
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 292

1928 October 30

Bronx, NY - Hunt's Point Palace

HUNTS POINT PALACE - NEW YORK

Tuesday Evening

October 30, 1928.

Mr. Chairman, my friends of the Bronx: It

always makes my heart glad to come back to the Bronx. I will tell you why -- two reasons: The first is that when I go back home to Dutchess County every week-end and come down on Monday mornings, I go through the Bronx, and I am glad to do it. (Applause.)

And the other reason is that I am partly responsible for the existence of the Bronx. (Laughter.) Now, even Ed Flynn doesn't know that. (Laughter.) I will tell you how it happened.

Way back there in 1911, when I was in the Legislature, that was when the first movement was started for the creation of the County of the Bronx, there was quite a bitter fight among us Democrats about that, and we lined up pro and con, and it so happened that I lined up with those people who wanted to see the Bronx created into a separate county. We had one amusing episode...

The gentleman who was presiding over the Senate was a dear old, white-haired Civil War Veteran, and we were all ready to pass the bill, -- we thought we had the votes to pass it, and there was one may shy, and the opposition realizing that we were one vote shy, they tried to bring it to a vote and kill it, and they had up there presiding over the Senate this old Senator Fearo from Ulster County, and we people fighting for the Bronx County Bill, we thought the only way that we could save the situation was by walking out of the Senate Chamber and breaking up the quorum, and we started out of the Senate Chamber, and half of us got out and Senator Fearo rapped on the table and said, "The Sergeant-at-Arms will close the doors of the Senate," and about half of them got stuck in the Senate; and one of the leaders for the Bronx County Bill (applause), a skilled parliamentarian, ran down the aisle of the Senate, ran right up in front of the Speaker's stand and said, "Senator, by what right am I being kept in this Chamber against my will?" And Senator Fearo took the gavel and slammed it on the table and said, "By the right of main force." (Laughter.)

Well, that was the way we ran parliamentary procedure in the Senate in those days. The following year the Bronx County Bill went through, and here you are. (Applause.)

Well, I have been doing a good deal of campaigning for a poor unfortunate that the Republicans said was being drafted against his will, and the more campaigning and the further I go, the more I wish it would last for another month instead of another week. (Applause.) And another reason for wishing that is this: there is a definite surge of the tide to the Democratic National and State Tickets. It is going to come to its peak next Tuesday, and if it were to last for another month, the people of the United States would make it unanimous. (Applause.)

And so I have come back to New York City this week to make a sort of report on the State of New York. We have covered pretty nearly every section. I do not know if Colonel Lehman has talked to you about it, but we have been clear up to Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and everywhere we have gone we have found the same kind of enthusiasm for Governor Alfred E. Smith that exists

here in his home town. (Applause.)

And I have had a certain amount of experience in some of those rock-ribbed, chilly Republican counties in the Northern end of the State. It reminded me a good deal of the recent atmosphere of the White House in certain parts. (Laughter and Applause.) Well, I will give you one example.

Eight years ago when I was running for the Vice-Presidency, I went into a city called Watertown, way up near the Canadian Border. Watertown was ten to one Republican, always has been ever since the Civil War, and eight years ago although I was scheduled to speak there and went there, with a lot of people around me, we got into town and we found just a handful, a corporal's guard of permanent, irreconcilable Democrats (laughter); about thirty of them, all the City of Watertown could muster, and they began apologizing and said how they had worked hard to get every Democrat in town out, and thought they had gotten them all out. (Laughter.)

So we did our little talk and we explained what we were running for, and we thanked them for their nerve in coming out, and we got on the first train and

went away to other parts. ~~ed up a parade, and they kept~~

Well, that was the picture eight years ago. So this year when we got up-State and found an invitation from Watertown, there was what might be called a certain amount of hesitation on my part. However, they were very insistent, so I said we will take a chance just once more, and we started for Watertown with our automobile caravan.

While we were wondering whether that thirty Democrats had grown to maybe forty in the past eight years, due to the normal increase of population (laughter), or whether the death rate had been pretty high around those parts and it had dropped down to twenty, so you can imagine our surprise on the highway, when we got about five or six miles out of Watertown, there the highway in front of us was blocked - blocked not with one or two or three cars, but with thirty cars, and we wondered if there had been a serious accident. Well, it turned out that we were the accident. And when we had got there, there was the Reception Committee, and there were twice as many people in the Reception Committee as there had been Democrats eight

years before. And we lined up a parade, and they kept adding to it all the way into town, and when we got into the City of Watertown there in the square was a densely packed mass of humanity, cherring, bands playing, red fire, and everything else. And that night they filled the biggest theatre in Watertown, 1800 people inside, and another thousand on the outside.

What were they? Well, the Democratic population had grown, for one thing. People were right out in the open saying "We are Al Smith Democrats." (Applause.) And then there was another new class of voter in this campaign, people who came up cocky, proud of the fact, and said "We are Al Smith Republicans." (Applause.) And then there was a third class of voter, didn't make so much noise, but they were there just the same, people who would come up to us, come around and whisper behind our ears and say, "I am wearing a Hoover button; I got a Hoover sign on my car, and I've got a Hoover picture in my window, too; it is all right enough, the neighbors make me, but I am voting for Smith just the same." (Applause.)

Now, my friends, all that means something.

It means that this year Mr. Hoover, and I think I can add my friend Mr. Ottinger, are going to get the surprise of their lives when they get the returns from up-State New York. (Applause.) All I am doing is just to say "Wait and see." The surge is on. The drift is under such headway that nothing can stop it, and every report that we are getting out of Republican Headquarters, from the secret meetings of the Republican leaders, is that they are running around in circles, and they are wondering what to do next, six days more. Not a chance. No, it is too late. And they found that certain things have not fooled the people this year as they did in the old days.

Up-State there, the farmers out on the farms are listening in over the radio, and they are hearing these old bombastic utterances about prosperity, and they laugh up their sleeves and decide to vote for Al Smith.

And so people all over the State of New York and the United States do not take very kindly to the old time-worn argument that when we get a Democratic Administration in Washington for the next four years that you will all go hungry and barefooted. It doesn't

work any more, and it is not working this year.

They are going around making the same old promises. In one of his speeches the other day up-State, my friend Mr. Ottinger said to the people up there, and thought he could get away with it up there, but not down here in New York City -- he said, "You know, one of the first things that Mr. Hoover is going to do when he goes to Washington, he is going to abolish poverty." (Laughter.) And I have been coming back every since, saying, "Fine, when Mr. Hoover abolishes poverty in the United States, I will vote for him." (Applause.)

You know, I don't believe that that kind of campaigning pays in this day and generation. It may have paid in the days when the education of the United States was far less than it is today. It may have paid in the days before people read books and papers. But it doesn't pay any more. People want facts. People want constructive arguments. And so in this campaign we have been trying, we on the State Ticket, just as much as our great leader this year on the National Ticket, we have been going around talking arguments and facts, not just wild promises and pledges, but things about what

has been accomplished, and things about what ought to be done next. ~~insisted~~.

In other words, we have got a program, a sane, rational program, not a program of standing still and just damning the other side. But a program of construction, and so, following up the splendid example of Governor Smith, I am going around this State and taking a leaf from his notebook and telling the people of this State of the parts of the Governor's program still remaining uncompleted, and what new things the State must take up in the coming year.

And so tonight I have chosen a somewhat serious subject, but a subject that comes home into the lives of every man and woman in this audience; first and last, a subject that is now in the State of New York as a political question. I say political with the hope that it will not be made a partisan question. There is all the difference in the world.

In my speech of acceptance I spoke of four examples of improving our government methods with the succeeding years, and I have talked about three of them already. Tonight I want to talk about the last of these. It relates to a subject that goes deep to the

roots of effective government, the system by which justice is administered. vital matter, that these con-

Now, justice comes pretty close home into our lives, although, as somebody said to me the other day, probably only one man or woman out of a thousand is engaged or involved in court procedure, either criminal or civil, in any way. Yet I am perfectly certain that nine hundred and ninety-nine individuals out of a thousand are interested in better justice in this State.

We ought to be very proud of this State. We ought to have pride in the contribution that we have made in the past to the system of jurisprudence. It was the New York Code of 1848 that was not only the first of the great codes of civil procedure, but became the model for other States, and it was our criminal code of 1881 that lighted the way for the rest of the nation. In the organization of our judiciary, especially the high character of our Court of Appeals in Albany, New York, has established a happy pre-eminence, and we have had great help from commissions and bar associations and business organizations in the improving of the administration of justice.

But I think that you will agree with me, on thinking over this very vital matter, that these constructive efforts of recent years have not been able to keep pace with the fundamental changes in our social conditions. Population has increased in a manner that previous generations could not have foreseen. The very existence of Bronx County today is the finest living example of how a great community is born in these United States. Population has increased, and the rise of great cities has been out of proportion even to this great increase, and business has been done on broader lines. All of these increased complexities of our social relations have added to the difficulties of assuring a fundamental justice to the individual man and woman, the human being, and this plea of mine is merely an expansion, another step in that great program for human rights which Alfred E. Smith has so long championed. (Applause.)

We know conditions and we know responsible and thoughtful judges have reported that in spite of efforts, the burden of litigation grows more rapidly than the facilities of the courts; that justice is often slow

and expensive; that the jury system in certain types of cases is unsatisfactory; that perjury is all too common. Great strides have been taken in the penal phases of the criminal law in the past two years. But the unsatisfactory condition still prevails.

In other words, the whole problem of crime must remain under scrutiny until it is put on a better basis. I believe that the time has come to use intelligent effort not merely to provide adequate punishment in these days, but more modern, more American methods to eliminate the cause of crime. (Applause.)

Now, what is our complaint, your complaint and mine, the average citizen? Is it not along these lines, that justice is too slow, that it is too expensive, that it allows and encourages too much litigation? I need not expand on the subject of the slowness of justice. You people know here how long, very often, it takes to get into court, and then to get through court. Our record in the matter, in comparison with other nations, is not as good as it should be. Improvements due to the cooperation of bench and bar have helped our court calendars, and I approve of all of these measures,

but in the final analysis there may result from them too much congestion in the lower courts, as we know in the City of New York.

It is my belief that this problem is to be studied from the bottom up instead of from the top down, and I can remember, for I know something about it, my early practice in the Municipal Courts of the City of New York. I can remember way back in 1907 when I was admitted to the bar, having to get up on very, very cold and snowy winter mornings, having to make the Municipal Court away out at the end of the Bronx. By the same token it is undoubtedly true that for a private citizen to attain the ends of justice, costs more in this State than in many other nations. Here again, that problem has to be studied from the bottom and not from the top. Anyone familiar with the practice in Municipal and Magistrates' Courts must recognize that a simpler and less costly form of administering justice for people of small means deserves the most careful study. (Applause)

Both of these premises, the slowness and the costliness of getting justice, bring up the need of studying, in addition, the possibility of reducing the

volume of litigation. You know, we Americans just love to go to court. It is one of our favorite occupations. Some people would rather be in court than eat. They would rather find a new cause of action than eat their breakfast. And yet it is not a good thing for us. It is not a good thing for the communities. And I believe the time has come in the advance of our civilization when we can make one of the points in our education of the children, in our working out of the procedure of the law, that it should be a matter of pride for us Americans to avoid litigation where we can properly do so.

Now, the first step in the study of this great and serious problem is to get a fact-finding commission appointed by the Governor, and not by the Legislature. We have seen in the past history of the State what happens to Legislative commissions. They are like the old boards that we used to talk about in Navy days, long, narrow and wooden. And these legislative commissions to investigate are merely in every case junketing parties; a happy chance to see New York for my up-State farmer friends, or a chance to visit the Adirondacks

or the parks upstate for the members of the Legislature from New York City. ~~His opinion representing all classes~~

And so, I am in favor of a Governor's Commission; not that I want to visit around the State in that way, but I would like to have the appointing of the commission. (Applause.)

We need a commission to determine by scientific analysis of the thousands of cases what cases cause the delay and the expense; what kind of cases take up the time of the courts; what courts are most crowded; and, finally, what cases ought never to have come to court at all.

I recognize that great study has been given to this problem by various committees, voluntary organizations, and by the courts themselves, but the point I would make is that the State needs a coordination of this mass of figures, and the recommendations of an official body representing the State itself. This State commission should, of course, have on its membership judges and lawyers, but in addition, and I say this as a member of the Bar of this City, we should call on the intelligence of laymen and lay women who are not

members of the legal profession, so that we can have a cross-section of public opinion representing all classes of endeavor. (Applause.) So much has already been done in the study of judicial procedure, of arbitration, of penology, that a State Commission appointed this coming winter should be able to make a comprehensive report within the year.

When that is done, the State needs action. We have been flooded with recommendations for years, but there has been no central body capable of bringing in a report in such form that any action could be taken thereon.

That reminds me, that two of the greatest reforms that have come to this State in the past fifteen years, have come about in exactly that way. The first of these, when I was back in the Legislature, was that great Factory Investigating Commission headed by Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith and Senator Robert F. Wagner. (Applause) A commission which was the foundation of all of the laws on our statute books today that safeguard the health and safety of those who work in factories. And the other example was the driving through by Gover-

nor Smith himself of the reorganization of our State Government, a subject that has been talked about for years and was finally brought to a head by the insistence of Governor Smith and the excellent report of the Reconstruction Commission.

My friends, experience with our Republican leader friends in the Legislature makes it perfectly evident that the people of this State can expect mighty little from that Legislature if they are left to work out the problem themselves. I will, if elected, take immediate steps to secure the cooperation of the bench, of the bar, and bar associations, and of commercial and industrial and labor organizations, and of such other public and semi-public agencies which have a broad interest in this problem.

Here are a few suggestions that will only take me a minute to run over, but as you people realize, I am making this record into these microphones, and through the press, for a great constructive problem which is facing this State, and that you and I are going to hear about for the next two years, each one of them opening up the broadest kind of field in which definite

forward steps can be taken, in each one of which:

First, the question of the reduction of the number of jury trials;

Second, the elimination of perjury;

Third, stricter examination into the ethics of certain members of the Bar;

Fourth, the elimination of ambulance chasing.

(Applause)

Fifth, the elimination of dilatory motions, and unless you are a lawyer you won't quite know what that means. It means just another method of staving off the evil day.

Sixth, the devising of new methods to handle many thousands of cases, particularly certain kinds of court cases by administrative tribunals rather than by courts of law.

In many ways that last suggestion goes back to the ancient patriarchal system of the Bible, where, instead of going before a judge duly decked out, you go out before a friend and settle your troubles before a friend, without formality, without the red tape of all of the present judicial procedure.

On the criminal side of this question, here are some steps which we must study in these next few years:

First, consideration of Governor Smith's sentencing plan, a great step in the right direction, and far in advance of anything we have done yet;

Secondly, the complete overhauling of the prison labor system;

Third, the classification of prisoners in State prisons;

Fourth, reform of the system by which short term prisoners are kept in County jails;

Fifth, establishment of State-wide detective service to assist District Attorneys in the running down of crime and the preparation of important cases;

Sixth, the establishment of a system of minor criminal courts to take over the criminal jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace;

Seventh, the extension of a State Criminal Identification and Statistic Service;

Eighth, further revision of the Penal Code in order to bring the substantive criminal law in

harmony with new conditions; and with crime. I have been

Ninth, better provision for the education of local police officers. That does not apply in the City of New York. (Applause.)

Tenth, revision of the fire-arms law.

Eleventh, provisions for insanity proceedings in criminal cases to reduce the so-called "expert testimony" evil. (Applause.) And

Twelfth and last, a better parole law, with adequate parole service.

We are hearing much today, with some justification, of many complaints about our legal system. We hear talk of one law for the rich and another law for the poor. Taking it by and large, I am very certain that the people of this State want a reform of their judicial procedure, and I am equally certain that the bench and the bar will cooperate with the other citizens of the State in helping to expedite this reform.

Again, I want to repeat that what we need is action, and I propose to do all in my power to see that it is brought about.

And now, my friends, one word more, about a

subject that goes hand in hand with crime. I have been a member for a number of years of the National Crime Commission and we have examined into all sorts of conditions surrounding crime in these United States, not locally, but all over, and undoubtedly one of the chief causes of crime in a community is inadequate, unsanitary and congested housing facilities. Probably, if you will remember back not so long ago, the most serious situation that confronted us at the end of the World War was a shortage of housing, particularly in cities, due to the complete cessation of construction during the war. As a result the demand became so much greater than the supply that profiteering was resorted to, and you people in the Bronx are perhaps most familiar with this situation.

Perhaps in no other borough was the emergency quite so acute. It is not necessary for me to go into the steps of what happened. That is a matter of history. Colonel Lehman has referred to the magnificent record of Governor Smith in creating that new legislation to meet the crisis. The first thing he did was to call a special session in 1920. That prevented the eviction of

100,000 families throughout the State, and from that time on it has been the leadership of our Governor that has been foremost in enacting legislation to protect the tenants in an emergency. But the Governor did not remain content with just remedial measures. He was more interested in the constructive end of things, in creating machinery which would put up modern, sanitary dwellings to rent for reasonable prices.

The first step was his recommendation of 1923 for the creation of that State Board of Housing that you know of, and in 1926 the Legislature passed the Statute permitting the formation of those limited dividend corporations. I am not going to tell you what you have in the Bronx up here. I have followed pretty well the workings of that law. I know, for instance, about the splendid effort of the Amalgamated Clothing Union, through the medium of the Housing Corporation, that set up these houses to hold three hundred and two families in the Bronx at eleven dollars a room. The new house that they are putting up, a building of the Cloak Makers' Union which will be finished in a few weeks; the same thing is true with the great development down in

Manhattan, where three square blocks are being torn down, which are going to house sixteen hundred families down there at a gross rental of twelve dollars a room.

Now, my friends, what does that mean? My friend Mr. Hoover would call that Socialistic. (Laughter) Just in the same way that back there in the Legislature in 1911, Al Smith, Bob Wagner and I were called radicals and Socialists, because we were in favor of a Factory Inspection and the Fifty-Four Hour Law for women and children in industry. (Applause.) Just think of it, fifty-four hours a week, and we were called radicals. And that was only seventeen years ago, and we had a fight back there in 1911, 1912 and 1913 - against who? Against the same Republican leadership that today is in control of the Republican Party. *Laughter, New York*

So it goes right down the line. Every advancement in social and humane legislation; every advancement in public improvements in the State of New York -- look at your park system up here; look at the park system coming down on the North Shore and South Shore of Long Island; look at Bear Mountain Park; every single improvement in this State for the good of humanity

has been fostered by the Democratic Party under the leadership of Al Smith. (Applause.)

And the opposition have called us Socialists.

Well, they have been doing that in past years, just about the last week of the campaign, when they began, as I said, running around in circles, not knowing how to beat us, and it is not the first time that Smith has been called a Socialist. But when Mr. Hoover in Madison Square Garden a week ago last Monday night stood up and talked about the policies of Alfred E. Smith being socialistic, then we knew that Smith would win. (Applause.)

That, my friends, is the invariable sign of a panic; they are in a panic. They know what is coming. They know where we Democrats of the nation, New York City, up-State, and every other state, are going to be on the fourth of March next.

My friend Senator Copeland is going to extend an invitation to you to come down to Washington on March fourth next. He is going to talk to you about marching up Pennsylvania Avenue. But my friend down

here is right. You cannot march up Pennsylvania Avenue unless you have practice, and that is why I want you to come up to Albany on the 1st of January and practice marching past me. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman and my friends, I am glad to get back to little old Fortville. (Applause.) And I give everyone a free line that the women district of New York was eight-fifty persons. (Applause.) I want to tell you that if you people want to go with me, by early it will be one hundred persons. (Applause.)

Well, I shall keep swinging around the circle. We have pretty well covered this matter, we have been all through up there, through the Southern States, all the way down and back up to the Atlantic, through the States and the little places, and we would want to be surprised, you would be surprised at the development of democracy through the State of New York. You would be surprised if you knew the places that we have gone into -- one place, for instance, up there in Watertown, up near the Canada border -- I was there eight years ago running for the Vice-Presidency, and then we will

Prosperity
Whichever thing - Flat Times - Poverty

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
HUNTS POINT PALACE, BRONX, N. Y. C. -

October 30, 1928.

In my acceptance speech I spoke of four examples of the need of improving our governing methods with each succeeding year. Three of these I have already dealt with at length.

On the fourth subject I said: "I would speak of a subject that goes deep to the roots of effective government: the system by which justice is administered."

Citizens of New York are entitled to a certain pride in the contribution which this state has made to the cause of law reform in America. The New York Code ~~xx~~ of 1848 was not only the first of the great state codes of procedure, but it became the model and inspiration for other states. The Criminal Code of 1881 likewise lighted the way for the rest of the nation. In the organization of our judiciary, in the quality of the bench, especially the high character of our Court of Appeals, New York has established and maintained a happy pre-eminence.

The able assistance from public commissions, bar associations, and business organizations have been standing aids in the improving of the administration of justice.

I feel very strongly, however, that these constructive efforts have not been able to keep pace with recent fundamental changes in social conditions. Population has increased in a manner which former generations could not have foreseen. The rise of great cities has been out of all proportion even to this great increase in population. Business is being done on ^{broader} ~~wider~~ lines. It has been necessary to devise more complex methods of handling business. All these

increased complexities of our social relations have added to the difficulty of assuring a fundamental justice to the people. New instrumentalities, such as the automobile, the airplane, the radio, the increasing use of electricity, have raised new legal problems of a basic character and have in many instances shown the need for a readjustment of the rules of common law.

I am convinced that many symptoms have appeared indicating unsatisfactory conditions in the administration of justice. Responsible and thoughtful judges have reported that in spite of heroic efforts the burden of litigation grows more rapidly than the facilities of the courts, that justice is often slow and expensive, that the jury system in certain types of cases reveal serious faults, that perjury is all too common, and that unsatisfactory practices on the part of a very small element among the members of the bar have, in the past, caused an embarrassment to a great and highly honorable profession.

Great strides have been taken in certain penal phases of the criminal law in our state during the past two years, but in my judgment unsatisfactory conditions still remain. The whole problem of crime is under scrutiny and must remain so. Every effort must be made not merely to provide adequate punishment for crime but to remove, at least in part from modern civilization, many of the existing causes of crime. I believe that the time has come to use intelligent effort to correct evils in the procedure of both our criminal and civil law.

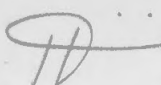
This procedure is: (a) too slow; (b) too expensive; (c) allows and encourages too much litigation.

I need not expand on the subject of the slowness of justice.

Our record in this matter in comparison with many other nations of the world shows that we have much to learn. Improvements due to the co-operation of the bench and the bar have undoubtedly been made in our court calendars. I approve of all of these efforts and they should be continued, but in the final analysis there may result from them too much congestion in the lower courts and it is my belief that this problem should be studied from the bottom rather than from the top.


By the same token it is undoubtedly true that for a private citizen to attain the ends of justice costs more in this State than in many other nations. Here again the problem must be approached from the bottom rather than from the top. Any one familiar with the procedure in the Municipal and Magistrates' Courts must recognize that a simpler and less costly form of administering justice for people of small means deserves the most careful study.

Both of these premises bring up the need for studying the possibility of reducing the volume of litigation in the first instance.

 I believe that the first step in the study of this great, and serious problem is to get a fact-finding commission appointed by the Governor in order to determine by a scientific analysis of the thousands of cases going through the courts of this state; exactly what things cause the delay and the expense, what kinds of cases take up the time of the courts, what courts are most crowded, and finally what cases ought never to have come to court at all. I recognize that much study has been given to these problems by various voluntary organizations, and by the courts themselves. The point I would make is that the state needs a co-ordination of the mass of figures already in existence, the digging out of further figures, and the recommendations of an official body representing the state itself. This commission should, of course, have on its membership judges and lawyers, but in addition we should call on the intelligence of laymen and lay women who are not members of the legal profession, so that we may have a cross-section of public opinion representing all fields of endeavor.

So much has already been accomplished in the study of judicial procedure, of arbitration, of penology, and of kindred subjects, that a state commission appointed this coming winter will not be able to make a comprehensive report within the year.

Then that is accomplished, the state needs action. We have been flooded with recommendations of all kinds, but there has been no central body capable of bringing in a report in such form that action could be immediately taken thereon.

 It was in this way that two great reforms which came to my mind have already become the law of the State of New York. The

first of these was the culmination of long years of effort in the factory and labor laws, which resulted from the Factory Investigation Committee which, fifteen years ago, was headed by Governor Smith and Senator Wagner. The other example is the driving through of the reorganization of the State government -- a subject which had been talked of for years and was finally brought to a head by the insistence of Governor Smith and the excellent report of the Reconstruction Commission.

Experience with party leaders in a Republican legislature makes it all too evident that the people can expect little from legislative investigations; and again, it is necessary that the driving power should come from the executive of the State.

I will, if elected, take immediate steps to secure the cooperation of the bench, of bar associations, and of commercial, industrial and labor organizations, and of other public and semi-public agencies which have a broad interest in this problem.

Here are a few suggestions, each one of which opens up the broadest kind of field, in each one of which definite forward steps can be made: (1) The question of the reduction of the number of Jury trials. (2) The elimination of perjury. (3) Stricter examination into the ethics of certain members of the bar. (4) The elimination of Ambulance Chasing. (5) The elimination of dilatory motions. (6) The devising of new methods to handle many thousands of cases, particularly certain kinds of tort cases by administrative tribunals rather than by courts of law.

On the criminal side of this question, here are some steps which we must study: (1) Consideration of Governor Smith's Sentencing plan. (2) Complete overhauling of the prison labor

system. (3) Classification of prisoners in State Prisons. (4) Reform of system by which short-term prisoners are kept in County Jails. (5) Establishment of State wide detective service to assist District Attorneys in the running down of crime and in the preparation of important cases. (6) Establishment of system of minor Criminal Courts to take over the criminal jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace. (7) Extension of State Criminal Identification and Statistic Service. (8) Further revision of the Penal Code in order to bring the substantive criminal law in harmony with new conditions. (9) Better provisions for the education of local police officers. (10) Revision of the Firearms law. (11) Provisions for insanity proceedings in criminal cases to reduce the "Expert Testimony" evil. (See next page)

13. A better parole law, with adequate parole service.
I feel ^{sure} ~~xxx~~ that while it may be true, as one of my friends

4 said to me, that only one citizen in a thousand is concerned with any form of dealings with courts, either civil or criminal, yet this subject is of interest to 999 citizens out of a thousand.

We hear altogether too much of complaints about our legal system. We hear talk of one law for the rich, and another law for the poor. Taking it by and large, I am very certain that the people of this state want a reform of their judicial procedure, and I am equally certain that the bench and the bar will cooperate with the other citizens of the state in helping to expedite this reform. Again I want to repeat that what we need is action, and I propose to do all in my power to see that this is brought about.

7 ~~xxx~~ Undoubtedly one of the chief contributing causes of crime in a community is ~~xxx~~ inadequate, unsanitary and congested housing facilities. Probably the most serious situation which ~~xxxxxxxx~~ faced us at the close of the recent World War was a shortage of housing, particularly in cities, due to the complete cessation of construction of new housing while the war was in progress. As a result, the demand became so much greater than the supply that profiteering was resorted to, and the universal shortage brought about an enormous increase in rentals. You people in the Bronx are perhaps most familiar with this situation. Perhaps in no other borough was the emergency quite so acute. Perhaps in no other borough were the people in such grave danger from profiteering landlords. It is ~~not~~ now necessary to go into the history of the steps taken to protect the people of the larger cities in

the state in this acute emergency. That is a matter of history. You are all familiar with the important part that Governor Smith played in creating new legislation to meet this new crisis. The first thing he did, as you know, was to call the special session of 1930, which passed the immediately necessary legislation, to prevent the eviction of at least 100,000 thousand families throughout the state. From that time until today the Governor has been in the foreground in enacting legislation to protect the tenants in the emergency. He created fact-finding commissions to investigate the situation from time to time, so that the legislation could be protected/ ^{from attack} in the courts by the findings of these commissions that the emergency still continued. In addition to that, power was given to localities to exempt from taxation, for a limited period, buildings destined to relieve the situation.

However, Governor Smith did not remain content with these remedial emergency measures. He was much more interested in creating a machinery which would put up modern, sanitary dwellings to rent for reasonable prices. This legislation was designed to create a permanent method of erecting more and better houses at cheaper rents. The first step was his recommendation in 1923 for the creation of a State Board of Housing and Regional Planning to study the whole question. This Commission was later succeeded by the creation of a permanent State Housing Board, and it was upon the advice of these Commissions that the Legislature from time to time extended the rent laws.

In 1926, however, upon the insistent recommendation of the Governor, the Legislature passed a Statute permitting the formation of limited dividend corporations which ^{were} ~~was~~ to have the right, under regulation by the Housing Board, to purchase or condemn

large parcels of property and to construct thereon sanitary, modern dwellings at maximum rentals. The profits to be earned by these corporations were to be limited to 6%; localities were given the power to exempt their property from taxation; they were enabled to borrow money at cheap rates of interest; and in this way they were ^{put in a position} ~~enabled~~ to construct dwellings on a cheaper basis than could a private corporation without tax exemption and actuated with the sole purpose of making as large dividends as possible.

Under this statute remarkable progress has been made. You in the Bronx have witnessed at least two splendid developments which have been made possible by this legislation. The Amalgamated Housing Corporation, formed by members of the Amalgamated Clothing Union, have succeeded under this legislation in erecting a first class building with all modern improvements, housing 303 families at a rent of \$11. per month per room. This development was erected at a cost of \$1,875,000, and has furnished excellent homes for workers at this reasonable rent of \$11. per room per month in a neighborhood in which the average rent in privately owned dwellings is from \$20. to \$25. per room. So successful has been this operation that the Amalgamated Housing Corporation is planning to erect an additional structure which will be capable of housing 200 more families under similar conditions and at the same rents. It is interesting to note that most of the tenants in this dwelling have come there to live from houses in some of the worst slum districts, where they had been compelled to pay much higher rents for infinitely worse accommodations.

The other development in the Bronx, as you know, has been put up by the Cloakmakers Union, and will be completed in a few weeks.

This building, in addition to all of the improvements contained in the other development, will have elevator service, will accomodate 150 or 160 families, and will rent for a gross rental of \$11. per room.

I am informed that down on the lower east side of Manhattan there is a development in contemplation by which three entire square blocks are going to be torn down and to be replaced by a modern, sanitary, model apartment house, to cost about seven and a half million dollars, to house 1600 families at a gross rental of \$12. per room.

The effect of this kind of better housing at cheaper rents upon the moral, economic and social welfare of our community can never be exaggerated. It is the first step in the removal of the effects of slum districts.

While remarkable strides have been made under this legislation, it is perhaps in its present form a trifle too rigid for obtaining the best results. I believe that all possible steps should be taken to promote this kind of enterprise in the larger cities of our state. I believe that serious consideration should be given to the recommendations heretofore made by the Housing Board to facilitate the construction under this plan, and when elected, I shall do all that I can to improve the law so that many more of these structures can be erected. Good housing at cheap rents is as important to the people of our cities as any other issue.

- - - - -