

---

**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”**

**The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945**

**Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension**

---

**File No. 397**

**1930 October 20**

**Buffalo, NY - Campaign Speech**

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 20, 1930

I am glad to come back to the City of Buffalo where I have been so often during my administration of two years as Governor of the State. In fact, I have been to this great industrial center so often that one of my party said to me as we were coming into the city, "We have entered Buffalo from all directions. We have come in from the South, East and North; it is about time to come in by boat or in an airplane." I recall with pleasure and satisfaction my visit here during July when the Democratic Party of Erie County held its unofficial convention. The enthusiasm of that meeting, the large attendance and the unanimous endorsement of our present Democratic State administration led me to predict then what I now reaffirm, that in this county the Democratic candidates will receive this year the largest vote in recent history.

My last visit to Buffalo in the month of August was to attend a convention of the State Federation of Labor. This city provides a large percentage of the membership of that Federation. The second industrial center of the state, it has furnished through its great body of workers a large part of that reputation for sound industry which makes us so proud of our state. Buffalo and its citizens must of necessity be deeply interested in the economic and industrial questions which face not only our state but the entire nation.

I have spent many weeks during the last two years traveling around the state and becoming acquainted at firsthand with its needs. I have met various groups and classes of its citizens and discussed with them their desires and aspirations. I have done this as an integral part of what I consider the duty of the Governor to learn not merely by report, rumor and hearsay, but by actual observation and actual contacts what the problems of the state are. During this time, and during these visits, it is needless to point out that I carefully refrained from discussing politics; I have discussed government and I know that common sense people understand the difference.

In discussing governmental problems, if they are of current interest, it is essential and it is right to give the history of those problems; because the record going back over the past two years has a very direct bearing on the way in which we must approach and seek to solve the problems of the present.

That is why I have been glancing over the files which I had collected during the 1928 campaign. I find in them a number of quotations made during that campaign which I want at this time to set forth merely for the purpose of the record, and for no other reason. You will recall that I was running for election as Governor of the State of New York against Mr. Albert Ottinger. You will also recall that at that time Mr. Herbert Hoover was running for election as President of the United States. I want to read to you some extracts from speeches during the campaign and from the Republican platform of that year;

"The history of our party demonstrates that \*\*\*\* through the wisdom of Republican policies, and the capacity of the Republican Administration, the foundations of the high American standard of wage and living have been laid, and the greatness and prosperity of the country firmly established. No better guarantee of prosperity and contentment among our people at home, \* \* \* can be given than the pledge to maintain and continue the Coolidge policies \* \* \*. That is taken from the Republican platform of 1928.

"The people \* \* \* know that the very happiness of their homes, and the comfort of the average man and woman is bound up in the outcome of every presidential election because prosperity is the key to happiness, and the Republican Party and the Republican protective principles have, more than any other element, created our present day prosperity, and they will insure that prosperity for the future. \* \* \*. That is an extract from a speech of Albert Ottinger, running for Governor of the State of New York on October 9, 1928.

"We in America today are nearer to the financial triumph over poverty, than ever before in the history of any land. The poor man is vanishing from among us. Under these impulses, and the Republican protective system, our industrial output has increased as never before, and our wages have grown steadily in buying power. Our workers, with their average weekly wages, can today buy two and even three times more bread and butter than any wage earner in Europe. At one time we demanded for our workers a full dinner pail. We have now gone far beyond that conception. Today we demand a larger comfort and greater

-4-

participation in life and leisure. \* \* \*. Those are extracts from campaign speeches made by Herbert Hoover in the fall of 1928.

"The way to buttress our prosperity, to give every employer and employee, producer and consumer a feeling of greater security as he looks forward to the next four years with all their uncertainties, to secure the most earnest effort under competent leadership to deal with all the economic difficulties that confront us, is to continue the policies of the Republican administration under the presidency of Herbert Hoover. \* \* \*. That is an extract from a speech by Mr. Charles E. Hughes delivered at St. Joseph, Mo., October 23, 1928, in behalf of the election of Herbert Hoover.

Those extracts read strangely tonight.

Then came October, 1929. Again for the record I want to state what I believe to be the simple facts. It has been well said by many national leaders in both parties that during the final period of inflation and stock market plunging not one single step was taken by the responsible officials of the national administration to put on the brakes, or to suggest even that the situation was economically false and unsound. Thousands of citizens in every part of the United States gained the feeling that the national government was actually lending encouragement and that all was well with the country. A sound public opinion recognizes today, I am very certain, that if Washington had had the courage to apply the brakes the heights to which the orgy rose would not have been so high, and as a result, even if a slowing up of industry had come, the fall from the heights would

not have been so appallingly great.

The other matter of record which today receives censure from many of the most conservative and sound financial and industrial leaders, is the fact that after the crash of last autumn the Republican administration began and continued to hand out from Washington false information concerning the seriousness of the situation. The President himself very properly called conferences of the leaders of industry from various parts of the country and asked them to do everything possible to maintain production, but he was wrong in saying in December, "I am convinced that through these measures we have reestablished confidence, . . . . industrial unemployment and suffering which would otherwise have occurred has been prevented."

The extent of the rapidly growing condition of unemployment was concealed. One optimistic bulletin after another appeared. It was a desperate and futile attempt to restore prosperity by means of proclamations from Washington.

Month after month as conditions became worse, the messages of good cheer became more and more optimistic. As working men were discharged in thousands, they read statements made by the Federal administration, that "Things were getting better." Although the times called for quick and decisive action by the Federal government, nothing happened but words. That was the time, if ever, when government projects should have been accelerated. That was the time, if ever, when public works should have been pushed so as to provide employment.

That was the time, if ever, that increased appropriations for Federal aid, roads, river and harbor improvements, Veterans' hospitals, military post construction, and public buildings should have been speeded up.

Instead of that, as was pointed out by the Senator from this State, Robert F. Wagner, on September 29, 1930, the total appropriations for the current fiscal year for those purposes was \$25,000,000 less than the amount of similar appropriations for the last fiscal year. This same Republican administration in Washington refused to permit the House of Representatives to enact into law the bills introduced by the Democratic Senator from this state which would have helped the situation and which would have prepared the country against its increase or recurrence.

I need not dwell on the situation today. I need not comment upon the business depression and cruel condition of unemployment which is upon us.

I have quoted from these various speeches of Republican candidates of two years ago and I have summed up fairly, I think, the two great reasons for blaming the Republican National administration. But let me make it definite and clear that I do so simply to sum up the record and not for the purpose of obtaining partisan advantage in this campaign.

The one great purpose of setting forth the record as I have is only, and let me stress that word only, to give definite proof of what the Democratic Party has always maintained, — that no political

party has any monopoly on prosperity. Apparently even the Republican leaders in 1930 have at last come to realize it.

How well do I recall the campaign speeches of two years ago. How well do I recall the repeated appeals for votes on the strength of prosperity at Washington. Speech after speech was devoted to the subject of Republican prosperity and to the necessity of voting under the eagle in order to continue that prosperity. State campaigns have been waged for the last six years by the Republican party almost exclusively on the question of national prosperity. This year there seems to be a dead silence so far as the Republican Federal administration is concerned.

Whereas formerly the name of Herbert Hoover or Calvin Coolidge appeared at least five times in the speech of every Republican candidate for office, today we look in vain for mention of the names. Indeed, this attitude of silence so far as federal questions of prosperity is concerned, has led some of the republican candidates even to criticize me and my party for calling it to the public attention. This must seem strange indeed to those of us who remember the campaign speeches of recent years.

Everybody knows, as a matter of fact, that the Republican party has refused to enact into law a four year term for Governor with provisions for election in non-presidential years, only because they hoped to be able to befog state issues by talking federal prosperity. And even this year they could not help but make national questions the dominant note in their state convention. Their keynote orator

was called from the official cabinet of the President at Washington. He made a long speech. I have read it from beginning to end. I have failed to find a single mention of the State of New York or any of its questions. It is solely concerned with apology for the administration at Washington.

To prove further that national issues and national questions are still being made a part of this campaign which I regard as only a state campaign, let me tell you a little secret which will probably soon be public. The Republican National Committee sent an advertisement to the Bennington Evening Banner, a newspaper published in the State of Vermont, but having a circulation of fairly large size on the New York side of the line. This advertisement appeared on October 13, and in it the Republican National Committee, not the Republican State Committee, mind you, seeks to compare the Republican National administration with the Democratic State administration in the State of New York. I think that in some way, wires got crossed, and that the Bennington Evening Banner printed this advertisement a little ahead of time. I have no doubt that the advertisement will shortly appear throughout the length and breadth of our state in the newspapers. There is nothing in the advertisement which will deceive the voters and it requires no answer from me. I mention it merely to point out to you that even now the Republican national propaganda is finding its way into this state campaign at the request of the Republican National Committee itself.

And so I have spoken of unemployment and depression in this

state and shall continue to do so, not for the purpose of belaboring the Republican National administration, but for the purpose of proving for all time, that the Democratic party was right in its claim that no political party has exclusive patent rights on prosperity.

It is my thought, of course, and in this I am perhaps partisan, that the election of Democratic congressmen from this state this autumn will do much toward helping the congress of the United States to build a more sane, a more sound, and economic structure for the nation than has been done in the past.

As to the existing situation in our own state, as Buffalo's greatest citizen, Grover Cleveland, would have said, "that is a condition and not a theory."

We should face this situation honestly and bravely. There is no need for abject pessimism. The strength of this country, the wealth of its natural possessions and resources, the industry, energy and patriotism of its people, are in the last analysis, the ultimate guarantee of a return to better times.

I have no doubt that capital and labor alike can, and ultimately will, put their shoulder to the wheel to pull our industry out of the deep mud. As a state government, New York must, of course, and will, of course, do its share and more. It can do it, and has done it, by extending the construction of its public works so as to provide employment for its citizens.

The total amount of money available during this calendar year amounts to \$55,000,000. Already, \$33,000,000 have been put to

work. The balance of \$22,000,000 will be put to work as follows: \$9,000,000 this month; \$7,000,000 next month, and \$6,000,000 in December.

In this way we carry on a uniform plan of work — a total amount more than \$20,000,000 greater than ever before in the history of the state. When the Legislature meets in January it will give us, I am confident, another large sum to continue the work.

That the record of this state in progress on its public works is ahead of that of any other state is not open to contradiction.

Before I close, I want to speak briefly of one or two other matters which affect Buffalo and Erie County. I bespeak your very active cooperation in the election of our local candidates to the Senate and the Assembly. As our government becomes more complex, it becomes more and more important that we have legislators in sympathy with the Democratic ideas of progressive government. You can help me carry out progressive governmental reforms by sending Democratic Assemblymen and Senators to Albany.

And especially do I urge that you return to the Senate the Democratic Senator from this district, Stephen J. Wojtkiewicz, coming from that hard-working and industrious race which has contributed so much to the industrial success of the City of Buffalo, and indeed which has contributed so much to the success of the State of New York and to the country at large ever since the days of Kosciusco. Senator Wojtkiewicz has in Albany stood for the best that Democratic principles provide. He has been of great assistance to me. He has been a great

representative not only of the Polish people in this city, but of the city and state itself, and I hope you will return him to office.

Furthermore, during the past year in Albany, the Democracy of Buffalo has been represented in the Assembly only by that excellent Assemblyman Anthony J. Camney. I trust that the next Assembly will have many Democratic representatives from Erie County.

I also wish to point out to you the great savings which have been brought about in your local county and town taxes as a result of the program of rural tax relief which was initiated by me. You will recall that immediately after my election two years ago I appointed an Agricultural Advisory Commission consisting of various professors in agriculture, leaders of various farm and agricultural societies, publishers of farm publications, rural tax experts and practical farmers and dairymen. This Commission met and made recommendations to me which I transmitted to the Legislature as soon as I got to Albany. The Commission pointed out at the outset that the most crying need of the rural dwellers was relief from his ever mounting taxes for local purposes.

I want to point out to you that while these taxes have been called rural taxes, they bear down upon dwellers in the cities and in the villages as well. For example, right here in Buffalo, the residents of this city pay a great deal in taxes which go into the County Treasury. In addition to paying city taxes, each and every one of you also pays a county tax. Wherever, therefore, a County is saved expenditures and taxation, that saving helps not only

the farmer, but every man, woman and child in the county, including those in the City of Buffalo.

Speaking here in Buffalo, I want to point out to you just what these savings have amounted to in the County of Erie. The State, by taking over the thirty-five percent which the taxpayers of Erie County used to have to pay for County Highways, has saved in Erie County \$90,000 every year. By taking over the thirty-five percent which you taxpayers of Erie County used to have to pay for the construction of bridges and highways, the County has been saved \$136,000 every year. Your County is receiving, for purposes of road construction, as its share of the gasoline tax, \$142,000 every year, and is receiving as increased state aid for rural small schools over \$56,000 more this year than the year before.

Of particular importance to the County of Erie, because of the grade crossing problems in the City of Buffalo, is the law reducing the share which the County of Erie has to pay for the cost of eliminating grade crossings from ten percent to one percent. This amounts to over \$344,000 every year. In addition to these various savings, and of paramount importance to your county, is the fact that on the recommendation of this Commission the direct state tax on real estate was repealed so that not one penny of tax on real estate is collected by the State of New York. The saving on this alone, for the County of Erie, was \$715,000 last year, and will occur each year.

The total of all of these savings for the County of Erie alone amounts to over \$1,400,000 every year.

I need not point out to you who initiated and started these reforms. It is true, of course, that both Republicans and Democrats in the Legislature voted for them. But although the Republican Party has been in control of the Legislature absolutely for 20 years, nothing was done to relieve the Counties of the State from this staggering burden of taxation until I became Governor, and until I pointed out the way.

This plan of rural tax relief has saved the Counties of all the State over \$24,000,000 each year. Here in Erie County, the amount which has been saved \$1,400,000 should come off your local tax bills. If it has not, I believe you should make inquiry to ascertain where this tax money is going.

Returning once more to the subject of labor and employment, I am confident that the working men and women of this state have a full realisation of the fact that the Democratic Party has been the sponsor of 99 percent of all the progressive labor legislation which is now on our statute books. Labor has come to depend on the Democracy for its progress.

It was in this very city that I received from the President of the American Federation of Labor that hearty commendation for my efforts in behalf of the working classes of the State.

It is with considerable pride that I read from that letter, setting forth the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards what my administration has done for labor at Albany. President Greene writes to me:

"your leadership as Governor of the State of New York stands out in a most striking way and the work you are able to do must be classified as a most rare accomplishment. You deserve the support of labor, and of all classes of people who seek to perpetuate our free institutions and who are engaged in preserving our principle of free government through the advancement of the highest and best interests of the masses of the people. I express the earnest hope that all the working people and their friends in the state of New York may give to you their undivided support in your political and social reform policies so that you may be permitted to give to the people the benefit of your \* \* \* \* service." (signed), William Green, President, American Federation of Labor."

I consider that not so much a tribute to what I have been able to do for labor, but rather to the policies of social progress and high-minded legislation which has characterized your party and my party, - the Democratic Party of the State of New York, in their continued and untiring efforts to help the physical, mental and moral condition of the average man, woman and child in our State.

In line with this, I regret very much that although, with the help of public opinion, I was able to persuade the Legislature to adopt far-reaching reforms for labor, I was unable to get them to go along with me in my recommendations for further state legislation to regulate private employment agencies.

Too often have the laboring classes of the state been deceived and defrauded by private employment agencies. The State of New York, as well as many cities in the State is doing what it can to help labor through public employment agencies. I believe that the protection of the strong arm of the state should be afforded to the laboring classes so that fraudulent or dishonest employment agencies will no longer be able to continue their unlawful practices on the honest working people of the state.

I have given you a simple and a true recital of the record. I have spoken of what has occurred in the past. I have given you a background by which you may judge the future.

Now, however, it is time for us to put our shoulders to the wheel and work for that future.

As I have said before, we can all do our share.

I have been working all summer and autumn with many industrial organizations and many social agencies with a view to helping wherever they can, and the State government can. I have continued to urge every employer of labor in this state to try to find every possible extra job for men and women. I have had splendid responses from the County, the city and the village and town governments throughout the state. I have received this cooperation from Republicans and Democrats alike.

It is not a matter of Party. It is a matter of good citizenship and good Americanism.

Relief for unemployment, relief for suffering and privation cannot be brought about by Republican remedies alone.

Equally, certain is it that it cannot be brought about by Democratic remedies alone. Let us apply united American remedies.

This is not the time to inject party and politics or campaign propaganda into the situation in any shape, manner or form. This is not the time for curtailment, for reduction in wages, or for cessation of business activity. On the contrary, this is the time for courage and action.

Let us here and now, regardless of party, pledge ourselves individually and collectively to carry on, to face the future with that high courage and desire for concerted action which has always characterized the American people in every difficult hour.

The path of our duty is clear. You and I know that as good Americans, we will manfully and bravely follow that path.

END.

NEW YORK NY 20 Oct

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

LAFAYETTE HOTEL BUFFALO NY

THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBERS OF THE NON PARTISAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE OF  
THE NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR IN REGULAR MEETING ASSEMBLED  
THIS TWENTIETH DAY OF OCTOBER NINETEEN THIRTY HAVING EXAMINED AND  
CONSIDERED THE OFFICIAL LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS OF  
GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HERBERT H  
LEHMAN AND THE PLEDGES RELATING TO LABOR LEGISLATION AND RELIEF OF  
UNEMPLOYMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE LABOR LAWS CONTAINED IN THE  
STATE PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION ON WHICH  
GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR LEHMAN HAVE BEEN RE-  
NOMINATED TO SUCCEED THEMSELVES HEREWITHE DECLARE THAT WE ADVISE THE  
SUPPORT AND RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT AND LIEU-  
TANT GOVERNOR HERBERT H LEHMAN IN THE INTEREST OF THE WELL BEING  
OF THE WAGE EARNING CITIZENS OF NEW YORK STATE WE SO ADVISE FOR THE  
REASON THAT THE RECORD OF HUMANITARIAN AND REMEDIAL LABOR LEGISLATION  
PROPOSED AND ENACTED UNDER THEIR SUPERVISION AND DIRECTION HAS BEEN  
UNSURPASSED IN THE HISTORY OF OUR STATE WE HEREBY DIRECT THAT THESE  
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS BE TRANSMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE  
SECRETARY OF THE NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR TO ALL LABOR ORGAN-  
IZATIONS IN THIS STATE

JOHN SULLIVAN PRESIDENT JOSEPH P RYAN VICE PRESIDENT

JOHN M O'HANLON SECRETARY NEW YORK STATE FEDERATION OF  
LABOR.

Economic Conditions—Local Tax Burdens—Labor Legislation

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

p.779

BUFFALO, October 20, 1930.

I am glad to come back to the City of Buffalo where I have been so often during my administration of two years as Governor of the State. In fact, I have been to this great industrial center so often that one of my party said to me as we were coming into the city, "We have entered Buffalo from all directions. We have come in from the South, East and North; it is about time to come in by boat or in an airplane." I recall with pleasure and satisfaction my visit here during July when the Democratic Party of Erie County held its unofficial convention. The enthusiasm of that meeting, the large attendance and the unanimous endorsement of our present Democratic State administration led me to predict then what I now reaffirm, that

in this county the Democratic candidates will receive this year the largest vote in recent history.

My last visit to Buffalo in the month of August was to attend a convention of the State Federation of Labor. This city provides a large percentage of the membership of that Federation. The second industrial center of the State, it has furnished through its great body of workers a large part of that reputation for sound industry which makes us so proud of our State. Buffalo and its citizens must of necessity be deeply interested in the economic and industrial questions which face not only our State but the entire Nation.

I have spent many weeks during the last two years traveling around the State and becoming acquainted at first hand with its needs. I have met various groups and classes of its citizens and discussed with them their desires and aspirations. I have done this as an integral part of what I consider the duty of the Governor to learn not merely by report, rumor and hearsay, but by actual observation and actual contacts what the problems of the State are. During this time, and during these visits, it is needless to point out that I carefully refrained from discussing politics; I have discussed government and I know that common sense people understand the difference.

In discussing governmental problems, if they are of current interest, it is essential and it is right to give the history of those problems; because the record going back over the past two years has a very direct bearing on the way in which we must approach and seek to solve the problems of the present.

That is why I have been glancing over the files which I had collected during the 1928 campaign. I find in them a number of quotations made during that campaign which I want at this time to set forth merely for the purpose of the record, and for no other reason. You will recall that I was running for election as Governor of the State of New York against Mr. Albert Ottinger. You will also recall that at that time Mr. Herbert Hoover was running for election as President of the United States. I want to read to you some extracts from speeches during the campaign and from the Republican platform of that year:

"The history of our party demonstrates that \* \* \* through the wisdom of Republican policies, and the capacity of the Republican Administration, the foundations of the high American standard of wage and living have been laid, and the greatness and prosperity of the country firmly established. No better guarantee of prosperity and contentment among our people at home \* \* \* can be given than the pledge to maintain and continue the Coolidge policies \* \* \*." That is taken from the Republican platform of 1928.

"The people \* \* \* know that the very happiness of their homes, and the comfort of the average man and woman is bound up in the outcome of every presidential election because prosperity is the key to happiness, and the Republican Party and the Republican protective principles have, more than any other element, created our present day prosperity, and they will insure that prosperity for the future. \* \* \*." That is an extract from a speech of Albert Ottinger, running for Governor of the State of New York on October 9, 1928.

"We in America today are nearer to the financial triumph over poverty, than ever before in the history of any land. The poor man is vanishing from among us. Under these impulses, and the Republican protective system, our industrial output has increased as never before, and our wages have grown steadily in buying power. Our workers, with their average weekly wages, can today buy two and even three times more bread and butter than any wage earner in Europe. At one time we demanded for our workers a full dinner pail. We have now gone far beyond that conception. Today we demand a larger comfort and greater participation in life and leisure. \* \* \*." These are extracts from campaign speeches made by Herbert Hoover in the fall of 1928.

"The way to buttress our prosperity, to give every employer and employee, producer and consumer a feeling of greater security as he looks forward to

the next four years with all their uncertainties, to secure the most earnest effort under competent leadership to deal with all the economic difficulties that confront us, is to continue the policies of the Republican administration under the presidency of Herbert Hoover." \* \* \* That is an extract from a speech by Mr. Charles E. Hughes delivered at St. Joseph, Mo., October 23, 1928, in behalf of the campaign of Herbert Hoover.

Those extracts read strangely tonight.

Those extracts, October, 1929. Again for the record I want to state what I believe to be the simple facts. It has been well said by many national leaders in both parties that during the final period of inflation and stock market plumping not one single step was taken by the responsible officials of the national administration to put on the brakes, or to suggest even that the situation was economically false and unsound. Thousands of citizens in every part of the United States gained the feeling that the national government was actually lending encouragement and that all was well with the country. A sound public opinion recognizes today, I am very certain, that if Washington had had the courage to apply the brakes the heights to which the orgy rose would not have been so high, and as a result, even if a slowing up of industry had come, the fall from the heights would not have been so appallingly great.

The other matter of record which today receives censure from many of the most conservative and sound financial and industrial leaders is the fact that after the crash of last autumn the Republican administration began and continued to hand out, from Washington, false information concerning the seriousness of the situation. The President himself very properly called conferences of the leaders of industry from various parts of the country and asked them to do everything possible to maintain production, but he was wrong in saying in December, "I am convinced that through these measures we have reestablished confidence, industrial unemployment and suffering which would otherwise have occurred has been prevented."

The extent of the rapidly growing condition of unemployment was concealed. One optimistic bulletin after another appeared. It was a desperate and futile attempt to restore prosperity by means of proclamations from Washington.

Month after month as conditions became worse, the messages of good cheer became more and more optimistic. As working men were discharged in thousands, they read statements made by the Federal administration, that "Things were getting better." Although the times called for quick and decisive action by the Federal Government, nothing happened but words. That was the time, if ever, when government projects should have been accelerated. That was the time, if ever, when public works should have been pushed so as to provide employment. That was the time, if ever, that increased appropriations for Federal aid, roads, river and harbor improvements, Veterans' hospitals, military post construction, and public buildings should have been speeded up.

Instead of that, as was pointed out by the Senator from this State, Robert F. Wagner, on September 29, 1930, the total appropriations for the current fiscal year for those purposes was \$29,000,000 less than the amount of similar appropriations for the last fiscal year. This same Republican administration in Washington refused to permit the House of Representatives to enact into law the bills introduced by the Democratic Senator from this State which would have helped the situation and which would have prepared the country against its increase or recurrence.

I need not dwell on the situation today. I need not comment upon the business depression and cruel condition of unemployment which is upon us.

I have quoted from these various speeches of Republican candidates of two years ago and I have summed up fairly, I think, the two great reasons for blaming the Republican National administration. But let me make it definite and clear that I do so simply to sum up the record and not for the purpose of obtaining partisan advantage in this campaign.

The one great purpose of setting forth the record as I have it only, and let me stress that word only, to give definite proof of what the Demo-

ocratic Party has always maintained—that no political party has any monopoly on prosperity. Apparently even the Republican leaders in 1930 have at last come to realize it.

How well do I recall the campaign speeches of two years ago. How well do I recall the repeated appeals for votes on the strength of prosperity at Washington. Speech after speech was devoted to the subject of Republican prosperity and to the necessity of voting under the eagle in order to continue that prosperity. State campaigns have been waged for the last six years by the Republican Party almost exclusively on the question of national prosperity. This year there seems to be a dead silence so far as the Republican Federal administration is concerned.

Whereas formerly the names of Herbert Hoover or Calvin Coolidge appeared at least five times in the speech of every Republican candidate for office, today we look in vain for mention of their names. Indeed, this attitude of silence so far as Federal questions of prosperity is concerned has led some of the Republican candidates even to criticize my party and me for calling it to the public attention. This must seem strange indeed to those of us who remember the campaign speeches of recent years.

Everybody knows, as a matter of fact that the Republican party has refused to enact into law a four-year term for Governor with provisions for election in non-presidential years, only because they hoped to be able to befog State issues by talking Federal prosperity. And even this year they could not help but make national questions the dominant note in their State convention. Their keynote orator was called from the official cabinet of the President at Washington. He made a long speech. I have read it from beginning to end. I have failed to find a single mention of the State of New York or any of its questions. It is solely concerned with apology for the administration at Washington.

To prove further that national issues and national questions are still being made a part of this campaign which I regard as only a State campaign, let me tell you of a secret which will probably soon be public. The Republican National Committee sent an advertisement to the Bennington Evening Banner, a newspaper published in the State of Vermont, but having a circulation of fairly large size on the New York side of the line. This advertisement appeared on October 13, and in it the Republican National Committee, not the Republican State Committee, mind you, seeks to compare the Republican National administration with the Democratic State administration in the State of New York. I think that in some way, wires got crossed and that the Bennington Evening Banner printed this advertisement a little ahead of time. I have no doubt that the advertisement will shortly appear throughout the length and breadth of our State in the newspapers. There is nothing in the advertisement which will deceive the voters and it requires no answer from me. I mention it merely to point out to you that even now the Republican national propaganda is finding its way into this State campaign at the request of the Republican National Committee itself.

And so I have spoken of unemployment and depression in this State and shall continue to do so, not for the purpose of belaboring the Republican National administration, but for the purpose of proving for all time, that the Democratic party was right in its claim that no political party has exclusive patent rights on prosperity.

It is my thought, of course, and in this I am perhaps partisan, that the election of Democratic Congressmen from this State this autumn will do much toward helping the Congress of the United States to build a more sane, a more sound, and economic structure for the Nation than has been done in the past.

As to the existing situation in our own State, as Buffalo's greatest citizen, Grover Cleveland, would have said, "that is a condition and not a theory."

We should face this situation honestly and bravely. There is no need for abject pessimism. The strength of this country, the wealth of its natural possessions and resources, the industry, energy and patriotism of its people, are in the last analysis, the ultimate guarantee of a return to better times.

I have no doubt that capital and labor alike can, and ultimately will, put their shoulder to the wheel to pull our industry out of the deep mud. As a State Government, New York must, of course, and will, of course, do its share and more. It can do it, and has done it, by extending the construction of its public works so as to provide employment for its citizens.

The total amount of money available during this calendar year amounts to \$55,000,000. Already, \$33,000,000 have been put to work. The balance of \$22,000,000 will be put to work as follows: \$9,000,000 this month; \$7,000,000 next month, and \$6,000,000 in December.

In this way we carry on a uniform plan of work—a total amount more than \$20,000,000 greater than ever before in the history of the State. When the Legislature meets in January it will give us, I am confident, another large sum to continue the work.

That the record of the State in progress on its public works is ahead of that of any other State is not open to contradiction.

Before I leave I want to speak briefly of one or two other matters which affect Buffalo and Erie County; I bespeak your very active cooperation in the election of our local candidates to the Senate and the Assembly. As our government becomes more complex, it becomes more and more important that we have legislators in sympathy with the Democratic ideas of progressive government. You can help me carry out progressive governmental reforms by sending Democratic Assemblymen and Senators to Albany.

And especially do I urge that you return to the Senate the Democratic Senator from this district, Stephen J. Wojtkowiak, coming from that hard-working and industrious race which has contributed so much to the industrial success of the City of Buffalo, and indeed which has contributed so much to the success of the State of New York and to the country at large ever since the days of Kosciusko. Senator Wojtkowiak has in Albany stood for the best that Democratic principles provide. He has been of great assistance to me. He has been a great representative not only of the Polish people in this city, but of the city and State itself, and I hope you will return him to office.

Furthermore, during the past year in Albany, the Democracy of Buffalo has been represented in the Assembly only by that excellent Assemblyman Anthony J. Canney. I trust that the next Assembly will have many Democratic representatives from Erie County.

I also wish to point out to you the great savings which have been brought about in your city county and town taxes as a result of the program of rural tax relief which was initiated by me. You will recall that immediately after my election two years ago I appointed an Agricultural Advisory Commission consisting of various professors in agriculture, leaders of various farm and agricultural societies, publishers of farm publications, rural tax experts and practical farmers and dairymen. This commission met and made recommendations to me which I transmitted to the Legislature as soon as I got to Albany. The commission pointed out at the outset that the most crying need of the rural dwellers was relief from their ever mounting taxes for local purposes.

I want to point out to you that while these taxes have been called rural taxes, they bear down upon dwellers in the cities and in the villages as well. For example, right here in Buffalo, the residents of this city pay a great deal in taxes which go into the County Treasury. In addition to paying city taxes, each and every one of you also pays a county tax. Wherever, therefore, a county is saved expenditures and taxation, that saving helps not only the farmer, but every man, woman and child in the county, including those in the City of Buffalo.

Speaking here in Buffalo, I want to point out to you just what these savings have amounted to in the County of Erie. The State, by taking over the 35 per cent which the taxpayers of Erie County used to have to pay for county highways, has saved in Erie County \$80,000 every year. By taking over the 35 per cent which your taxpayers of Erie County used to have to pay for the construction of bridges and highways, the county has been saved \$136,000 every year. Your county is receiving, for purposes of road construction, as its share of the gasoline tax, \$142,000 every year, and is receiving as

increased State aid for rural small schools over \$56,000 more this year than the year before.

Of particular importance to the County of Erie, because of the grade crossing problems in the City of Buffalo, is the law reducing the share which the County of Erie has to pay for the cost of eliminating grade crossings from 10 per cent. to 1 per cent. This amounts to over \$344,000 every year. In addition to these various savings, and of paramount importance to your county, is the fact that on the recommendation of this commission the direct State tax on real estate was repealed so that not one penny of tax on real estate is collected by the State of New York. The saving on this alone, for the County of Erie, was \$715,000 last year, and will occur each year.

The total of all of these savings for the County of Erie alone amounts to over \$1,400,000 every year.

I need not point out to you who initiated and started these reforms. It is true, of course, that both Republicans and Democrats in the Legislature voted for them. But although the Republican Party has been in control of the Legislature absolutely for 20 years, nothing was done to relieve the counties of the State from the staggering burden of taxation until I became Governor, and until I pointed out the way.

This plan of general tax relief has saved the counties of all the State over \$24,000,000 each year. Here in Erie County, the amount which has been saved, \$1,400,000, should come off your local tax bills. If it has not, I believe you should make inquiry to ascertain where this tax money is going.

Returning once more to the subject of labor and employment, I am confident that the working men and women of this State have a full realization of the fact that the Democratic Party has been the sponsor of 99 per cent of all the progressive labor legislation which is now on our statute books. Labor has come to depend on the Democracy for its progress.

It was in this very city that I received from the President of the American Federation of Labor that hearty commendation for my efforts in behalf of the working classes of the State.

It is with considerable pride that I read from that letter, setting forth the attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards what my administration has done for labor at Albany. President Green writes to me:

"Your leadership as Governor of the State of New York stands out in a most striking way and the work you are able to do must be classified as a most rare accomplishment. You deserve the support of labor, and of all classes of people who seek to perpetuate our free institutions and who are engaged in preserving our principle of free government through the advancement of the highest and best interests of the masses of the people. I express the earnest hope that all the working people and their friends in the State of New York may give to you their undivided support in your political and social reform policies so that you may be permitted to give to the people the benefit of your service."

(Signed) William Green, President American Federation of Labor."

I consider that not so much a tribute to what I have been able to do for labor, but rather to the policies of social progress and high-minded legislation which has characterized your party and my party—the Democratic Party of the State of New York, in their continued and untiring efforts to help the physical, mental and moral condition of the average man, woman and child in our State.

In line with this, I regret very much that although, with the help of public opinion, I was able to persuade the Legislature to adopt far-reaching reforms for labor, I was unable to get them to go along with me in my recommendations for further State legislation to regulate private employment agencies.

Too often have the laboring classes of the State been deceived and defrauded by private employment agencies. The State of New York, as well as many cities in the State, is doing what it can to help labor through public employment agencies. I believe that the protection of the strong arm of the

State should be afforded to the laboring classes so that fraudulent or dishonest employment agencies will no longer be able to continue their unlawful practices on the honest working people of the State.

I have given you a simple and a true recital of the record. I have spoken of what has occurred in the past. I have given you a background by which you may judge the future.

Now, however, it is time for us to put our shoulders to the wheel and work for that future.

All have said before, we can all do our share.

I have been working all summer and autumn with many industrial organizations and many social agencies with a view to helping wherever they can, and the State Government can. I have continued to urge every employer of labor in this State to try to find every possible extra job for men and women. I have had splendid responses from the county, the city and the village and town governments throughout the State. I have received this cooperation from Republicans and Democrats alike.

It is not a matter of Party. It is a matter of good citizenship and good Americanism.

Relief for unemployment, relief for suffering and privation cannot be brought about by Republican remedies alone.

Equally certain is it that it can not be brought about by Democratic remedies alone. Let us apply united American remedies.

This is not the time to inject party and politics or campaign propaganda into the situation in any shape, manner or form. This is not the time for curtailment, for reduction in wages, or for cessation of business activity. On the contrary, this is the time for courage and action.

Let us here and now, regardless of party, pledge ourselves individually and collectively to carry on, to face the future with that high courage and desire for concerted action which has always characterized the American people in every difficult hour.

The path of our duty is clear. You and I know that as good Americans, we will manfully and bravely follow that path.