
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 300

1929 January 1

Inaugural Address

0300

Franklin D. Roosevelt
Hydr. Park
Dec 31 1928

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I am certain that no Governor in the long history of the state has accomplished more than he in definite improvement of the structure of our state government, in the wise, efficient and honorable administration of its affairs, and finally in his possession of that vibrant understanding heart attuned to the needs and hopes of the men, the women and the children who form the sovereignty known as "the People of the State of New York."

To Alfred E. Smith, a public servant of true greatness, I extend on behalf of our citizens our affectionate greetings, our wishes for his good health and happiness and our prayer that God will watch over him and his in the years to come.

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Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill has come a willingness on our part to give as well as to receive, to aid, through the agency of the state, the well-being of the men and women who, by their toil, have made our material prosperity possible.

I object to having this spirit of personal civil responsibility to the state and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as "humanitarian." It is far more than that. It is the recognition that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependency on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the "self-supporting" man or

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I am proud that we of this state have grown to realize this dependence, and, what is more important, have also come to know that we, as individuals, in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us. To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the factories and to insure them a fair wage and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them by adequate insurance for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill, to pursue with strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time, by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All of these great aims of life are more fully realized here than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go; but during the last six years in particular, the people of this state have shown their impatience of those who seek to make such things a football of politics or by blind unintelligent obstruction, attempt to bar the road to Progress.

Most gratifying of all, perhaps, is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this higher civilization, for, first of all, has been the need to set our machinery of government in order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money we must continue the efforts to simplify and modernize. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. The modernization of our administrative procedure, not alone that of the state, but also of those other vital units of counties, of cities, of towns and of villages, must be accomplished; and while in the unit of the state we have almost reached our goal, I want to emphasize that in the other units we have a long road to travel.

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I want to call particularly on the public press of this state in whose high standards I have the greatest confidence, to devote more space to the explanation and consideration of such legislation as may come up this year, for no matter how willing the individual citizen may be to support wise and progressive measures, it is only through the press, and I mean not only our great dailies but their smaller sisters in the rural districts, that our electorate can learn and understand what is going on.

There are many puzzling problems to be solved. I will here mention but three. In the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste on their paths toward the sea, enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers' homes—power which nature has supplied us through the gift of God. It is intolerable that the utilization of this stupendous heritage should be longer delayed by petty squabbles and partisan dispute. Time will not solve the problem; it will be more difficult as time goes on to reach a fair conclusion. It must be solved now.

I should like to state clearly the outstanding features of the problem itself. First, it is agreed, I think, that the water power of the state should belong to all the people. There was, perhaps, some excuse for careless legislative gift of power sites in the days when it was of no seemingly great importance. There can be no such excuse now. The title to this power must vest forever in the people of this state. No commission, no, not the Legislature itself has any right to give, for any consideration whatever, a single potential kilowatt in virtual perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever. The Legislature in this matter is but the trustee of the people, and it is their solemn duty to administer such heritage so as most greatly to benefit the whole people. On this point there can be no dispute.

It is also the duty of our legislative bodies to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into usable electrical energy and distributed to them at the lowest possible cost. It is our power; and no inordinate profits must be allowed to those who act as the people's agents in bringing this power to their homes and workshops. If we keep these two fundamental facts before us, half of the problem disappears.

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On another matter I tread perhaps a new path. The phrase, "rich man's justice," has become too common nowadays. So complicated has our whole legal machinery become through our attempt to mend antiquated substructures by constant patching of the legal procedure and the courts that justice is our most expensive commodity. That rich criminals too often escape punishment is a general belief of our people. The difficulty with which our citizens maintain their civil rights before the courts has not been made a matter of such public notice but is equally serious. It is my hope that within the next two years we will have begun to simplify and to cheapen justice for the people.

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~~And in this connection it is my intention to study carefully the basic principles adopted by our public service commissions in their determinations as to what constitute just and equitable rates chargeable by public service corporations. I am convinced that there is a wide-spread impression on the part of the public that the rates allowed for electricity, gas and telephones used in the home are not justified by a fair computation of the value of the investment. It is a matter of importance to the public and to the public service companies that the truth or falsity of this impression should be determined by an examination of the facts.~~

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Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill has come a willingness on our part to give as well as to receive, to aid, through the agency of the state, the well-being of the men and women who, by their toil, have made our material prosperity possible.

I object to having this spirit of personal civil responsibility to the state and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as "humanitarian." It is far more than that. It is the recognition that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependency on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the "self-supporting" man or

woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved. Consider the bread upon our table, the clothes upon our backs, the luxuries that make life pleasant; how many men worked in sunlit fields, in dark mines, in the fierce heat of molten metal, and among the looms and wheels of countless factories, in order to create them for our use and enjoyment.

I am proud that we of this state have grown to realize this dependence, and, what is more important, have also come to know that we, as individuals, in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us. To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the factories and to insure them a fair wage and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them by adequate insurance for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill, to pursue with strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time, by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All of these great aims of life are more fully realized here than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go; but during the last six years in particular, the people of this state have shown their impatience of those who seek to make such things a football of politics or by blind unintelligent obstruction, attempt to bar the road to Progress.

Most gratifying of all, perhaps, is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this higher civilization. For, first of all, has been the need to set our machinery of government in order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money we must continue the efforts to simplify and modernize. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. The modernization of our administrative procedure, not alone that of the state, but also of those other vital units of counties, of cities, of towns and of villages, must be accomplished; and while in the unit of the state we have almost reached our goal, I want to emphasize that in the other units we have a long road to travel.

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1st proof - F.B.I.

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Inaugural Address

of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt
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~~Secretary to the Governor~~

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You have honored me greatly by selecting me as your Chief Executive. It is my hope that I will not fail you in this critical period of our history. I wish that you may have a continuance of good government and the happiest of New Years.

49 Sept 65
11/1/1929

Governor and Mrs. Smith, Mr. Secretary of State, my friends:

This day is notable not so much for the inauguration of a new Governor as that it marks the close of the term of a Governor who has been our Chief Executive for eight years.

I am certain that no Governor in the long history of the State has accomplished more than he in definite improvement of the structure of our state government, in the wise, efficient and honorable administration of its affairs, and finally in his possession of that vibrant understanding heart attuned to the needs and hopes of the men, the women and the children who form the sovereignty known as "the People of the State of New York".

To Alfred E. Smith, a public servant of true greatness, I extend on behalf of our citizens our affectionate greetings, our wishes for his good health and happiness and our prayer that God will watch over him and his in the years to come.] cut to Page 2

It is a proud thing to be a citizen of the State of New York, not because of our great population and our natural resources, nor on account of our industries, our trade, or our agricultural development, but because the citizens of this state more than any other state in the

union, have grown to realize the inter-dependence on eachother which modern civilization has created.

Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill has come a willingness on our part to give as well as to receive, to aid, through the agency of the state, the well-being of the men and women who, by their toil, have made our material prosperity possible.

10
I object to having this spirit of personal civil responsibility to the state and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as "humanitarian". It is far more than that. It is the recognition that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, realize our personal responsibility to and dependency on the rest of the world. For it is literally true that the self supporting man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved. Consider the bread upon our table, the clothes upon our backs, the luxuries that make life pleasant; how many men worked in sunlit fields, in dark mines, in the fierce heat of molten metal, and among the looms and wheels of countless factories, in order to create them for our use and enjoyment.

Aut to P 4

I am proud that we of this State have grown to realize this dependence, and, what is more important, have also come to know that we, as individuals, in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us. To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the factories and to insure them a fair wage and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them by adequate insurance for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill, to pursue with strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time, by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All of these great aims of life are more fully realized here than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go; but during the last six years in particular, the people of this State have shown their impatience of those who seek to make such things a football of politics or by blind unintelligent obstruction, attempt to bar the road to Progress.

Most gratifying of all perhaps is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this higher civilization, for, first of all, has been the need to set our machinery of government in

order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money we must continue to efforts to simplify and modernize. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. The modernization of our administrative procedure, not alone that of the state, but also of those other vital units of counties, of cities, of towns and of villages, must be accomplished; and while in the unit of the state we have almost reached our goal, I

To want to emphasize that in the other units we have a long road to travel.

→ [Each one of us must realize the necessity of our personal interest, not only toward our fellow citizens, but in the government itself. You must watch, as a public duty, what is done and what is not done at Albany. You must understand the issues that arise in the Legislature, and the recommendations made by your Governor, and judge for yourselves if they are right or wrong. If you find them right it is your duty as citizens on next election day to repudiate those who oppose, and to support by your vote those who strive for their accomplishment.] out to page 5

I want to call particularly on the public press of this state in whose high standards I have the greatest confidence, to devote more space to the explanation and consideration of such legislation as may come up this year, for no matter how willing the individual citizen may be to

support wise and progressive measures, it is only through the press, and I mean not only our great dailies but their smaller sisters in the rural districts, that our electorate can learn and understand what is going on.

→ to [There are many puzzling problems to be solved.] *Curro* I will here mention but three. In the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste on their paths toward the sea, enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers' homes - power which nature has supplied us through the gift of God. It is intollerable that the utilization of this stupendous heritage should be longer delayed by petty squabbles and partisan dispute. Time will not solve the problem: it will be more difficult as time goes on to reach a fair conclusion. It must be solved now.

I should like to state clearly the outstanding features of the problem itself.

→ [First, it is agreed, I think, that the water power of the state should belong to all the people. There was, perhaps, some excuse for the careless gift of this power in the days when it was of no seemingly great importance. There can be no such excuse now. The title to this power must vest forever in the people of this State. No commission, no, not the Legislature itself has any right to give, for any consideration whatever,

a single potential kilowatt in virtual perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever. The Legislature in this matter is but the trustee of the people, and it is their solemn duty to administer such heritage so as most greatly to benefit the whole people. On this point there can be no dispute.] *cut to page 7*

It is also the duty of our legislative bodies to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into practical electrical energy and distributed to them at the lowest possible cost. It is our power; and no inordinate profits must be allowed to those who act as the people's agents in bringing this power to the homes and workshops. If we keep these two fundamental facts before us, half of the problem disappears.

There remains the technical question as to which of several methods will bring this power to our doors with the least expense. Let me here make clear the three divisions of this technical side of the question.

First, the construction of the dams, the erection of power houses and the installation of the turbines necessary to convert the force of the falling water into electricity.

Second, the construction of many thousands of miles of transmission lines to bring the current so produced to the smaller distributing

centers throughout the state; and

Third, the practical distribution of this power into thousands of homes and factories.

How much of this shall be undertaken by the state, how much of this carried out by properly regulated private enterprises, how much of this by some combination of the two, is the practical question that we have before us. And in the consideration of the question I want to warn the people of this state against too hasty assumption that mere regulation by public service commissions is, in itself, a sure guarantee of protection of the interests of the consumer.

The questionable taking of jurisdiction by Federal courts, the gradual erection of a body of court made law, the astuteness of our legal brethren, the possible temporary dominance of our public servants and even of a dormant public opinion itself, may, in the future, as in the past, nullify the rights of the public.

↓ To [I, as your Governor, will insist, and I trust with the support of the whole people, that there be no alienation of our possession of and title to our power sites, and that whatever method of distribution be adopted there can be no possible legal thwarting of the protection of the people themselves from excessive profits on the part of anybody.

Tel
G. W. C.

On ~~ether~~ another matter I tread perhaps a new path. The phrase, "rich man's justice" has become too common nowadays. So complicated has our whole legal machinery become through our attempt to mend antiquated substructures by constant patching of the legal procedure and the courts that justice is our most expensive commodity. That rich criminals too often escape punishment is a general belief of our people. The difficulty with which our citizens maintain their civil rights before the courts has not been made a matter of such public notice but is equally serious. It is my hope with that within the next two years we will have begun to simplify and to cheapen justice for the people.] *cut to*

Lastly I want to refer to the difficult situation to which in recent years a large part of the rural population of our State has come. With few exceptions it has not shared in the prosperity of the urban centers.

It is not enough to dismiss the problem with the generality that it is the result of changing economic conditions. It is time to take practical steps to relieve our farm population of unequal tax burdens, to install economies in the methods of local government, to devise sounder marketing, to stabilize what has been too much a speculative industry; and finally to encourage the use of each acre of our State for

the purpose to which it is by nature most suited. I am certain that the cities will cooperate to this end, and that, more and more, we as citizens shall become state-minded.

✓ To [~~To read at the~~
May I, as your newly elected Governor, appeal for your help, for your advice, and, when you feel it is needed, for your criticism? No man may be a successful Governor without the full assistance of the people of his own commonwealth.] cut to page 10

Were I as wise as Solomon ~~all~~ that I might propose or decide would be mere wasted effort, unless I have your constant support. On many of the great state questions that confront us, the platforms and the public pledges of candidates of both parties are substantially agreed. We have passed through a struggle against old time political ideas, against antiquated conservatism, against ignorance of modern conditions, marked by serious disagreements between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the government. As I read the declarations of both parties in asking the support of the people at the polls, I can see little reason for further controversies of this kind.

There is a period in our history known in all our school books as the "era of good feeling". It is my hope that we stand on the threshold of another such era in this State. For my part, I pledge that the

business of the State will not be allowed to become involved in partisan politics and that I will not attempt to claim unfair advantage for my party or for myself, for the accomplishing of those things on which we are all agreed.

✓ [You have honored me greatly by selecting me as your Chief Executive. It is my hope that I will not fail you in this critical period of our history. I wish that you may have a continuance of good government and the happiest of New Years.]

Governor and Mrs. Smith, M. Secretary of State,
My friends:

~~Mar 20th~~ This day is
notable not so much for the inauguration
of a new Governor as it is for that
it marking the close of the term of a
Governor who has been our Chief
Executive for ^{eight} years. Thus nearly
~~a quarter~~ the reign of George Clinton.

I am certain that no Governor
in the ^{long} history of the State has ~~accomplished~~ ^{accomplished} more than he in ~~improving~~ ^{improving} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~state~~ ^{state} ~~through~~ ^{through} ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~administration~~ ^{administration} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~reformation~~ ^{reformation} of the structure of
our State government, in the wise ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~efficient~~ ^{efficient} and honorable adminis-
tration of its affairs, and finally

tration of its affairs, and finally
~~through~~ ⁱⁿ his grasp in possession of that
 vibrant understanding heart attained
 to the needs and hopes of the
 men ~~and~~ ^{the} women and the children who
 form the sovereignty known as "the
 People of the State of New York"

To Alfred E. Smith, a
public servant of this country, I
extend on behalf of our citizens our
affectionate greetings, our wishes
~~that~~ for his good health and happiness
and our prayer ~~that~~ that God will watch over him
and his in the years to come.

self-supporting man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved, ~~in this~~

~~in this~~

(no 9)

Consider the bread upon our tables, ^{the clothes upon our backs, the} ~~luxuries that make life pleasant;~~ ^{how many hours of toil in fields turned}

~~by the sweat and on the part of others does that regenerate the clothes upon our~~
~~backs, how many~~ ^{thousands} ~~of tired workers among the whirring and the clanging looms~~
~~have labored to weave those garments, and as for our luxuries, the little things that~~

~~make life pleasant, how many men have labored in dark~~ ^{worked in sunlit fields,} ~~in the~~ ^{and among the looms and wheels of} ~~countless factories,~~

^{in order to} ~~to~~ create them for our use and enjoyment.

^{I am} ~~pride~~ proud that we of this state have grown to realize this dependence
and, ^{what} ~~which~~ is ~~far~~ ^{more} important, have also ^{come to know} ~~grown to realize~~ that we, as individuals,
in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us.

To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the ~~mines~~
~~and~~ ^{a fair wage} ~~factories~~ ~~from the dangers of their trades;~~ and to insure them ~~from the dangers of their trades;~~
protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them ^{by adequate} ~~from the dangers of their trades;~~

^{insurance} ~~from~~ for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to
their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill; to pursue with
strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time
by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All these

great aims of life are ~~more~~ ^{here} more fully realized ~~with any speed~~ than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go; but during the last ^{six} ~~past~~ years ^{in particular} ~~particularly~~ the people of this state have shown their ^{impatience of} ~~impatience of~~ those who seek to make such things a foot ball of politics or ~~advance~~ ^{unintelligent} by blind ~~stupid~~ ^{attempt} obstruction, ~~long~~ to bar the road to progress.

Most gratifying of all perhaps is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this high ^{er} civilization, ~~indeed~~ ^{for} first of all, to set our machinery of government in order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money, ^{we must continue the effort} ~~the government must~~

~~must be first~~ ^{must} simplified and modernized. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. ^{The modernization of our administration is a task of the highest importance, not alone for the state but for the nation.} ~~The modernization of our administration is a task of the highest importance, not alone for the state but for the nation.~~ ^{that of the state but also of these other vital units of country, of cities, of towns and of villages.} ~~the modernization of our administrative procedure, these are the tools with which~~ ^{must be accomplished;} ~~we as a state must work and while we have gone along this road, again I want to~~ ^{in the unit of the state we have almost reached} ~~our goal, I want to emphasize that in the other units we have a long~~ ^{road to travel} ~~remind our citizens that we have still further to travel.~~ ^{Each one of us must}

realize the necessity of our personal interest, not only toward our fellow citizens, but in the ~~state~~ government itself.

^{no} You must watch, as a public duty, what is done and what is not done at Albany. You must understand the issues that arise in the ^{Legislature} and the recommendations made by your Governor, and judge for yourself ^{if} if they are right or wrong. If you find them right it is your duty as citizens on next election day

to repudiate those who oppose, and to support those who ^{by your vote} ~~fight on the~~ ^{strive for their} ~~purpose~~ ^{accomplishment.}

~~note~~

I want to call particularly on the public press of this state in whose high standards I have the greatest confidence, to devote more space to the explanation and consideration of such legislation as may come up this year, for no matter how willing the individual citizen may be to support wise and progressive measures, it is only through the press, and I mean not only our great dailies but their smaller sisters in the rural districts, that our electorate can learn and understand what is going on.

There are many puzzling problems to be solved. I will here mention but ^{these} ~~these~~. In the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste on their paths toward the sea, enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers' homes, power which nature has supplied us ~~with~~ ^{through the} gift ~~from~~ ^{of} God. It is intollerable that the utilization of this stupendous heritage should be longer delayed by petty squabbles and partisan dispute. Time will not solve the problem; ~~it is a task that will not be solved~~ it will be more difficult as time goes on to reach a fair conclusion. It must be solved now.

~~The details of this question belong more properly in my message to the legislature.~~ ^{It should} I ~~would~~ like to ~~say~~ state clearly the outstanding features of

the problem itself.

First, it is agreed, I think, ~~unanimously~~ that the water power of the state ^{should} belong to all the people. There was, perhaps, some excuse for the careless gift of this power in the days when it was of no seemingly great importance. There can be no such excuse now. The title ^{To} of this power must vest forever in the people of this State. No ~~legislative~~ commission, ^{no not} for the Legislature itself has any right to give, for any consideration whatever, a single potential kilowatt in ^{virtual} perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever. The Legislature in this matter is but the trustee of the people, and it is their solemn duty to administer such heritage so as ^{To} most greatly benefit the whole people. On this point there can be no dispute.

It is also the duty of our legislative body^{ies} to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into practical electrical energy and distributed ^{to them} ~~to the people~~ at the lowest possible cost. ^{the power} ~~to them~~. It is ~~their own~~ power, and no inordinate profits must be allowed to those who act as the people's agents in bringing this power to ^{the} ~~their~~ homes and workshops. If we keep these two fundamental facts before us, half of the problem disappears.

There remains the technical question as to which of several methods will bring this power to our doors with the least expense. Let me here make clear the three divisions of this technical side of the question.

(A)

questionable taking of
The ~~assumption~~ jurisdiction by
Federal courts, the gradual erection of
a body of court made law, the
institution of our legal brethren, The
possible temporary ~~excess~~ dominance of public servants
and even of public opinion itself, may
in the future as in the past nullify
the rights of the public.

I, as your Governor, will
insist, and I trust with the support
of the whole people, that there be
no alienation of our possessions^{of} and
title to our power votes, and that
whatever method of distribution be
adopted there can be no possible
legal threatening of the protection of
the people themselves from excessive
profits on the part of anybody.

Lastly I want to refer to the difficult situation to which in recent years a large part of the rural population of our State has come. With few exceptions ~~they have~~ ^{it has} not shared in the prosperity of the urban centers. ~~It~~

It is not enough to dismiss ^{the} ~~them~~ ^{the} with the generality that ~~they are~~ ^{it is} the victims of changing economic conditions. It is time to take practical steps to relieve our farm population of unequal tax burdens, to ^{install} ~~rearrange~~ ~~and~~ ~~reorganize~~ economies in ^{the methods of} local government, to devise ^{sounder} ~~new~~ marketing, ~~and~~ to stabilize what has been too much a speculative industry, and finally to encourage the use of each acre of our State for the purpose to which it is by Nature most suited. I am certain that the citizens with cooperation to this end, and that, more and more, we ~~shall~~ ^{shall} as citizens ^{shall} become State-minded.

There is but one other thing to which I want to call your attention
On another matter

~~at this time, and here~~ I tread perhaps a new path. The phrase, "rich man's justice" has become too common nowadays. So complicated has our whole legal machinery become through our attempts to ^{mind antiquated} ~~patch old theories by patching new laws,~~

~~and procedures new ways of getting justice on substructures that are themselves~~
by constant patching of the legal procedure and the courts that
~~antiquated, as to make justice~~ our most expensive commodity. ~~The ease with which~~

That rich too often a general belief of our people
~~extensively defended~~ criminals escape punishment is ~~probable~~. The difficulty

with which our citizens maintain their civil rights before the courts has not been *made*

a matter of such public notice but is equally serious. It is my hope that within the next two years we will have begun to simplify and ^{to} cheapen justice for the people.

(Insert B)

I ~~humbly request~~ May I, as your newly elected Governor, appeal *to*

~~to you and to the people of this state~~ for your help, for your advice, and

when you feel it is needed, for your criticism? No man may be a successful Governor ^{assistance} without the full ~~support~~ ^{assistance} of the people of his own commonwealth.

Were I as wise as Solomon all that I might propose or decide would be ^{in part} ~~wasted~~ ^{many} mere wasted effort, unless I have your constant ~~assistance~~. On ~~almost~~ ^{many} of the

great state questions that confront us, the platforms and the public pledges of candidates of both parties are ^{substantially} ~~for the first time~~ agreed. *We have passed through* ~~It has been~~ a struggle

against old time political ideas, against antiquated conservatism, against ignorance of modern conditions, ~~which has been marked~~ ^{by serious disagreements}

between the ^{the} Legislative and Executive branches of the government. As I read the
declarations of both parties ^{in acting} ~~to~~ ^{the} support of the people at the polls,
I can see ^{little reason for further controversies} ~~no further reason for disagreements~~ of this kind.

There ^{is} ~~was~~ a period in our history ~~known~~ known in all our school
books as the "Era of good feeling". It is my hope that we stand on the threshold
of another such ~~an~~ era in this State. For my part, I pledge that the business of
the state will not be allowed to become ^{involved in partisanship and that I will not} ~~involved in politics~~ ~~be used~~
attempt to claim unfair advantage for ^{my} ~~the~~ party or for myself, for the accomplish-
ing of those things on which we are all agreed.

You have honored me greatly by selecting me as your chief executive.

It is my hope that I will not fail you in this critical period in our history.
*I wish that you may have a continuance of
good government and the support
of New York.*

FDR Inaugural
[1928]

It is a proud thing to be a citizen of the State of New York, not because of our great population - there are areas in China more densely inhabited; nor on account of our industries - for these rank far below one or the other of our sister states in almost every industrial activity; nor because of our wonderful natural resources - for our land is comparatively poor in nature's mineral gifts; nor on account of our agricultural supremacy as in this we cannot match the fertile western plains - but because the citizens of this state, more than any other state in the union, have grown to realize the inter-dependence on each other which modern civilization has created,

Under the leadership of the great Governor whose place you have selected me to fill, with that realization has also come a desire to give as well as to receive, to aid through the machinery of our State those who, as individuals, have made our present luxury and prosperity possible.

I object to having this spirit of civic responsibility to the state and to the individual which has placed New York in the lead as a progressive commonwealth, described as "humanitarian." It is far more than that. It is the recognition on the part of our citizens that our civilization cannot endure unless we, as individuals, recognize our personal responsibility to the rest of the world; that we must give as well as take. For it is literally true that the

self-supporting man or woman has become as extinct as the man of the stone age. Without the help of thousands of others, any one of us would die, naked and starved, within a week.

Consider the bread upon our table, how many hours of toil in fields burned by the August sun on the part of others does that represent, The clothes upon our backs, how many hundreds of tired workers among the whirring and the clanging looms have labored to weave those garments, and as for our luxuries, the little things that make life pleasant, how many men have toiled in darkness in stifling mines, have worked seared the fierce heat of molten metal, have labored in countless factories, to create them for our use and enjoyment.

We may be proud that we of this state have grown to realize this dependence and, which is far more important, have also grown to realize that we, as individuals, in our turn must give our time and our intelligence to help those who have helped us. To secure more of life's pleasures for the farmer; to guard the toilers in the mines and factories from corporate greed, and to insure them an adequate compensation and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them from the public purse for injuries received while working for us, to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely, to aid those who are crippled and ill; to pursue with strict justice, all evil persons who prey upon their fellow men, and at the same time by intelligent and helpful sympathy, to lead wrong doers into right paths. All these

great aims of life are, I think, more fully realized and understood than in any other state in the union. We have but started on the road, and we have far to go, but during the last eight years particularly the people of this state have shown their intollerance to those who seek to make such things a foot ball of politics and who by blind stupid obstruction, try to bar the road to Progress.

Most gratifying of all perhaps is the practical way in which we have set about to take the first step toward this high civilization which is, first of all, to set our machinery of government in order. If we are to reach these aims efficiently without needless waste of time or money, the government of our state must be first simplified and modernised. You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the mediaeval blacksmith. Efficiency in government, the modernization of our administrative procedure, these are the tools with which we as a state must work and while we have gone far along this road, again I want to remind our citizens that we have still further to travel. Each one of us must realise the necessity of our personal interest, not only toward our fellow citizens, but in the state government itself.

You must watch, as a public duty, what is done and what is not done at Albany. You must understand the issues that arise in the legislature and the recommendations made by your Governor and judge for yourself if they are right or wrong. If you find them right it is your duty as citizens on next election day

to repudiate those who oppose, and to support those who fight for them by your vote.

I want to call particularly on the public press of this state in whose high standards I have the greatest confidence, to devote more space to the explanation and consideration of such legislation as may come up this year, for no matter how willing the individual citizen may be to support wise and progressive measures, it is only through the press, and I mean not only our great dailies but their smaller sisters in the rural districts, that our electorate can learn and understand what is going on.

There are many puzzling problems to be solved. I will here mention but one. In the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste on their paths toward the sea, enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers' homes, power which nature has supplied us as a gift from God. It is intollerable that the utilisation of this stupendous heritage should be longer delayed by petty squabbles and partisan dispute. Time will not solve the problem but on the other hand it will be more difficult as time goes on to reach a fair conclusion. It must be solved now.

The details of this question belong more properly in my message to the legislature, but I would like to here state clearly the outstanding features of

the problem itself.

First, it is agreed I think by all sides that the water power of the state belongs to all the people. There was, perhaps, some excuse for the careless gift of this power in the days when it was of no seemingly great importance. There can be no such excuse now. The title of this power must vest forever in the people of this state. No legislative commission or the legislature itself has any right to give, for any consideration whatever, a single potential kilowatt in perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever. The legislature in this matter is but the trustee of the people and it is their solemn duty to administer such heritage so as to most greatly benefit the whole people. On this point there can be no dispute.

It is also the duty of our legislative body to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into practical electrical energy and distributed to the people at the lowest possible cost to them. It is their Power and no inordinate profits must be allowed to those who act as the people's agents in bringing this power to their homes and workshops. If we keep these two fundamental facts before us, half of the problem disappears.

There remains the technical question as to which of several methods will bring this power to our doors with the least expense. Let me here make clear the three divisions of this technical side of the question.

First, the construction of the dams and the erection of the power houses and the installation of the turbines necessary to convert the force of the falling water into electricity.

Second, the construction of many thousands of miles of enormously expensive transmission lines to bring the current so produced to the smaller distributing centers throughout the state; and

Third, the practical distribution of this power into thousands of homes and factories.

How much of this shall be undertaken by the state, how much of this carried out by properly regulated private enterprises, how much of this by some combination of the two. This is the practical question that we have before us. And in the consideration of the question I want to warn the people of this state against too hasty assumption that the mere appointing of a commission of some kind to protect the interests of the consumer is not, in itself, the answer. So complicated have our laws become, so careful of the rights of corporations and individuals, as to make the decisions of our public service commissions too often the plaything of our legal brethren. I, as your Governor, shall insist, and I trust in this I shall have the support of the whole people, that whatever method is adopted there can be no chance for legal chicanery to thwart the intent of the people to protect themselves from inordinate profits on the part of anybody.

There is but one other thing to which I want to call your attention at this time, and here I tread perhaps a new path. The phrase, "rich man's justice" has become too common nowadays. So complicated has our whole legal machinery become through our attempts to patch old bottles by patching new laws, new procedures, new ways of getting justice on substructures that are themselves antiquated, as to make justice our most expensive commodity. The ease with which our expensively defended criminals escape punishment is notorious. The difficulty with which our citizens maintain their civil rights before the courts has not been a matter of such public notice but is equally serious. It is my hope that within the next two years we will have begun to simplify and cheapen justice for the people.

And in conclusion may I, as your newly elected Governor, appeal to you as representing the people of this state for your help, for your advice, and when you feel it is needed, for your criticism. No man may be a successful Governor without the full support of the people of his own commonwealth.

Were I as wise as Solomon all that I might propose or decide would be mere wasted effort, unless I have your constant assistance. On almost all of the great state questions that confront us, the platforms and the public pledges of candidates of both parties are, for the first time, agreed. It has been a struggle against old time political ideas, against antiquated conservatism, against ignorance of modern conditions, which has been marked in the past by serious disagreements

between the legislative and executive branches of the government. As I read the declarations of both parties as they ask the support of the people at the polls, I can see no further reason for disagreements of this kind.

There was a period in our history which is known in all our school books as the "Era of good feeling". It is my hope that we stand on the threshold of another such an era in this state. For my part, I pledge that the business of the state will not be allowed to become the foot ball of politics nor will I attempt to claim unfair advantage for our party or for myself, for the accomplishing of those things on which we are all agreed.

You have honored me greatly by selecting me as your chief executive. It is my hope that I will not fail you in this critical period in our history.