Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945
Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

File No. 353

1929 December 16

New York City, NY -
National Child Labor Commission
December 20, 1929.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor:

I beg to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter of the 11th, together with enclosures. I have not as yet found time to peruse your speech, delivered at the Democratic Luncheon recently, but shall avail myself of this pleasure at a little later date.

Thanking you for this courtesy, and wishing you the Compliments of the Season, I am,

Sincerely yours,

W. C. Lankford
My dear Governor:

Thanks for your letter of December 11th
and the copy of your speech in Chicago. I enjoyed reading it.

With kind regards and best wishes for the holiday season,

Cordially yours,

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.
My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am in receipt of your letter together with your speech delivered at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago, Tuesday afternoon, December 10.

I want to assure you I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of this speech, which I have read with a great deal of interest. I feel sure your speech will do much good, and the recent elections were very encouraging to us here in the House, who have for so long been fighting the battles of Democracy.

I wish to thank you for your kind invitation to call on you if I should visit the Capital of your State, and it will give me great pleasure to do so if the opportunity presents.

With the kindest regards, and wishing you much success, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The Governor of New York,
Albany, New York.
December 26, 1929.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of the State of New York,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:

Your letter of recent date, enclosing speech delivered at the Democratic Luncheon at Chicago on December 10th, has just been received. I have read the speech with much interest for it expresses in a clear and convincing way the thoughts of a real progressive.

With personal regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Ross A. Collihs.
His Excellency,
The Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am in receipt of your letter, enclosing me a copy of your speech delivered at the Democratic Luncheon at Chicago, which I shall read with much interest. I appreciate your invitation to go to see you sometime at the State Capitol and the first time I am in New York, I shall endeavor to come up and have a talk with you. I want especially to talk about the future of the Democratic Party and as to who its nominees may be.

Very sincerely yours,

THOS. H. BELL.
December 18, 1929.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of New York,
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I thank you very much for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your speech recently made in Chicago which, at the first opportunity, I shall be glad to consider.

I am also deeply appreciative of the kind invitation which you have extended, and if occasion presents itself, I shall be very glad to call at the Executive Mansion.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor,
Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I have received your letter of December 11th, encloses copy of speech you delivered at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago, for which I thank you. I appreciate you sending this speech to me.

I likewise appreciate your invitation to call to see you if I am ever at Albany. I am not contemplating a visit to Albany, but if you are in Washington any time after the holidays and during this session of Congress, I will be glad to see you.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Brand

GHN*LG
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of the State of New York,
Executive Mansion, Albany, N.Y.

My Dear Governor:

I take pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, enclosing copy of your recent address at a Democratic luncheon given in Chicago, with reference to the agricultural problem confronting our country.

I wish to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your address, and I assure you that just as soon as the pressure of legislative business which is now upon us, pending the coming holiday recess, slackens, I shall be very glad to read over and study your address.

Very sincerely yours,
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.  

December 18, 1929

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor:

I wish to thank you for your courtesy of December 11th, enclosing a copy of your very able address, delivered recently at Chicago. I have read the address with very great care and admiration, and assure you that the sentiments expressed by you meet with my entire and hearty approval.

With personal regards,

Sincerely,

W. B. Bankhead
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Governor of New York
Albany, New York

My dear Governor:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 11th, enclosing a copy of your speech delivered at Chicago, on December 10th.

I have read your excellent address with great pleasure and profit, and I appreciate your kindness in sending it to me in full.

Those of us who pretend to be progressives in our political thought, must it seems to me, strive constantly to discuss public questions more frankly and fearlessly, and your Chicago address you maintained the reputation you have always enjoyed for this sort of discussion.

If I should find myself within reaching distance of Albany at any time in the near future I shall undertake to comply with your request that I come by and see you. I would do this anyway even without an invitation.

I note that you are to be in Georgia for several weeks. I sincerely trust that your health is improving and that your arduous duties as Governor have in no way affected your physical welfare unfavorably.

With personal regards and best wishes for the New Year, I am

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

E/u.
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:

I have read with interest your address at the Democratic luncheon recently given in Chicago.

I think you have put your finger on the crucial point. I believe there is a wonderful field for us to gain strength in the agricultural sections on account of the serious handicap against agriculture under the existing and proposed tariff laws.

Should I get up to Albany while you are Governor, I will try to arrange to call on you.

With kindest personal regards,

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
Dear Governor Roosevelt:

Upon my return to the Capitol
I have read with interest your letter and copy
of your speech delivered at Chicago.

I thank you very cordially for
sending me copy of your speech which is an able
presentation of our Party's claim.

I especially thank you for in-
viting me to come to see you at Albany and when
next in New York I shall be glad to take advantage
of this opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

JAMES B. ASWELL
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

December 17, 1929.

His Excellency,
Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am in receipt of your letter of December 11, inclosing a copy of your remarks delivered at a Democratic Luncheon at Chicago. I agree with you that the opportunity or chance for proper control over industrial combinations will not even be undertaken, let alone accomplished, with the present leadership that controls the Republican Party, especially as that pertains to the House of Representatives in Congress.

I don't know whether or not the Senate Progressives attitude on certain legislation, which has been considered during the recent extra session, is going to have any effect as creating a "Fear of God" in the hearts of certain reactionary House Members of the Western states, but the real situation is that we can't get away from the fact that centralized government, as it has been, exemplified here in Washington for the last several years, is giving all encouragement to mergers and combinations that they can give and in my opinion are openly violating the anti trust laws that have been placed on the statute books, and in my mind this is one of the greatest dangers we have confronting us in the future.

Thousands are being thrown out of employment in various capacities and many of these mergers are made possible only for the purpose of creating more stocks to be marketed on the street, thereby not permitting the producers of raw materials sufficient income to enable them to continue to operate.

I hope it will be my pleasure to be in your State Capitol some day and that I will have the pleasure of chatting with you, as suggested in your letter.

Thanking you, and with the season's best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Member of Congress.
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am in receipt of your letter of December 11th enclosing copy of your recent address at a democratic luncheon in Chicago. I have read same with a great deal of interest and approval and thank you for sending it to me.

I certainly hope to have the opportunity of meeting you some time, for you have no greater admirer, or one who is thinking more about the future for you. In the late campaign I had the pleasure of making more speeches for the National ticket than any man in North Carolina, confining myself solely to that subject. My district gave Governor Smith a majority of 11,500, and was one of the three he carried in the state. Among the real democrats in North Carolina who love the party, you have a host of friends.

With high esteem, and
best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

[Signature]

LINDSAY C. WARREN
1st Dist. North Carolina

HERBERT C. DONNER
SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

December 19, 1929
December 19, 1929

My dear Governor,

I have for acknowledgment your letter of December the eleventh and thank you for letting me have copy of your recent address given at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago.

Your views are very much in accord with my own, and I think you handled the political problems discussed effectively. I am particularly interested in the problem growing out of industrial combinations.

With best wishes and a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to you and Mrs. Roosevelt, I remain

Sincerely yours,

His Excellency
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Albany, New York
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Albany, New York.

Dear Governor:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of the 11th, enclosing copy of your recent address at a Democratic luncheon given in Chicago, which I have read with great appreciation and interest.

You are correct in your conclusion that none of the problems which call for progressive solution can hope to have any real solution as long as the present leaders of the Republican party remain in the control of Congress.

With the highest considerations of personal esteem, I am

Yours truly,

[Signature]

W/N
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

It was very thoughtful of you to send me a copy of your speech on the Agricultural problem, delivered at a Democratic Luncheon in Chicago. I have read it with a great deal of interest and am delighted to have the benefit of your views.

If I ever have the pleasure of being in Albany, I shall certainly avail myself of the opportunity of calling upon you.

Cordially and sincerely,

[Signature]

WILL M. WHITTINGTON
THIRD DISTRICT
MISSISSIPPI
My dear Governor:

I have your letter of the 11th instant enclosing copy of your speech made at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago recently, for which I thank you. I shall read it at the very first opportunity, I am sure with interest and pleasure.

If, perchance, I should be in Albany while you are Governor, I shall avail myself of your kind invitation to call at your office for a few moments.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Whitehead

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, N. Y.
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

December 16, 1929

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of New York,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I beg to acknowledge your letter of December 11th, enclosing copy of your address on the Agricultural problem.

I thank you for this contribution on this vital subject, which I have read with much interest.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]
Hon. Franklin Roosevelt,  
Albany, N. Y.  

My dear Governor:  

I wish to thank you for your letter of the 11th instant, enclosing copy of an address recently made by you touching upon the Agricultural problem. I will with pleasure read what you had to say.  

With kindest regards,  

Yours sincerely,  

Park Traverswell
Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
Governor
The State of New York
Albany, New York

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I thank you sincerely for your kind favor of December 11 and assure you that I am much interested in having copy of parts of your address given recently at a Democratic Luncheon in Chicago.

I hope that I may sometime have the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation to call on you and trust that you will not hesitate to advise me on any matters of interest to you here.

With all good wishes and the compliments of the season, I beg to be

Yours most cordially,

[Signature]

December Eighteen
1929
January 6, 1930.

My dear Mr. Shouse:

I am sending this letter over in advance of the other letters which Mr. Howe will bring you in a few days from New York, with a copy of my reply to the gentleman.

It would seem to be a matter which should not wait until the other letters arrive.

Very sincerely yours,

Jonathan Shouse, Esq.
Democratic National Committee
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I greatly appreciate your letter of December 11, together with copy of your Chicago speech, from which I had read, with deep appreciation and hearty approval, extracts as published in the daily press.

I have long felt a personal interest in you because of the fact that my only son suffered an attack of infantile paralysis, from which he is slowly recovering.

If you are ever in Washington I shall be glad to talk with you.

Thanking you for your invitation to visit you at any time I am in Albany, I am

Most sincerely,

[Signature]

W. L. Nelson
My dear Governor:

I thank you for your letter of the 11th instant enclosing copy of a speech you delivered at a luncheon in Chicago recently. I have thoroughly enjoyed reading your address and am heartily in accord with all you have to say regarding the agricultural situation.

I do not know just when I can get over to Albany, but nothing would please me better than to arrange such a visit and I hope I may be able to do so before long.

With my best wishes for a Happy New Year, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Hon. Franklin Roosevelt,

Albany, New York.
December 21st, 1929.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of New York,
Albany:

My dear Governor:

Your letter of the eleventh instant was delivered in error to Representative Charles E. Swanson of Iowa, and I did not receive it until today.

I thank you more than I can tell you for sending me a copy of your speech. I had read it in the papers, which published it very fully. I commend you on it, and it is very strong and powerful.

I also want to thank you for your kind invitation. If I do come to New York I will certainly give myself the pleasure of seeing you. I am much gratified at the success which has attended your administration as Governor. I oftentimes think of the olden times and our close association.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Claude A. Swanson
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am sure the Senator will be pleased to have the copy of your speech at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago. Just as soon as he returns from Texas for the holidays, your letter of the eleventh instant and the copy of the speech will be called to his attention.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Secretary.
My dear Governor:

I am in receipt of your letter of December 11 enclosing a copy of your address delivered at a Democratic Luncheon at Chicago. I have read your address carefully and am in thorough accord with what you say regarding the Democratic Party being the only hope for the preservation of the liberties of the masses of the people from economic slavery.

With all good wishes, and thanking you for sending the copy of the address to me, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

Morris Sheppard

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,

Albany, New York.

P.S. I hope to have the pleasure of accepting your kind invitation to call on you at Albany at some convenient time.

M. S.
December, 16, 1929

His Excellency
Franklin D. Roosevelt
Governor of New York
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Governor:

Not only due to your sound Democracy but personal admiration that I have for you; I have at all times read with pleasure of your activities, your views, and your aims, therefore I read with a great deal of satisfaction your speech delivered at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago.

As one of progressive and aggressive Democratic views, I wholeheartedly am in accord with same and hope that you will be able to instill these views in the hearts of the Democrats throughout the country.

I greatly appreciate your suggestion to call on you and assuredly will do so the first opportunity that presents itself.

With compliments of the season, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

M. C.
FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.

Gov. Franklin Roosevelt of New York has been a welcome visitor to Chicago, where, as among his intelligent fellow citizens generally, his high qualities of mind and heart are esteemed regardless of party affiliations. Gov. Roosevelt is, however, from the latter point of view, one of the chief assets of his party, as well as a credit to and resource of American politics and American citizenship beyond the considerations of party. Especially to those of us who regard the preservation of the American constitutional system, now much neglected by the administration, as of vital concern at this time, Gov. Roosevelt is looked to for wise counsel and for real leadership, and we believe that if he will revive in his own party the Jeffersonian principles of civil right and local responsibility he will not only serve that party well and restore it to its proper traditional function in American political life, but perform a most needed service to the American people. In this role he might very well bring the party out of the trenches of an unproductive opposition, and from the White House restore to the American people the rich heritage of constitutional order which the great statesmen who founded that order bequeathed to posterity.
FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT.

Gov. Franklin Roosevelt of New York has been a welcome visitor to Chicago, where, as among his intelligent fellow citizens generally, his high qualities of mind and heart are esteemed regardless of party affiliations. Gov. Roosevelt is, however, from the latter point of view, one of the chief assets of his party, as well as a credit to and resource of American politics and American citizenship beyond the considerations of party. Especially to those of us who regard the preservation of the American constitutional system, now much neglected by the administration, as of vital concern at this time, Gov. Roosevelt is looked to for wise counsel and for real leadership, and we believe that if he will revive in his own party the Jeffersonian principles of civil right and local responsibility he will not only serve that party well and restore it to its proper traditional function in American political life, but perform a most needed service to the American people. In this rôle he might very well bring the party out of the trenches of an unproductive opposition, and from the White House restore to the American people the rich heritage of constitutional order in which the great statesmen who founded that order bequeathed to posterity.
A STRANGE POLITICAL INTERLUDE.

A foolish consistency, says Emerson, is the hob-goblin of little minds.

In the light of this aphorism consider the interesting case of the esteemed Chicago Tribune, which has just nominated Franklin D. Roosevelt, democratic governor of New York, for president, and has expressed the hope that if chosen president he will revivify Jeffersonian principles.

Not many years ago the esteemed Tribune was fond of calling the same Franklin D. Roosevelt "Roosevelt (Mex.)," because his views differed in notable respects from those of the "real" Roosevelt, the bull-moose candidate for president, champion of the "porch climbers" of the old parties.

Today Gov. Roosevelt is not "Mex.," or anything like that, but the authentic defender of "the rich heritage of constitutional order," the order which, presumably, President Hoover and his supporters are not willing or able to "restore."

Gov. Roosevelt is an opponent of the Volstead law, but he is for American entry into the world court, for effective regulation and control of public utilities, for old-age pensions, for public development of water power and for other things which the founders of the constitutional order probably never contemplated. Just what in his platform and record especially endears him to the esteemed Tribune perhaps will be made clear as time passes.
THE TRIBUNE PROGRAM

FOR AMERICA

Maintain an American foreign policy. Repeal the Volstead Act.

Restore constitutional representation. Uphold the rights of American workers.

FOR THE CENTRAL STATES

Finish the Waterway to the Gulf. Encourage reforestation of our forests.

Construct a proper Western control of Western railroads. Build highways to meet the needs of the traffic.

"Give me liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to my conscience, above all other liberties." — Milton.

THE NATIONAL TENDENCY AS REVEALED IN THE MESSAGE.

It cannot be a good thing if a President's message and the message of the executive department are made not from a theory or philosophy of government held by himself and his party. Possibly there hasn't been a philosophy of government in Washington that hasn't been termed a failure. The executive department is being considered by the public as being mixed up with perceptions of what would be good for the country. The impression is left that in many realms of government the United States isn't a ship, but a lumbering drifter about with the surges and the wind which are dangerous to bump into, but not taking its own direction.

What is the prevailing policy of the federal government? Not of this administration alone, but of government as a continuity, whether it is of one party or another? Is it to press deeper and deeper into the life of the states, and to force them more and more as failures, and to take over their affairs in trust for their people? With this as a possible idea, is it not the policy to go deeper into international agreements with obligations which impair or destroy the ability to make national decisions as events require them? If the answer to these questions is yes, as it would seem to be, then the structure of the United States government is something else than what was once the Union of Jefferson or Jackson or Lincoln. It is not what the previous generation understood it to be and evidently wanted it to be. The states which are a private union. The federal departments and bureaus will take over the social problems of the country. The federal judiciary is to be augmented by examining the old police power of the state. The federal school system will hold the switch, the federal health system the bandage, and the federal water and put up the quarantine signs, and the federal administration will be at the side of the road.

A NEW CAPITAL AND A NEW MAP.

Some of the entries in the Tennessee map contest have favored locating the national capital where it is now, but most of them have come to the conclusion that the capital ought to be closer to the center of population, or at least closer to the geographical center of the nation. St. Louis, Springfield, Ill., Chicago, Indianapolis, and Wichita have been designated, among other sites, for the new Washington. Any of them, with the possible exception of Waco, Texas, does not locate the present situation, in our judgment. Waco is closer to the geographical center of the nation, but it is about as far as Washington from the center of population and transportation as one of the centers of the nation's culture and enlightenment.

Any of the other locations in the central States is equally preferable to the present, Davenport, Iowa, Columbia. The country suffers from the fact that the root of the government is remote from the people. Congressmen and executive officers are not as aware as they should be of what the people need and want because Washington is remote from the life of the nation. It is a little world apart, in which officials find it easy to live in a pleasant, suburban haze. The site of the capital is a very important and fearless proposal. It would transform the character of our government and to the growth of an aristocratic spirit in its business. Our officials tend to forget that they are chosen to serve rather than rule; if they were closer to the people they might come to their senses.

The question of climate, we believe, has been insufficiently considered by many of the contestants. Washington is pleasant enough in winter, but impossible in summer. This city is, in every less desirable than St. Louis, Springfield, or Wichita. Chicago is better, but the local location, the real tipping point of the views points to what is called the southern center, is the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The lake temperatures here are much more comfortable.

The question of climate is essentially secondary. The important point, generally recognized by the contestants, is in the position of political practicalism instead of the real remote site to which is closer to the life of the nation. There may be a choice between both, but in the central States, but none of them is so unfortunate in its effects as the present site.

THE RECLAMATION RACKET.

Mr. Crawford of Tennessee's Washington bureau is to be complimented for indicating the shortcomings of federal irrigation projects which were pushed in the interest of the people's welfare. The interest of reclamation for the interior Department. The practice of unscrupulously accepting the department's estimates of reclamation, is in a bad light, is not the spirit of political practicalism instead of the newspaper man. Mr. Crawford was justified in his charge, an attack on the policy of reclamation behind the commissioner's report.

The commission of reclamation is pleased with the government's vigorous western expansion, and says the increased areas brought under cultivation, the great crop production, and increased construction payments. Mr. Crawford, however, is in a position to be the only factor in the position of political practicalism instead of the newspaper man. The losses which have been charged off and the projects which have not attracted settlers were not encouraged in the future. Reirization in the United States has been a huge financial racket. It might even be said that the financial interests, after the more successfully they were given, produced its industries and institutions. These institutions were brought into the south by the pioneer farmers of the state.
from a theory or philosophy of government held by himself and his party. Possibly there has not been a philosophy of government in Washington in recent years, but merely expediency of policies mixed up with perceptions of what would be good for the country. The impression is left that in many of the actions of government the United States isn’t a ship, but an iceberg drifting about with the currents and the wind, dangerous to本身 into, but not taking its own direction.

What is the prevailing policy of the federal government—not not of this administration alone, but of government as a whole and in every locality, whether it is of one party or another? It is one of increasing deep into the functions of the states, to recognize them more and more as failures, and to take over all functions that affect their people. With this as a domestic purpose it is also the policy to deepen into international agreements with childishly simple or destroy the ability to make national decisions and events require them.

If the answer to these questions is yes, as it would seem to be, then the structure of the United States, as a nation, must evolve into something else. It ceases to be the Union of Jefferson or Jackson or Lincoln. It is not what the previous generation understood it to be and evidently wanted it to be. The states will become English shires. The federal departments and bureaus will take over the secondary or local functions. In the future federal policy will fill the old federal states by exercising the old police powers of the state. The federal schools will train men, and the federal health officer will test the drinking water and public health and the quarantine signs, and the federal obstetrician will be at the side of the cradle.

On the other side of the picture a fugue in an international court or a delegate in an international commission will make or assent to decisions growing out of obligations in treaties and agreements which will have the effect of supplanting national decisions made by the old authorities of national action. All of this may be at some distance, but it is the direction taken.

Possibly Mr. Hoover does not add much new information to the picture by saying it may be even more significant that thing it is in line with his predecessors, there being thus revealed a persistency in its effect on the nation, whatever its view might have been before they took office.

When Mr. Hoover in his message considers what used to be regarded as the business of the nation he is an executive of one sort planning for the welfare of the country with specific suggestions of worth. When social service and humanitarian purpose are taken up he is an executive of another sort, and it is here that the policies proposed for amendment have had the most care thought out. They do not seem to have been deliberated for the purposes they tend to achieve. To the extent that it is the best thing for the United States to reduce the position of the states in the Union, but, as he puts it, any existing administrative actions have done before him, he recommends measures which will have that effect.

It must be felt that it would be wise to submit this question of definition and definite statement. Is it the purpose of the American people to have the federal government take over the entire control of agriculture of the states, begin with supervision, suggestion, and encourage- ment and end with standardization, direction, and ultimately command? Is there the very composite man of business affairs, reveals that he has lived a life devoted to the theories of government. They may have seemed very analogous to him, important part of American organization or government came directly from Jefferson’s philosophical study of forms. He knew what he was doing and for a long time people have had no inadmissible advantage of it. The American people do not know what they are doing now, and because they know not what they are doing, they are making some consequences in political action which disturb and distress them.

Consequently the natural tendency of government. The separated Asian kingdoms were gathered up into one to receive the Norman conquest of the Byzantine system. The system was gathered into the absolute monarchy, the southern states found they could not escape. Some of it is good and some of it is bad. If it winter, is the eastern shore of Lake Michigan. The lake tamps both the heat and cold.

The question of climate is admittedly secondary. The important point, generally recognized by the contested is, the removal of the capital from a remote site to one which is closer to the life of the nation. There is a much closer between local life in the central states, but none of them is as unfortunate in its effects as the present seat.

THE RECLAMATION RACKET.

Mr. Crawford of the House of Representatives Washington bureau is to be complimented for indicating the shortcomings of federal irrigation projects which were omitted from the current list of commissioners of reclamation for the interior department. The practice of unscrupulously accepting the department’s own estimates for the purposes of the commissioner is a correspondent in the position of political propa- gandist instead of a newspaper man. Mr. Crawford was justified in pointing out the general failure of reclamation behind the commissioner’s report.

The commissioner of reclamation is placed with the government’s program of watering the desert. He mentions the increased acreage brought under cultivation, the greater crop production, and increased construction payments. Mr. Crawford, however, is in a position to challenge this satisfactory picture of the financial set-up. He points out omissions in the report, among them the prop- er estimate of the amount of actual federal aid. The losses which have been charged off and the projects which have not attracted settlers were all subtracted from the final total.

Reclamation in the United States has been a huge financial racket. It might even be said that the more successful it is the nearer it is to its goal the greater its insufficiency and inutility. These un- productive western lands are brought under culti- vation at the expense of the great majority of the farmers for the benefit of those who own the homesteads and land around. Furthermore, the agri- cultural products of the new land are in competition with the farm products from our already too great arable land. It is an aggravation of the farm problem to have a system for it. Only when the farms of the United States fail to meet the requirements of the consumer will the cultivation of said land be justified and that is a distant prospect.

Editorial of the Day

CHEMICAL SNOW SHOWER.

[St. Louis Globe-Democrat]

Our record breaking November snow, followed by the usual fall of rain, and the snow being light and, Dec. 16, should contribute to local interest in a fest of a new snow removing chemical in New York. The demand, it is thought, will have the effect on snow than salt, which is used to melt the snow and ice on sidewalks. It is also said to be less expensive than salt and much less effective in carting snow away. Mixed with the water in spring- ing courts and sidewalks, it will melt the snow and make it run off into sewers. Like salt, it performs its function by reducing the freezing point of water. At any rate, that is the idea behind the purchase of a surplus of the chemical in Montreal for use in New York.

Assuming that it is a successful and that the substance is cheaper than shoveling shovels, or can be manufactured cheaper, it would be a blessing to many cities whose bills for getting rid of snow form a considerable item in their annual expenditures. It is estimated that it will be able to maintain “all weather” highways, battening the snow with plows and scrapers and melting out other and other preventives on slippery places. How simple it would be to run a sprinkling can down a city street or state highway and melt away the snow that was impeding traffic.

MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

Old Lady (to druggist)—I want a box of eminently.

Druggist—What’s the matter with the day?

Old Lady (indignantly)—I’ll have you know my husband is a professional. (The druggist put up some quinine pills in a prescribed physician.)—Davenport Jack’s Laxatives.
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor,
State of New York,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:

I thank you for your letter of December 11th, together
with its enclosure. I shall read what you said with reference
to the Agricultural problem with great interest.

Again thanking you for your thoughtfulness in writing me,

I am, with highest esteem,

Very sincerely yours,

Percy E. Quin

M. C.
December 25, 1929.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

Your letter enclosing copy of the address which you delivered at Chicago on the 10th instant has been forwarded to me here. It was thoughtful of you to send me the notes of your speech and I shall read them with keen interest and appreciation.

Mrs. Robinson joins me in greetings to you, Mrs. Roosevelt and the boys, and in best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Stamp: RECEIVED DEC 30 1929]
December 23, 1929.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of New York,
Albany, N.Y.

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I am very glad to have your recent letter together with copy of your interesting address delivered at the Democratic Luncheon in Chicago, on December 10th. Your invitation to call on you the next time I am in Albany is very much appreciated, and I assure you I shall avail myself of same if opportunity arises.

With regards, and best wishes for a joyous Christmas season and happy and prosperous New Year, believe me,

Cordially and sincerely,

[Signature]

[Name]
December 18, 1929.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:

In the absence of Senator Bratton, who is now in New Mexico, I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, together with a copy of your recent address at a Democratic luncheon given in Chicago. I shall be glad to bring your letter to the Senator's attention at the first opportunity.

Very respectfully,

[Signature]

Secretary.
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, N.Y.

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I have not had time to read your address, but from the newspaper reports of the same I heartily endorse the sentiments it contains. I shall take great pleasure in reading it in full soon.

With kind regards, I am

Most cordially yours,

Heartsill Ragon
Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,  
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

I have read with interest an address that you gave at a Democratic Luncheon in Chicago. I heartily indorse what you had to say. It shows that you have a thorough grasp of the agricultural situation.

I had the pleasure of attending a Rotary Luncheon in Macon, Georgia, sometime ago and thoroughly enjoyed your talk on public health. The people of Georgia have a very high admiration for you, and I want you to know that you have made a large number of friends in our State.

If it ever happens that I am in position to come to Albany, nothing would afford me more pleasure than to take advantage of your courteous invitation to have a short interview with you.

Yours very truly,

S. Rutherford

[Signature]

[Postmark: Dec 17, 1929]
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The Governor,
Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor:

I am just in receipt of your letter of December 11.

I am very much pleased with the speech you delivered at Chicago and with the splendid reception our Democrats gave you while you were there. I was very sorry that it was impossible for me to be present.

I have some very definite ideas as to what we should do in the approaching campaign. I will try to get up to Albany and see you before the end of the present session and will write you in advance of my coming.

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]
December 31, 1929

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

Acknowledgement of your letter of December 11th has been delayed owing to my absence from Washington. I am in hearty accord with the sentiment expressed in your able Chicago address and thank you for the manuscript.

The Democratic course seems clearly indicated, the great difficulty being the possibility of ill advised initiative. May I not have the very great pleasure of seeing you when you are again in Washington?

Cordially yours,

[Signature]

[Stamp: RECEIVED JAN-2 1930]
Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Governor of New York,
Albany, N.Y.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

Your letter with enclosure was duly received. I have not yet had an opportunity to read your speech but before the close of the holidays, I shall do so and later express to you my opinion thereon.

Thanking you for your courtesy,

I am

Yours very sincerely,

[signature]

EDS: G
December twenty-seventh,
1929

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Governor,
State of New York,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, New York,

My dear Governor:

I received your letter of December 11th.,
together with a copy of your speech delivered before
a Democratic Luncheon in Chicago.

I appreciate your courtesy in sending
me a copy of your speech.

Thanking you, I am

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Daniel F. Steck
December 26, 1929.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
Albany
New York.

Dear Frank:

In the last campaign, through a very intelligent letter that he happened to write to headquarters I got in touch with an attorney named Urban A. Lavery of Chicago. He had been the attorney for the Board of Election Commissioners and had been one of the prime workers in the organization of a committee of lawyers to watch the polls in Chicago and to try to correct some of the irregularities indulged in there in various elections. I got him to come to New York headquarters for a visit, and to attempt to attempt the organization of groups of lawyers in different cities of the country to watch the polls in the last election, and to see as far as possible that the Democratic national ticket was not cheated of votes which properly belonged to it.

He is intelligent and forceful and experienced in his particular line of work. He was one of the very enthusiastic men whom you met at the luncheon that you addressed in Chicago on December 10th. I have from him a letter, copy of which I attach, together with newspaper clippings which he sent. You may have seen these, but they are worthy of your inspection if you have not. In any event I think you will want to read his letter. As to proposition #1, I agree absolutely with his suggestion; as to proposition #2, you are a better judge than I.

With expressions of esteem and in the hope that you and yours may enjoy a most satisfactory new year, I am

Faithfully and sincerely,

(Jouett Shouse)

JS dad
enclosures
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Dear Mr. Shouse:

In the press of other business I overlooked sending you the Tribune editorial of December 8th, copy of which I gave to Gov. Roosevelt. I have now secured two copies of that editorial, which I enclose herewith. I was unable to recall just what cartoon of McCutcheon's you mentioned. There is one cartoon of his in which he represents Hoover as sending a Western Union boy with a message to Congress with the remark "Do Not Wait For An Answer." There is another cartoon of McCutcheon's showing Congress in session with a large figure in the gallery marked "1930 Elections" looking down on the session and all members looking at the figure with fear and trembling. If you will let me know more about the cartoon you have in mind, I will be glad to locate it, if I can.

I am also sending a short editorial from the Chicago Tribune of December 11th, the day after Gov. Roosevelt's visit here. The tenor and language of this editorial strikes me as extraordinary and significant. I also enclose an editorial from the Chicago Daily News of December 13th in reply to the Tribune editorial.

On every hand one hears favorable comment on Gov. Roosevelt's visit here. There are two matters which have been mentioned so often to me by persons in Chicago that I feel like suggesting them to you for whatever they may be worth:

(1) The repeated playing of the tune "Sidewalks of New York" during the Roosevelt luncheon has been criticised. Even the Chicago Evening Post, a strong Republican paper, mentioned it editorially and suggested that the playing of that tune at Democratic meetings was a strong aid to the Republicans everywhere in the west and south. I am inclined to think that it is bad psychology to use that tune as a keynote even though I am one of the strongest admirers in the country of Gov. Smith.

(2) Gov. Roosevelt's physical condition and health is the subject of enormous interest on the part of persons who might be inclined toward him. There is, however, a good deal of uncertainty and doubt and actual lack of information about his physical condition. Just as a matter of information about a very leading and very prominent Democrat it would certainly help to arouse interest in the party and its prospects if the true facts about Gov. Roosevelt's very vigorous condition were better stated and brought home to the Democrats throughout the country.

If there is anything further that I can do in Chicago do not hesitate to call upon me. It was a pleasure to meet you and to hear your invigorating message as you gave it at the luncheon.

Yours cordially,

/a/ Urban A. Lavery
My dear Governor:

I thank you for your esteemed favor in regard to the speech you delivered in Chicago, an outline of which I read in the newspapers, with which I heartily agree.

I will read the copy you sent me, however, more critically, but it occurred to me at the time that everything you said was wise, statesmanlike, patriotic and far reaching, and the Democratic Party can well consider and adopt the suggestions and principles outlined therein.

Thank you for your invitation to visit you should I come to Albany, and with expressions of my great respect and sincere esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lee T. Overman

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Executive Chamber,
Albany, N.Y.
December 17, 1929

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt,
Albany, New York.

My dear Governor:

Your letter of December 11th has been received. I take this means of acknowledging your courtesy.

While I attended college not far from New York and have been here ten years I am one of the few people in this United States who never was in New York City.

Should I come over this year I shall certainly avail myself of the opportunity for a visit with you.

I have read your speech made at the Chicago luncheon and I assure you I can give it my heartiest endorsement.

If you should come to Washington while Congress is in session I shall appreciate it if you will advise me and I will call on you.

I thank you for your kind invitation.

I am,

Most sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

December 16, 1929

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Executive Chamber, State of New York
Albany, New York

Dear Governor Roosevelt:

I appreciate your good letter of December 11, and also the extracts from your speech in Chicago, and shall be glad to read them carefully.

In the meantime, if I have an opportunity, I shall be glad to call to see you in Albany. I remember quite pleasantly my visit to you at Warm Springs, Georgia.

With highest regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Lafayette L. Patterson
December 24, 1939.

Miss Gertrude Folks Zimand, Director,
Research and Publicity Department,
National Child Labor Committee,
315 Fourth Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

My dear Miss Zimand:-

Thank you very much for having the copy of
my speech made and sent to me. I am glad to have it.

Very sincerely yours,

LT
December 18, 1929

His Excellency the Governor,
Executive Mansion,
Albany, N. Y.

My dear Governor Roosevelt:

In accordance with a request which we received on Monday, we are enclosing a typewritten copy of your speech given at our twenty-fifth anniversary dinner on Monday, December 16th.

We are planning to print the proceedings of the conference in a special publication and will see that you receive a copy of that also.

I have the honor to remain

Very truly yours,

Gertrude Folks Zimand, Director
Research and Publicity Department
GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: Dr. Adler, Dr. Lindsay, my Friends: This is a very delightful Silver Anniversary, and I have a rather tender personal feeling for silver anniversaries just now, because just three months from tomorrow there is going to be a Silver Anniversary in my family. (Applause)

Twenty-five years since you people started. I graduated from college twenty-five years ago, and I supposed without thinking about it that the Child Labor Movement in this country had been going on for one hundred years before I was born. It shows how effective organization can accomplish great results in a short time. Because, twenty-five years, after all, is a very short space in any great social reform. And I believe that in this particular line of endeavor that we have advanced more towards a goal than in any other of the great efforts that we have been making or have tried to make, during our life-time. May I put it this way, we recognize that there are many great strides still to come in the particular field of the regulation and prevention of Child Labor, and yet it seems to me that we have gone perhaps half of the way towards our goal in this country, whereas in some other things with which I have lately been connected, we don't seem to have gone more than one or two per cent of the distance.

I imagine that if we could throw ourselves fifty years into the future and look back on this past quarter century, we would say that in child labor we had covered half the ground. But in other matters, let us say in the care of the crippled of the nation, in the advancement of the science of penology, we have only just scratched the surface. And so you are to be much congratulated, congratulated with the distinct understanding that none of you, none of us will get a swelled head! For we have got a long ways to go, and I would like to talk very briefly about one or two of the national phases of the subject. First, let me say
that during these few years, ten or fifteen years, one of the interesting developments to me has been the growing willingness of the different component parts of the government of the country to work together. Back there in the days of 1914 that Miss Abbott has talked about, the states themselves looked with suspicion and horror on the mere organization of a Children’s Bureau in Washington. And yet, today there is a growing feeling even in those states that won’t go along with us all the way that it is worth while to talk together, to discuss problems that are necessarily mutual problems to the end that we can obtain a greater uniformity throughout the country. And of course, there are two underlying factors in the whole movement. The first of them is education.

I have had the privilege of seeing a good deal of educational systems in different parts of the country during these past few years, and in some of the states in which I have travelled and lived they are still 25 years behind some of the other states. I remember a few years ago, four or five years ago when my wife and I first went to Georgia, a very delightful, a very well-known and prominent citizen of that state was sitting next to my better half at dinner, and she said to him, “You have compulsory education in this state?” I wondered a little because I see so many children of school age out on the streets and in the fields.”

He rather puffed out his chest and said, “Yes, indeed, we have compulsory education. Why, it has been a part of the Constitution of the State for twenty years.”

“Well,” said my wife, “have you any enforcement laws?”

“Well, no. no, we haven’t got to that part of it yet.” So they had the germ of an idea. And of course, many of us in the more wealthy states of the North are very prone to look with horror and pity upon those other states, especially in the south which have not yet built up an adequate educational system.
Because in the final analysis we have realized that until we can teach certain fundamentals in regard to the human race and the bringing up of the next generation, we cannot expect any ideals or purposes on the part of any of those populations that lack that education. But perhaps we are hard for this reason: It is natural for any of us to think in terms of our own community. It is natural for us to think in terms of communities where we have large assessable values, where because of that we can increase our taxes, where the matter of raising 25, 50, 100 thousand dollars for a new schoolhouse is not merely something that ought to be done, but something which we will do. We don't hesitate. The money is there in our midst, and by a little intelligent propaganda in the community we get sentiment in favor of the new hundred thousand dollar schoolhouse. We get sentiment in favor of better pay for our teachers. We get sentiment throughout the state for larger state appropriations for education.

How much opposition has there been in the past ten years to the enormous increase in the use of the taxpayers' money for better education? It is only in 1918 that in the State of New York was only spending ten million dollars a year on its education, the education of the children throughout the state in city schools and country schools. That was all that the state contributed. And yet, gradually almost without our knowing it we have reached the point this year where we are spending ninety million dollars of the taxpayers' money as state aid to education, and that will increase this coming year to a hundred million, and in two more years to 120 million dollars under a mandatory law on the statute books, and we take it as a matter of course. And that being so, some of us are prone to look at other states, sister states, and say, "Why don't they do as we do?"

Let me give you an example. Down in the little community of Warm Springs, Georgia, when I first went there, yes, there was a schoolhouse, a school-
house without any paint on it, a little square building with four rooms down-
stairs and four rooms upstairs, an eight room school. I don't know when it had
been built -- thirty, forty, fifty years ago, and every time that the wind blew
the principal dismissed the school for fear that the wind would blow it down.
And that community realized that they needed a new schoolhouse, they realized
that the conditions were wrong, and yet, when they came to add up all the tax-
able property in the whole of that school district they found that the sum total of
all the taxable property was $75,000. How can you build a school when you have
economic conditions like that? They did the best they could, and we all got
behind it and we finally shamed them into it down there by the use of a little
strategy. I had some northern friends down over a Sunday and when they left on
Monday I went down to the village and they gathered around the car. I had been
talking the new schoolhouse for three whole years without any success. They
gathered around the car and I began talking, and I said, "By the way, I have had
some people down from the north, and I was taking them yesterday past our school-
house, and one of them said to me, "Is that the Negro school?!" And the next
day they asked for a bond issue! (Laughter) And then, not the inevitable but
the usual happened, as Mr. Peabody knows over there in the corner. They promised
to the Negro school that when the new school was built for the white children
the Negro school could have the lumber out of the old building. But it would cost
them some money to put it up. So now for a year or more they have had the lumber
and no money to put up a Negro school.

Well, now, that sort of thing you will find even far worse con-
ditions, through many of the communities of the south where because of economic
conditions, even though they want to they cannot remedy the situation, and you
will find community after community where it isn't merely a question of wanting
their children go to school, but where the school isn’t enough to hold the children, where the school building isn’t safe for the children, where they can’t afford to pay the teachers. And so I think that we people up here in the north may have a little tender spot in our hearts for many of our fellow Americans that want to do the right thing by their children, but just plain can’t. And then there is the other side of it, the economic phase.

I get both sides of it in Albany. I will get one day a delegation from a social welfare agency about bettering conditions for workmen’s compensation, for child labor, for some other splendid objective, and the next day I will have a committee of some of my manufacturer friends, and they will come and say, "Why is it that factories are leaving the north? Why are they going out of the Mohawk Valley and the Hudson River Valley and the western part of the state and moving south? Why, our taxes are too high. We are imposing too difficult conditions upon the people who own those factories. They have moved out in large part from New England, and they are beginning to move out of our state now, and the first thing we know instead of being the premier manufacturing state of the nation some other state is going to pass us."

To one of those organizations I said not so very long ago, "Let me ask you, if we were to eliminate and abolish our workmen’s compensation laws, if we were to do away with group insurance, if we were to let down the bars on the employment of children in industry, if we were to let up a bit on the corporation tax that helps to maintain the schools and the social welfare of the state, if we did all that, would we keep our industries, would we keep some of these factories that are moving out?"

And they said, "Yes, of course, we would."
And I said simply but from the bottom of my heart, and some will say that it was treason, "Well, as between the two alternatives, I would rather have the factories go." (Applause) And by that same token after all, don't we view things too much just from the point of view of the moment? I have seen factories that have moved south. I have seen northern mills that have gone south, and I have seen the conditions of employment that they have set up in those mills, not just for children, but for men and women, grown, as well, and I want to tell you that the time will come when public opinion in the south, when the growth of education of the average citizen in the south is going to bring the laws of the south and the standards of the south on a par with the laws and the standards of the north. And then perhaps some of them may move back to the Mohawk Valley.

And so I take the long range view, that we in this country in economics are going through as usually as we are doing every year and have been doing for 125 years changing conditions. Nothing is fixed, nothing is settled. I don't know and nobody knows what the chief industrial centers of the country will be when this society celebrates its Fiftieth Anniversary. But we do know this as these years go by the laws for the protection of the workman and after all that includes somewhere around ninety-nine per cent of the population, are going to be strengthened year by year. I am glad Miss Abbott referred to the laws of the State of New York. I believe that they can be greatly improved and strengthened. I think that today under the fine administration of a friend of ours, Miss Frances Perkins, (Applause) the Labor Laws of this State are being as well enforced as any human being can enforce them. But I do believe there are many loopholes that still have got to be plugged up. I believe that there are many strengthening efforts that can be made not only on the general subject of Workmen's Compensation, the taking care of people who are injured by occupational disease, but also in the field of Child Labor itself. But
speaking of Child Labor there is the converse of the proposition, and I am wondering a little bit if the National Child Labor Committee having accomplished fifty per cent of the main direct program may not consider in the next twenty-five years the converse of it. Not so long ago I was talking to one of the prisoners of the State, a young man of twenty-two, a nice boy. He was in for life, because he had committed four felonies. The total amount which he had stolen in each case and violence was not involved, in any of the crimes, the total amount in the four robberies was under $600. He had a life sentence at the age of twenty-two by virtue of what we call the Baum's Law.

And I said, "How did you get started on this?" He said, "Oh, it was too easy. I did not have to work."

I said, "You don't like to work?"

He said, "No." Why should I have started to work when I could get money without working."

I said, "You never have done an eight-hours piece of work in your life?"

He said, "No."

I said, "How would you like to?"

He said, "It would be funny to do it."

In other words, we are eliminating Child Labor. Are we at the same time taking any steps to teach the children who are going to school instead of laboring that labor when they leave school is the essence of good citizenship and peace in the community? I wonder!

Some of the old fogeys who have opposed the Child Labor Movement because they say that it is a mighty good thing to teach young people what an honest day's work is, are wrong in their opposition, but right in the theory of teaching boys and girls that work is a necessity.
Today the character of the boys and girls who go wrong in this State and in every other state, has entirely changed to what it was thirty or forty years ago, as you know. Today most of our criminals are under twenty-two years old. Thirty or forty years ago the average age was over thirty. This means something. It means the idea of get rich quick, and that is just where the great problem of our civilization in the next ten or twenty years is going to come in. The ability to get rich quick, it is one of the problems of prosperity. It is one of the problems that society has not solved yet. That is shown by the fact that yesterday I was going over a large number of clippings of editorials in regard to the recent prison riot, and about 49% of the editorial writers took a very simple position, which was that these riots were due to our mollycoddling the prisoner, that the only answer was to treat them rough. The firm hand, the strong arm, and that would solve our whole prison problem. And the other 49% of the editorials took just the diametrically opposite point of view. They said these riots are caused by the fact that today we are inhuman, that we are inhumane to the prisoners of the State, that we are treating them like animals, like dogs, that it is time we treated them like human beings. (Applause) And the other two per cent of the editorials took the correct point of view, which is this: That we know mighty little about it. (Laughter and applause)

You people twenty-five years ago were experimenters, you were people going out into a brand new field, you did not know just what you wanted, you had a great ideal, the methods and the details remain to be solved, and they have been well solved. It is interesting that it is only about ninety years ago, since Charles Dickens wrote. It is only ninety years ago that the attention of the educated world was called to conditions surrounding childhood conditions surrounding prisons. And we read his books as classics, and our hearts throbbed with the
boys and girls and the young people in his books. And yet it took more than fifty years before the world, the Western Civilised world began to take action on Child Labor, and it has taken nearly ninety years before the civilized world has at last come to take action on the solution of the prison problem. Because I believe that we have made in penology probably less strides that we have made less progress than in any other of our social questions. You take other problems of social welfare. You take health problems. We have made mighty strides. You take the problem of the mentally deficient in our midst. We have made mighty strides and are making more and more every day. In education it is the same story. But in the care of the young people who go wrong, and after all it is the next logical step to the child labor problem, in that next step of the young people who have gone wrong, we are subjecting them to conditions of life, we are subjecting them to management and theories that were in vogue in 1829. (Applause)

Half the prisoners of the State are housed today in steel cells or brick cells, on the walls of which moisture gathers every day. Individuals living and sleeping in cells without sanitation of any kind, nothing but a bucket, cells that are seven feet long, one foot longer than the man who is in them. Cells that are seven feet high, one foot of air overhead. Cells that are 30 inches wide, two and a half feet wide. Cells that were built in 1836 and are still used for the wards, as they call them, of the State. I think we have waked up. I think we have come to a realization that the problem of social welfare does not begin even with maternity care, that it goes back to prenatal care, and the other end of it that it goes all through life, right to the grave. It is interesting that in the beginning we started half way of the human life, the young people, the people just coming of age, and we have been extending in both directions ever since. And now we are taking up I am glad to say, in this state and in some of the other states the problem at the other end, the care of those needy men and women who have come to old age.
That is going to be a problem in the future, and what is the government going to do about it? It is only 15 years ago that the people of this state were horrified by some candidate for office getting up and saying in a governorship campaign, "This Governor who is in office today why under him, the state appropriations have increased from 35 million to 40 million dollars." And some people listened to it. And there will be somebody get up next autumn in this state and say, "Why, under this Governor the appropriations have gone up to from 265 million dollars to 315 million dollars." I believe in the theory of relativity. And we just as well make up our minds that this year the State of New York is going to spend 50 million dollars more than it spent last year. People are going to say it is terrible, and we can say back to them, "Come on, make the cut. You tell us where to lower the appropriation. Are you going to cut it off of the building of hospitals for the insane? Are you going to cut it off of the building of hospitals for the crippled children? Are you going to cut it off of putting up in Orange County a splendid house of refuge to replace that abomination on Randall's Island? Are you going to cut it off from the enforcement of the Child Labor Law? Are you going to take it away from the appropriations for education in the state? Are you going to take it away from the Westchester Park Commission? Are you going to take it away from the splendid system of highways that enabled not just the grownups but the boys and girls to get out from the great industrial centers and see something of what I say is the State of New York that God made?"

And by the same token, are you going to take away the opportunity of many of the boys and girls and the grownups in the country to come into our cities and see the civilization that is there?

Now it is all one big problem. We are all one big family, and we have got to face it as a family. We have got to face it as Democrats, yes, and as Republicans, we have got to face it as grownups and as children. And I am very
confident that when it comes down to a question of the welfare of the future
generations weighed on one side of the scale and the mere making of dividends put
on the other side of the scale, the children are going to win. (Applause)