the Republican Organization workers throughout the State to fight the bond issue, and he was seconded in this by Governor Whitman. The association of certain

Former Lieutenant-Governor Leamon, who is now so magnificently handling the Republican Prohibition Office in Washington (laughter and applause), he took part in the fight against the bond issue in those years. He said, "There is no room for compromise. The Republican machine is well-oiled and it is running Smooth." (Laughter.) In view of subsequent events, I think that his language was ill chosen. (Laughter.)

Next take up the history of the forty-eight hour law, the law for the protection of women and children in industry. Democratic leaders have been working to secure this law for the women and children of the State for ten years. They have favored it in their platform, and Governor Smith has asked every Legislature to put it through. Finally, in 1924, the Republican Platform at last came around to our way of thinking, and we all felt sure that we would get the law.

What happened? The Legislative leaders of the Republican Party, under the guidance of Speaker Machold, listened to the tearful pleadings of the manufacturers' lobby, and failed to carry out their platform pledge. They delayed action by appointing a

legislative committee, and gained thereby delay for two whole years, and at last, driven by public opinion of this State, that committee made a report, and they passed a law that they hoped would fool the people of the State. It was a forty-nine and one-half hour law instead of a forty-eight hour law, and now everybody knows the story of their duplicity and their failure to carry-out a solemn pledge. On that score we are going to have some fun after January 1st. (Applause.)

And yet, in spite of that, my friend Mr. Ottinger has the nerve to say in his speech of acceptance that we should be especially solicitous of the protection of the health of women in industry.

Then take up the question of State parks. Who was the man who started the great program for the development of parks and parkways throughout our State, parks and parkways for the benefit and enjoyment and better health of our citizens. Was it Speaker Machold? Was it Senator Knight? Was it Charlie Hilles? Once more we know the simple fact, that the plan was originated and sold legitimately and openly and fairly to the voters of the State of New York by Governor Smith, and

nobody else (Applause). . . had failed to appropriate money

And yet, even after the voters of the State had approved the general proposal for the park program in the election of 1924, what happened? The Legislature of the following year blocked the Governor's efforts to carry out that mandate. Appropriations were refused, not only at the regular session, but at the special session called by the Governor, and the opposition was led by a group of selfish Long Island gentlemen, headed by Mr. Kingsland Macy, Chairman of the Republican County Committee of Suffolk County. It is curious in the long run how all our troubles in this State seem to lead up eventually to a County Chairman, or a Chairman of the State Committee, or the Chairman of a Legislative Committee in the Senate or the Assembly. And that is why, my friends, I am going about this State saying that our fight is not against the rank and file of the Republican Party, but that our fight is and will be against the stupid, crass, idiocy of the Republican leadership of this State. (Applause.)

Well, what happened then? Here is a splendid example of the Governor's genius for getting things done.

After the special session had failed to appropriate money for parks, he sent this message to the people of the State, and it is worth reading, just two sentences:

"Let us battle it out right in the shadow of the Capitol itself, and let us have a decision, and let us not permit the impression to go abroad in this State that wealth and power can palsy the arm of the State, while the machinery of government waits on the performance of a duty that has so much to do now and in the future with the health and happiness and comfort of our ten million people and millions more who will follow them."

Yes, this program of parks must be continued. Many of the projects have only been started. Here in Albany I can well cite the example of the projected development of Saratoga Springs (applause), the development of those waters into the greatest natural health resort anywhere in the United States. Untold good, and I know whereof I speak, because I have had some experience with springs down in the southland (Applause) -- untold good can be accomplished for the better health of our citizens by the carrying out of that program,

and I am confident that even if the Republican leadership opposes it, the people by their mandate will insist on it. (Applause.)

You people here in Albany have had the interesting privilege of watching at close hand the gigantic struggle in the past few years between the Governor and the reactionary Republican leaders on the subject of the development of the great water power sites owned by the State. You have seen, first, the veiled, guarded opposition of those leaders, the same ones that I have talked about by name before, an opposition which culminated in 1926 by their tearing away the veil and coming out in their platform with the definite assertion of that year approving the development of the sites owned by the people by private corporations. You have seen the former Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Machold, chosen as the head of one of the great water power companies, and within the past few months you have seen his election while still holding his private corporation position, to the Chairmanship of that Republican State Committee.

In December of 1926, less than two years ago,

in your own city, right here, you have seen the old Water Power Commission of which Attorney General Ottinger was a member, sitting at a table ready to sign away for fifty years the greatest of the water power assets still owned by the people of the State of New York, and you have seen the Governor of this State challenging that commission to fly in the face of the opposition of the people of the State. You have seen them lose their nerve, and with it what I hope will be the last chance to perpetrate this steal against our State. (Applause.)

And it is rather interesting that these same selfish interests have but one more chance. They hope to get Smith out of Albany, and I am very certain that the voters will accomplish that by sending him to Washington (loud applause.) They hope for one more thing. They hope to elect a Republican Governor, and their choice is that same Mr. Ottinger who approved their plans before. Then when that is done they think they will be in a position to have the appointment of a subservient committee which will make a report, and the recommendations of that report you and I can guess even

before it is written. The result will be clearly and definitely and finally the leasing of our State-owned water power sites under leases that will not terminate until nine people in this hall out of ten are dead and buried.

Only one day stands between the people of this State and the loss of the water power sites which they own. That day comes one week from next Tuesday, and I am confident that the electorate will not change their already made up minds. (Applause,)

Albany knows better than any other community in the State the splendid triumphs of the Governor during his eight years of fighting against the leadership represented by Machold and Morris and Hewitt and Hutchison and Hilles and Knight. Your vote on Election Day will translate that belief into what you know Governor Smith can accomplish in the larger field of Washington. (Applause.)

I have read some history, and I have lived in Washington for nearly eight years, and I know well that this nation needs in the Capitol of the country a President who is capable of working with the Congress of the United States. We have had countless examples

of otherwise fine Presidents, who, from the day they took office, until the day they left, have been ineffective Presidents because they have been unable to get on with the Congressmen and the Senators on Capitol Hill. We have had examples of that here in Albany, and you people, I think, will bear me out when I say that one of the most important qualities in a President, or in a Governor, is his ability to coordinate those two great branches of State Government, the Legislative and the Executive, which go on side by side, year after year, and in the event of a disagreement between the Executive and the Legislative Branches of our Government, we need a President who can go before the people of the United States in just the same way that our Governor has gone before the people of the State of New York.

You who live in Albany know that in all these eight years of his Governorship, not one single appointment of his has been turned down by the Senate of this State, and you know also that during that same period not one single bill which he has vetoed has been passed over his veto by the Legislature.

Look at the other side of the picture. Somehow, I would like to have something done in Washington. Somehow, I would like to get a little action out of the Congress and out of the Presidency. Somehow, I would like to have a little more warmth down there, even if that warmth took the form of one of those good old-fashioned battles between the Executive and the Legislative that we are accustomed to in the State of New York (applause); because here we are not only accustomed to those battles, but to the inevitable victories of Governor Smith. (applause.)

Last spring down in Washington the Republican Senate of the United States just got into the habit of rejecting the appointments sent to it by the Republican President, and in a single day the Congress of the United States passed three measures over the veto of their own President.

We need in the National Capitol a leader, a man with experience in handling the great issues that require the coordinating of the Legislative and Executive branches. Mr. Hoover I have known and respected for a great many years. There is scarcely a single

individual, even in his own party -- and I say this in all fairness -- who will not admit, at least in private, that Mr. Hoover as President would accentuate the present difficulties, ill-feeling, and lack of results, that characterize the relations between the White House and Capitol Hill. (Applause.)

We need to get things done in Washington, just as we have needed to get things done here in Albany. Nobody with any knowledge of the two candidates can hesitate between Smith and Hoover. (Applause.) We have gone through a period of many broken pledges. We have gone through a period marked by inactivity in lines of action where action was called for. We have gone through a period of so-called prosperity, not a well-rounded prosperity, and you would agree with me, if you could have gone with me on this trip through our own State. I have been seeing many of the up-State counties in New York for about eight years, and I was shocked by the appearance of the farms and barns and general upkeep in the rural sections of our State. Every county will give you a list longer than ever before of farms that are advertised for sale for tax purposes, or

because the families have moved out into the cities, and they don't call that prosperity in rural New York.

And that is one reason why this same old outworn cry, "the full dinner pail," simply under another term -- it is why that cry is driving up-State New York to vote for Alfred E. Smith. (Applause.)

And I am very certain that the United States during the next four years will be spared the spectacle of further delays and broken pledges. Under President Smith we shall get things done, and we will carry out the pledges that we have made. (Applause.)

Here in our own State the issue is not so very different, not very different from the National issue, except here it is a question not of a change but of carrying on (applause.) Shall we New Yorkers turn out splendid programs of constructive achievement, much of which remains to be done in the days to come, shall we turn that over to the tender mercies of a Machold or a Hutchison or a Knight or a Hewitt or an Ottinger? Or shall we go forward in the same spirit, carrying out the programs and the policies of the greatest leader we have had in this day and generation?

And so, my friends, the choice will not be a very difficult one a week from Tuesday. I am convinced from what I have seen that the people of this State have already made up their minds that the pendulum has not just begun to swing; it started that weeks ago; the pendulum is in full swing, and it is going to reach its widest sweep on Election Day, and then there are going to be some surprises, not just here in the State of New York, because we are going on with progress, but there are going to be surprises all over the United States among that smug fellowship who for eight long years have owned, body and soul, the Government of the United States. They are in for the surprise of their lives, and I am glad of it. (Applause.) Yes, and in some of their circles they see the handwriting on the wall. (Applause.)

The first indication, and we knew it was coming; we could tell it almost down to the day and the hour; the first indication was last Monday night in New York, when one gentleman, running for the Presidency, lost his head for the first time and called Alfred E. Smith a Socialist. (Applause.) That was the beginning

of the end. He has been called a Socialist before, and he knows how to answer that.

Yes, he is right. If he is a Socialist, I am a Socialist and you are Socialists; and the State of New York is a Socialistic State, and the United States are Socialists; everybody in this country are Socialists, in that sense, because the people of this State and all the States down in their hearts believe in progress, and we are proud to line ourselves up with that kind of progress, call it Socialism or anything else you like. I am willing enough to call it Smith progress. (Applause.)

So, my friends, I am about to start on a road; I am about to start on a seventy-mile drive over a road down the east side of the Hudson River, that I expect to become extremely familiar with in the next few years. (Applause.) I am glad to say that Fred Greene has got it in pretty good shape. I know the road already. I am going to know it a lot better. And Senator Copeland made a mighty good suggestion when he advocated the idea of your hiring trains to come down to Washington on the fourth of March, marching up Pennsylvania Avenue;

that is all right. But you know, when a whole lot of people, a good part of the population of Albany, starts to march up Pennsylvania Avenue, they ought to have some practice (laughter.) And so I hope you will start that practice right back home here, and that on the first of January I shall have the pleasure of reviewing that practice parade from the Executive Mansion. (Prolonged Applause.)

[Oct. 27, 1922]

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ALBANY

To-night marks the close of my up-state campaign. For 11 days ~~the~~ candidates on the Democratic State Ticket have swung around the circle of this State. First, the Southern tier all the way out to Lake Erie. Then back through the center of the State with a visit to the Northern counties. It is proper that I should make an accounting -- a record of this trip in the capitol city of the State of New York -- for many long years the adopted city of our great Governor -- or to put it even more correctly, the city which has adopted him.

I shall always be glad that I have had in the olden days some part in the Albany life of Alfred E. Smith for I spent three happy winters here in 1911, 1912, and 1913. That was when the Governor and I first began that intimate association which has been carried on through all the succeeding years. That was when also we started side by side the long battle for the bettering of Government in the State of New York.

I have referred many times to the fact that in this great national campaign for the Presidency the principle opposition to our Governor comes in those places, and among those people where he is not known. The definite proof of this lies in what you all know in this city, that where he lives he is loved. That where he is known he is respected and followed with a depth of sincerity and affection that transends all lines of party or prejudice.

It is the growth of this personal knowledge of Governor Smith in those parts of the country on the part of those who have never seen him until this campaign that makes me confident that

the Nation as a whole will do a week from next Tuesday what we in the State of New York have been accustomed to doing, because we know the man. There is absolutely no doubt in my mind that Alfred E. Smith will be the next President of the United States.

I am proud of the fact that in common with the citizens of Albany I formed the Alfred E. Smith habit at an early age.

(Will Rogers Story)

I am so sure of the results of election today that I am already trying to get my tongue accustomed to stop calling my old friend "Al" and starting in to call him "Mr. President."

What makes me so certain of this? First of all the general history of the past three months. This has been a campaign which bears a striking similarity to the life story of Governor Smith himself. He stands out as the greatest example since Abraham Lincoln of the man who has continued to grow -- grow in knowledge, in human understanding, in ability, in idealism and the country needs today in the Presidency more than at any other time since the Civil War, a man who has continued to grow in just this way.

So with this campaign. The success of Smith depended on the growth of knowledge of him throughout the United States. If the election had come on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in July the story would have been a very different one from what it is to-day. Through that month, and a part of August, people began asking questions and everywhere I went -- through the South and the Middle West and New England, I found interest. Interest was the key-note on the farms and in the cities. "What manner of man is this" who has grown so in the affection and support,

not just of his own city of New York, but of the whole State of New York, this man who has the well nigh unanimous support of the capital city of the State where he has lived so long.

Then came the great series of speeches, the great acceptance speech in this city, then the trip out through the corn belt and the wheat belt, out to the heart of the Rocky Mountains. The interest became local. The cities of the plains and the mountains duplicated the old story which we know so well in this State. People travelled hundreds of miles to get a glimpse of him. ~~Compare for example~~ ^{Look} not alone at the hundreds of thousands who were turned away from the halls in which he spoke, but think of the ~~interest in the~~ ^{homes} of the millions who were listening in over the radio. Compare this with the interest that these same people have been taking in the ~~carefully edited~~ ^{carefully edited} didactic utterances of the ~~expert~~ ^{expert} statistician who is running on the Republican Ticket.

Compare the understanding heart of the one with the calculating heart of the other.

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The citizens of Albany will give to our Governor an overwhelming majority on election day, and I am confident that, through the growth of the understanding of this man, throughout the other cities of the State the same will be true. On my trip there has not been a single community, large or small, in which I haven't come in contact with a new class of voter -- not regular Democrats or regular Republicans, but people who are willing to ~~stand~~ stand up and say "We are Smith Republicans".

By the same token, every meeting that we have held has been swelled to unprecedented proportions by the type of citizen who heretofore has not attended political gatherings -- those who are taking a tremendous personal interest in a national campaign for the first time, *and it is a matter of record that the Smith Association meetings are two and three times as big as the Hoover-Batterson*
 For a month past, as Governor Smith has continued his personal appeal through the border states, the middle west and New England, the drift of public sentiment has been gathering momentum, and during the past week the flow of the tide has set definitely and strongly towards this triumphant flow of Smith votes on election day.

I call your attention to ^{one close} ~~the exact~~ parallel between this campaign and the campaigns in 1912 and 1916. If you will go back to those two years and dig out the file of any Republican newspaper in the United States you will find that ten days before election they were claiming the victory of Taft and the victory of Hughes by enormous majorities. In the inside circles of the Republican leaders in those years, panic had already set in. Mr. Taft was being told that things were going wrong, and Mr. Hughes was being pleaded with to do something to stem the adverse tide. There is a psychology

in general elections which history makes clear.--the slow gathering of headway in one direction or the other.~~this year~~ This year I have definite knowledge from my trip up-state of the fright and confusion among the Republican leaders in the State of New York. They were quiet enough and complacent enough up to a month ago. Now they are sensing the gathering momentum of the swing to Smith and they are running around in circles asking what can be done."

The answer is perfectly clear. Nothing can be done, for the tide is in full swing.

One compelling motive behind this undoubted surge of the tide is the better understanding of why this Governor of ours has achieved successive victories in the cause of good government against apparently overwhelming odds. Albany has had personal contact with these great struggles, and Albany knows better than any other part of this State the odds against which Smith has had to fight. I will cite only a few of the battles from which he has emerged victorious.

Take for instance the Smith proposal for the issuing of \$100,000,000 of State bonds for the purpose of catching up with a sadly neglected condition into which the public institutions of this State had fallen under Republican rule. First look at the way the Republicans, when it is too late, are trying to grab credit for this program of public improvements. Their platform says: "We pledge our party to carry out this work of construction with all possible speed." ~~xxx~~ And my friend Mr. Ottinger says: "The state building program must be completed." You and I here in Albany know the history of that famous bond issue. Who was it that proposed it?-- Smith. Who was it that fought a hostile legislature ^{to} adopt it? -- Smith. Who was it that persuaded the voters of this state to approve it on election day in 1925, travel-

ling from one end of the state to the other to explain the vital necessity of it to the voters? -- Smith.

Let us see where Senator Hewitt stood on that bond issue. On June 16, 1925 Senator Hewitt, and his side ^{partner} ~~lack~~, Assemblyman Hutchinson, who controlled the purse strings in the legislature, issued an attack on Governor Smith's proposal and called the Governor a political Ponzi, and these gentlemen continued to attack the bond issue throughout the campaign. In their counties it is a matter of record that they persuaded an overwhelming majority to vote against the bond issue. Even bigger political fry attacked the Governor's program. Former Governor Nathan L. Miller called this great plan for rehabilitating the state institutions arrant economic folly and political bunk. ^{and} ~~and~~

I understand that the people of Albany are fairly well acquainted with a gentleman called Senator Knight. He represents that fine, constructive Republican leadership in the upper house of our legislature. Senator Knight continued to oppose the bond issue, and persuaded his county to vote against it. The late George K. Morris, Republican State Chairman, called upon Republican organization workers in the state to fight the bond issue, and he was seconded in this by former Governor Whitman. Former Lieutenant-Governor Lowman, who is now so magnificently handling the Republican machine known as the Prohibition Office of the Treasury Department, took part in the fight against the bond issue, and said: "There is no room for compromise. The Republican machine is well-oiled and it is running smooth." Subsequent events have shown that a large part of that oil was kept out of the State of New York, and transferred to Prohibition ^{as called} ~~for~~ enforcement in Washington, and to

well-oiled departments
other ~~departments~~ of the federal government which need not be described more fully.

Next take up the ~~quant~~ history of the 48-hour law of protecting women and children in industry in this state. The Democratic leaders have been working to secure this law for the women and children of the state for the past 10 years. They have favored it in their platforms. And Governor Smith has asked every legislature to put it through. Finally, in 1934, the Republican platform at last came around to our way of thinking, and we all felt sure of the immediate passage of this much needed legislation.

What happened? The legislative leaders of the Republican party, under the guidance of Speaker Machold, listened to the tearful pleadings ^{of the} ~~and~~ powerful ~~well-oiled~~ ^{and} manufacturers lobby, failed to carry out their platform pledge. They delayed action by appointing a legislative committee, and gained a complete delay for two years. Finally, when they were beaten into it they passed a law which they hoped would fool the people of this state. It was a 49 ^{and} hour law, not a 48-hour law, and everybody ^{now} knows the story of their duplicity and their failure to carry out a solemn pledge.

And yet my friend, Mr. Ottinger has the nerve to say that we should be especially solicitous of the protection of health of women in industry."

Take up next the question of parks. ^{Who} ~~he~~ was the man who started the great program for the development of parks and parkways in every section throughout the state for the benefit and enjoyment and better health of our citizens. Was it Speaker Machold? Was it Senator Knight? Was it Charlie Hilles? Once more we know the simple fact that the plan was originated and sold to the voters of

this state by Governor Smith himself.

Even after the voters had approved the general proposal in the election of 1924, the legislature of the following year blocked the governor's efforts to carry out the mandate. Appropriations were refused not only at the regular session, but at the special session called by the Governor, and the opposition was led by a group of selfish Long Island millionaires headed by W. Kingsland Macy, now the Republican leader of Suffolk county.

Here is a splendid example of the Governor's genius for getting things done. After the special session that failed to appropriate money for parks, he said:

"Let us battle it out right in the shadow of the capitol itself, and let us have a decision, and let us not permit the impression to go abroad in this state that wealth and power can paralyze the arm of the state, while the machinery of government ^{is} ~~is~~ the performance of a duty that has so much to do now and in the future with the health and happiness and comfort of our ten million people and the millions more who will follow them."

This program of parks must be continued. Many of the projects have only been started. Here in Albany I can well cite the example of the development of Saratoga Springs into the greatest natural health resort anywhere in the United States. Untold good can be accomplished for the bettering of the health of our citizens by the carrying out of this program, and I am confident that even if the present Republican leadership opposes it, the people, by their mandate, will insist on it.

You people in Albany have had the interesting privilege of watching at close hand the gigantic struggle in the past few years between the Governor and the reactionary Republican leaders on the subject of the development of the great water power sites owned by the State. You have seen, first, the veiled, guarded opposition of those leaders and finally in 1926 the tearing away of that veil by the definite assertion of the Republican State platform of that year approving the development of these sites by private corporations. You have seen the former Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Machold, chosen as the head of one of the great water power companies and within the past few months you have seen his election, while still holding his private corporation position, chosen to be the Chairman of the Republican State Committee.

In December, 1928 right here in your own city you have seen the old Water Power Commission of which Attorney-General Ottinger was a member, sitting at a table ready to sign away for 50 years the greatest of the water power assets still owned by the people and you have seen the Governor of this State challenging them to fly in the opposition of a definite public sentiment. You have seen them lose their nerve, and with it what I hope will prove to be the last chance to perpetrate this steal against our State.

These same selfish interests have but one more chance. They hope to get Smith out of Albany and I am very certain that the voters will accomplish this by sending him to Washington. If they can elect a Republican Governor, and their choice is the same Mr. Ottinger who approved their plans before, then they think they will

be in a position to appoint a subservient Committee which will make a report, the recommendations of which you and I can guess. The result will be clearly and definitely the leasing of our State owned power sites under ^{leases} ~~less-lease~~ which will not terminate until the great majority of people here present tonight are dead and gone. Only one day stands between the people of this State and the loss of the water power sites which they own. That day comes one week from Tuesday and I am confident that the electorate will ^{not} change their already spoken mind.

Albany knows better than any other community in this State the splendid triumph of Governor Smith during his eight years of fighting against the leadership represented by Machold and Morris and Hewitt and Hutchinson and Hilles and Knight. Your vote on election day will translate that belief into what you know Governor Smith can accomplish in the larger field of Washington. I have spent many years in the National Capital. I have read history and I know that this nation needs in Washington a President capable of cooperating with the Congress of the United States. And in the event of a disagreement between the executive and the legislative branches of our National Government, we need a President who can go before the people of the United States in the same way that Smith has gone before the people of this State.

You who live in Albany know that in all the eight years of his Governorship, not one single appointment of his has been rejected by the Senate of this State, and you know that during that same period not one single bill which he has vetoed, has been passed over his veto by a hostile Assembly.

11

Republican

Last spring down in Washington the Senate of the United States rejected many appointments sent to it by President Coolidge, and in a single day the ^{*Republican*} Congress passed three measures over the Presidential veto. We need in our National Government a leader. A man with experience in the handling of the great issues that require the coordinating of the legislative and executive branches. Mr. Hoover, I have known for many years. There is ^{*scarcely*} ~~not~~ a single individual, even ~~in~~ in his own party, who will not admit privately that Mr. Hoover as President would accentuate the present difficulties, ill feeling and lack of results which characterize the relations between the White House and ~~the~~ Capitol Hill. We need to get things done in Washington just we have needed to get things done in Albany. Nobody with any knowledge of the two candidates can hesitate between Smith and Hoover.

I am very certain that the United States during the next four years will be spared the spectacle of further delays and broken pledges in our national government. Under President Smith we shall get things done. We shall carry out the pledges to the people of the United States.

Here in the State of New York the issue is identical. Shall we turn our splendid progress over to the tender mercies of a Machold, a Knight, a Hewitt, a Hutchinson and an Ottinger? Or shall we go forward with the carrying out of the programs and the policies of the greatest leader we have had in this day and generation?

Imitation of Lyndal.

Thinking

By the way, Senator Hewitt is the sole survivor of the days when I was in the State Senate, back in 1913, and I would be willing to bet that he is still rattling the same old chestnut in his ~~parka~~ trousers' pocket that he was wearing 15 years ago. Possibly that is the best example in this state of Republican economy.