
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

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1930 October 27

**Bronx, NY -
Campaign Speech Reaction vs. Liberal**

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
AT HUNTS POINT PALACE, BRONX, NEW YORK CITY
MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 27, 1930

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I have just returned from a trip around the State during which I have been discussing in large cities, in small cities, in villages, and at the cross roads, problems of government. I have been speaking of fundamental matters of administration at Albany, - I have been discussing the forward march which the government of the State has been making. I have also pointed out the obstacles met with during these last two years, and indeed over a period of the last eight years.

In any government, in any nation, and at any time from long before the days of ancient Greece down to the present there have been two armies lined up facing each other, in constant combat. On the one side is the army of reaction, of do nothing, of special privilege and on the other the army of liberal thought and progressive action.

In my own political experience I go back to the many years when the government of the State of New York was under the control of the army of reaction, - the days when year after year no progressive legislation was placed on our statute books and the actual methods of administering government remained archaic and out of date.

Year after year the government of the State grew in size with the growth of population but grew without any plan or system. Function was added to function, bureau to bureau, and the net result was a scattered uncoordinated mass of state government machinery which was functioning inefficiently and in most cases for merely political or partisan reasons.

We in the State of New York have been very fortunate that for the past eight years the old supremacy of the army of reaction has been removed. For eight years under progressive leadership by the executive portions of the Albany government the army of liberal thought has been in control. The credit for this belongs primarily to the active leadership of a man who was the spokesman for the liberal forces, the man who from the days of the Constitutional Convention of 1915 led the forces of reconstruction throughout the State - former Governor Alfred E. Smith.

I like to visualize this long struggle as a contest between two armies. Every inch of the way we have had warfare - sometimes open, sometimes hidden but all through these years the army which Governor Smith and I have led has been sniped at and shelled and obstructed by the legislative leaders who captained the opposing forces. I need not remind you how bitterly all of the measures for government reorganization, for social legislation, and for new measures to care for new conditions, have been opposed in the legislative halls at Albany, and how the Republican Leaders in many skirmishes have seemingly and on the surface proclaimed that there was no battle at all, but have secretly and under cover sought to defeat the proposals at the polls.

It is a noteworthy fact in the history of our State that the army of liberal thought has been able to maintain the offensive, to carry the battle to their enemies with success year after year. What is the reason for this? It seems to me that it is because the overwhelming majority of voters in this State recognize the fact that the war in the cause of liberal thought must, if successful, be carried on by an army fighting a continuous battle over a wide front rather than by a series

of regiments each fighting on its own front without any relationship to all the other regiments.

I do not have to ask you which army you belong to. You have given clear proof of your desire to continue in the ranks of liberal thought, clear proof that you will continue to oppose any advance or attack by the worn out forces of reaction.

What I want to keep before you is this picture of a united army. What are the regiments which compose it? Each one along the miles of battle front is a regiment of economic thought in itself, each one carried with it the great force and strength of social approval and the commendation of intelligent public opinion. Each one is armed and reinforced with the double determination to advance on its own front and at the same time to help the regiments on either side to advance with it.

Let me call the roll of these regiments.

Here is the regiment of liberal legislation, - statute after statute providing more protection and more adequate division of the fruits of business and industry for the laboring men, women, and children of the State. Better factory conditions, - shorter hours for both men and women, comprehensive workmen's compensation for accidents and industrial diseases, stricter enforcement of protective laws, careful factory inspection. Do you belong to that regiment? It is a unit in the vast army which every year makes a definite gain of ground. Opposed to this unit are the historic forces of blockade in Albany, - never ready to suggest anything new, - always two or three or a dozen years late in recognising the public demand for enlightened advance.

Next in line is the regiment battling for adequate hospital

facilities for the unfortunate wards of the State, - all of its units seeking to end once and for all the conditions of overcrowding that affect the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our fellow citizens.

Next in line is the regiment seeking a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers who understand that the crime and prison problems can be solved if we will recognize that the prisoners of the State are human beings and that the overwhelming majority of them will some day come back to our midst as part of our own communities.

Then comes that splendid regiment of men and women who have so recently won the notable victory in behalf of old age security against want, - a regiment which not content with this victory is seeking to gain additional ground.

Now we come to two great regiments recruited from all over the State, regiments composed of men and women who are fighting to end excessive and exorbitant rates for electricity in the homes, for telephones, and other utilities, - people who are fighting for a great principle in behalf of this generation and all future generations. And with them are the thousands who are interested in and understand the drive we are making for the development of our water power resources by a state agency.

Next in the battle array are the hundreds of thousands of those who live in the rural communities scattered from one end of the State to the other. People who are glad of the recent victory which relieves them from unequal and overpowering taxation, - people who appreciate the great

strides that have been made in the study of their agricultural and farm problems, and who want the same leadership maintained.

Standing next to them, shoulder to shoulder with their brethren from the rural communities are those millions from the congested areas of our cities battling for more light and more air in their living quarters, proud of the victory which was accomplished when the multiple dwellings law was signed by me and hoping to accomplish still more in their struggle for decent sanitary and reasonable living conditions.

Then a kindred regiment, - the millions who approve and want an extension of the vast program of parks for the health and recreation of the citizens of the State, the people who go to Jones Beach and Bear Mountain and the other great playgrounds throughout the State.

Next in line come those who want a continuation of the splendid system of educational assistance that has been developed in Albany during the past few years.

Then we come to the regiment of the appreciative users of the great system of new highways and new bridges that cover the State of New York like a net work.

Finally the regiment of those who want a continuation of the health measures, the extension of public health work under the leadership of the State and extending not only to the Cities but to every rural community; the building up of the State-owned Spa at Saratoga Springs for the benefit of our citizens; the work for the cripples, for the blind, for the deaf, for injured workmen.

Mile after mile of these regiments are holding the battle front of liberal thought and progressive government. Every regiment,

Let me repeat, has during these past eight years been gaining ground slowly but surely and the advance could not have been possible unless the whole army made up of these regiments had been continuously fighting all along the line not as individual units but as a compact whole.

The principles for which these regiments have been fighting affect all the people of this State. It may be that certain sections are more interested in some of these principles than are others but in the advance of progressive government in the State, we who have, can not and must not consider welfare only by sections. These regiments are battling in the interest of state functions, not local functions.

Opposed to this far-flung army stand those forces of inertia, of reaction, of conservative opposition to the adoption of anything new, under the leadership of those same gentlemen who today and for generations passed are in control of the Republican party. Let me repeat that I have so often said that it is the leadership and not the rank and file of that party which we oppose. It is today as it has been for many years past in the State of New York a leadership of defeatism or of complete misapprehension of either the public will or the public good. It is based on either ignorance of the trend of the time or an unwillingness to give credit to those who have sponsored and labored for these progressive measures.

You and I know of that opposition, - you and I know how inch by inch it has been beaten back slowly but positively. You can take each and every regimental battle, - the history of one is the history of all. Pick them out at random.

Take the battle over water power for instance. Ever since

Governor Smith went to Albany each and every year he tried to get the Legislature to start a plan for the development of the water power resources of the State by a state agency. Year after year the Republican leaders refused to do it. Year after year the demand from the people of the State became more insistent, - year after year the Republican leaders ignored it. In 1929, when I first became Governor I renewed the demand on behalf of the people that their water power resources be preserved and developed for their benefit. Again in 1929 the leaders of obstruction refused to do it. Finally, in 1930, they yielded. The Commission is now at work. And so the idea of public development of water power is marching on. It still has a long way to go before it can reach a successful conclusion. The next Legislature and Governor must first approve any plan brought in by the commission. You and I know that a Republican legislature and a Republican Governor will never look kindly upon a plan of public development. For years they have been openly committed to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the State to private corporations under a lease for a long term of years. We have only to look at the Republican platforms of the last eight years to see how definitely they have been committed to development by private companies and even this year, even after the appointment of the commission they still refuse to come out definitely for development by a state agency. Even their candidates, who have said practically nothing on this great subject of water power when they do speak of its development use indefinite and insincere language. Not a single one of them has come out for public development. Not a single one of them is interested in cheaper electricity for our homes. The

idea of public development will certainly get no sympathy from them.

The Democratic policy towards the great water power of this States does not contemplate the State going into the business of selling electricity to the homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate investor of his legitimate return; but it does seek first to regulate public utilities so that they will make a fair return and secondly to provide a great volume of cheap water made power to make lower rates possible, - and it proposes to control that water power continually and perpetually so that there can be no question that that plan can be carried out.

Take the battle for the eight-hour day and the forty-eight hour week for women and children in industry. Year after year this has appeared in our platform, - year after year we have asked the Legislature to give it to us, - year after year, they have refused. Finally, goaded by the force of public opinion and unable to resist the demand any longer they appointed a commission to look into the subject and thus delay it for another year. And when that year rolled by and even after voluminous hearings before the commission, the Republican legislative leaders still refused. They tried to deceive the people of the State by passing a law to which they gave the false title of a forty-eight hour law but which was really a forty-nine-and-a-half hour law. And so you see the march forward of that piece of social legislation was blocked and hindered and fought every foot of the way.

Take the battle to prohibit injunctions in strikes without preliminary hearing. For years the Democratic Party advocated that. For years the opposition leaders refused to give it to us. Stronger

and stronger became the force of public opinion and finally this year they retreated at last and passed it.

Take the long battle for the bond issue to provide decent accommodations for the unfortunate wards of the State. The State had long since committed itself to the policy of taking care of its insane but for many years it has neglected to provide physical facilities to keep pace with the great increase in the number of patients. In 1929 I asked them for a bond issue so that the State would no longer be ashamed of the overcrowding in its hospitals. They refused to give it to me. I called a conference in the summer of 1929 and asked the Republican leaders whether they would authorize a bond issue if I called a special session. Again they refused but instead said they would appropriate Eighteen Million Dollars out of current revenues to build hospitals. Finally in 1930, after I had appealed time and again to the people of the State by radio, the legislative leaders yielded and agreed to submit the proposal to you voters this fall. But it took two years to do it. If they had not been the party of obstruction, if they had been willing to go along with me, we could have saved that Eighteen Million Dollars out of current revenues and we could have used it easily this year either to reduce taxation or to provide more public works for the employment of citizens of our State who otherwise would be unemployed.

And so the battle line moves forward, - each year a little further but each year as a closely serried consistent army. Marching along with it as its chief ally has been public opinion helping it, urging it forward, laying down the barrage for it each year on Election Day.

And after all the one great issue in this campaign is whether that march forward shall stop now. The one great question to be decided on Election Day is whether the driving force of public opinion will desert the army of social progress and liberal thought and surrender to that army of Republican obstruction and blockade which has stood in its way for eight years.

These are the great matters that are of interest to the people of this State. They will always continue to be so. They are and can be the only true issues in this campaign and there is no possibility of the public of this State being confused on that.

With that in mind, I now come to New York City, with respect to which I need make no defense and need no defenders of my conduct as the Governor of this great State. I make no reply to those who for obvious political purposes have viciously and maliciously attempted to misrepresent my position or to those who without knowledge of or practice in government, have set themselves up as authorities on all questions, legal or otherwise. They have a personal end to accomplish from which no statement from me could divert them. With them it is that personal end and not any consideration of the well being of the State which controls.

I address myself to the fairminded citizens of this State who really believe in clean government every day in the year regardless of political considerations, but who also realize that government must be run in an orderly manner in accordance with well-established American principles not to please the personal views or ambitions of anyone. Fairminded people realize that there is a substantial difference between

the position of a Governor of this State acting pursuant to his oath of office and a candidate seeking that office on promises and prophecies. Anyone can make promises and prophecies but the oath of office compels any man fit to be Governor of this State to perform his duties according to his conscience and the law.

Without further evidence I am not convinced that the seven million people of New York City cannot handle their own affairs; and unless by such evidence I am so convinced, I will not interfere with their affairs. Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all judges in New York City are corrupt. Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all office holders in New York City are dishonest. I have refused a wholesale investigation of New York City to an Attorney General because the request made for it was admittedly based on the mere statement that, as they said, - "charges of office buying and misconduct by judges and other officials, are numerous, repeated and insistent." That type of charges has always existed and has by no means always been confined to New York City. Whenever I have asked for supporting evidence I have been informed that there was none or I have been denied access to it.

Wherever and whenever there have been presented to me facts which would warrant me in acting in an orderly manner and according to my oath of office, I have acted promptly and vigorously.

I continue and will continue to perform to the full my duty as the Governor of the Empire State of New York.

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The Army of Reaction Versus the Army of Liberal Thought and Progressive Action

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

BOROUGH OF BRONX, October 27, 1930.

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Albany government, the army of Liberal thought has been in control. The credit for this belongs primarily to the active leadership of a man who was the spokesman for the liberal forces, the man who from the days of the Constitutional Convention of 1915 led the forces of reconstruction throughout the State—former Governor Alfred E. Smith.

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Next in line is the regiment battling for adequate hospital facilities for the unfortunate wards of the State,—all of its units seeking to end once and for all the conditions of overcrowding that affect the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our fellow citizens.

Next in line is the regiment seeking a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers who understand that the crime and prison problems can be solved if we will recognize that the prisoners of the State are human beings and that the overwhelming majority of them will some day come back to our midst as part of our own communities.

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after year the demand from the people of the State became more insistent,—year after year the Republican leaders ignored it. In 1929, when I first became Governor I renewed the demand on behalf of the people that their water power resources be preserved and developed for their benefit. Again in 1929 the leaders of obstruction refused to do it. Finally, in 1930, they yielded. The Commission is now at work. And so the idea of public development of water power is marching on. It still has a long way to go before it can reach a successful conclusion. The next Legislature and Governor must first approve any plan brought in by the commission. You and I know that a Republican legislature and a Republican Governor will never look kindly upon a plan of public development. For years they have been openly committed to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the State to private corporations under a lease for a long term of years. We have only to look at the Republican platforms of the last eight years to see how definitely they have been committed to development by private companies and even this year, even after the appointment of the commission they still refuse to come out definitely for development by a State agency. Even their candidates, who have said practically nothing on this great subject of water power when they do speak of its development use indefinite and insincere language. Not a single one of them has come out for public development. Not a single one of them is interested in cheaper electricity for our homes. The idea of public development will certainly get no sympathy from them. The Democratic policy towards the great water power of this State does not contemplate the State going into the business of selling electricity to the homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate investor of his legitimate return; but it does seek first to regulate public utilities so that they will make a fair return and secondly to provide a great volume of cheap water-made power to make lower rates possible,—and it proposes to control that water power continually and perpetually so that there can be no question that that plan can be carried out.

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I continue and will continue to perform to the full my duty as the Governor of the Empire State of New York.

From the Papers of
Louis McHenry Howe

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

HUNTS POINT PALACE
BRONX, NEW YORK CITY.

OCTOBER 27, 1930.

Geo. A. Glendon, Jr.
THE LAW REPORTERS
120 BROADWAY
NEW YORK CITY
TEL. RECTOR 0728 & 0432

ADDRESS OF
GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

HUNTS POINT PALACE
BRONX, NEW YORK CITY

- - - -

OCTOBER 27, 1930

9:30 PM.

(The Governor came on the platform amidst loud cheers, ringing of bells and the blowing of horns, with prolonged applause.)

A VOICE: "Three cheers for the next Governor."
(applause prolonged)

CHAIRMAN: We are on the air, so please keep quiet.

A VOICE: "Three cheers for our next President."
(applause prolonged)

CHAIRMAN: Well now, if you will curb your enthusiasm, it won't be but a very few minutes more before you will have a chance to listen to the Governor. * * *

(After the introduction by the Chairman of the Governor, the audience went wild in their cheers and applause for more than a minute).

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GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: Mr. Chairman: my Friends: I am awfully glad to come back to the Bronx, and it really touches my heart to have your Chairman tell me that there is love and affection in the Bronx for me. I have just returned, as you know, from a somewhat strenuous trip throughout the state, a trip during which I have discussed in the large cities, in the small cities, in the little villages, and at the cross roads, problems of government. I have been speaking of fundamental matters

of administration at Albany, - and I have been discussing the forward march which the Government of the State has been making. And I have been pointing out not only the progress made, but I have been pointing out the obstacles that have been met with during these past two years, and indeed over a long period of the last eight years.

Tonight, I want to talk to you on the subject of war - a battle between two great armies: for, in any government, in any nation, at any time, from long before the days of ancient Greece down to the present, there have been two armies lined up facing each other in constant mortal combat. And on one side is the army of reaction, of doing nothing, of special privilege; and on the other, is the army of liberal thought and progress. (applause-prolonged)

Now I go back many, many years: In my political experience, I go back to these many years when the Government of the State of New York was dominated by the army of reaction, -- the days when, year after year, went by and no progressive legislation was placed on our statute books, and the actual methods of administering the government remained archaic and out-of-date.

Year after year, in those days, the government of the State grew in size only, -- grew with the growth of population, but grew without any plan or system whatsoever. Function was added to function; bureau to bureau and the net result was a scattered, uncoordinated mass -- (I was going to say mess) - (laughter) - of government machinery that was functioning inefficiently, and in most cases only for political or partisan purposes.

Now, we in the State of New York, have been very fortunate that during these past 8 years the old supremacy of the army of reaction has been overthrown. For eight years, under the progressive leadership of the executive powers in Albany, the Army of Liberal thought has been in control. The credit for that, as we all know, and as history will write, belongs primarily to the active leadership of a man who was the spokesman for liberal forces, -- the man who was the spokesman for the liberal forces, -- the man who from the days of the Constitutional Convention, way back in 1915, led the forces of reconstruction throughout the State -- former Governor Alfred E. Smith. (applause-prolonged)

I like to visualize this long struggle as a contest between two armies. Every foot of the way, we have had warfare -- sometimes open, sometimes hidden, - but all through these years the army which Governor Smith

and I have lead has been sniped at and shelled and obstructed by the legislative leaders who captained the opposing forces. I don't have to remind you people how bitterly all of the measures for Government reorganization, for social legislation, for the new measures to take care of new conditions, have been opposed in the Legislative Halls in Albany, by the Republican leadership, and how the Republican leaders in many skirmishes have seemingly and on the surface proclaimed that there was no battle at all, but have secretly and under cover sought to defeat the proposals at the polls.

Now, it is a noteworthy fact that in the history of our state, the army of liberal thought has been able to maintain the offensive, to carry the battle to their enemies with success year after year.

Well, what is the reason for it? It seems to me that it is because the overwhelming majority of voters in this state, recognize the fact that the war in the cause of liberal thought must, if successful, be carried on by an army fighting a continuous battle over a wide front, rather than by a series of regiments, each fighting on its own front without any relationship to all the other regiments.

I do not have to ask you what army you belong to. You have given proof -- year after year -- of your desire to continue in the progressive ranks, -- clear proof that you will continue to oppose any advance or attack by the worn out forces of reaction.

Now, what I want to keep before you is this picture of a united army. What are the regiments which compose it? Each one along the miles of battle front is a regiment of economic thought in itself, each one carried with it the great force and strength of social approval and the commendation of intelligent public opinion. (applause) Each one of these regiments is armed and reinforced with the double determination to advance on its own front, and at the same time to help the regiments on either side to advance with it.

Let me call the roll of these regiments: Here, on one plank, is the regiment of liberal labor legislation, -- statute after statute providing more protection, more adequate division of the fruits of business and industry for the laboring men, women and children of the State. Better factory conditions, - shorter hours for both men and women, comprehensive workmen's compensation for accidents and industrial diseases, stricter

enforcement of protective laws, careful factory inspection.

Do you belong to that regiment? Why, it is a unit in the vast army that every year makes a definite gain of ground. Opposed to this unit are the historic forces of blockade in Albany, -- never ready to suggest anything new, -- always two or three or a dozen years late in recognizing the public demand for enlightened advance.

Next in line, is the regiment that battles for adequate hospital facilities for the unfortunate wards of the state -- all of its units seeking to end once and for all the conditions of overcrowding that affect the day by day existence of fifty-five thousand of our fellow-citizens. -- 12,000 more human beings than we have got proper accommodations for.

And next in line is the regiment seeking to have a decent prison and correctional policy for the State. Here too are those growing numbers that understand that crime and prison problems can be solved if we will recognize that the prisoners of the state are human beings (applause)-- if we recognize that the overwhelming majority of these prisoners will some day come back to our midst as a part and parcel to our own communities.

Then comes that splendid regiment of men and women who have recently won the notable victory in behalf of old age security against want (applause-prolonged) -- a regiment, my friends, that has won its first great battle, but is not content with that victory, and is seeking to gain additional ground. (applause)

And now we come, on this battle front, to two great regiments, recruited from all over the state, on the farms and in the cities, -- regiments composed of men and women who are fighting to end the excessive and exorbitant rates for electricity in the homes, for telephones, and for other utilities, -- people who are fighting for a great principle in behalf of this generation, and all the generations to come. (applause-prolonged)

And with them too, are those millions who are interested in, and understand the drive that we are making for the development of our own water power resources by a state agency. (applause)

And next in line, come other hundreds of thousands of our state, who live in the rural communities,

scattered from one end of the State to the other. People who are glad of the recent victory that relieves them from unequal and overpowering taxation, -- people who appreciate the great strides that have been made in the study of their agricultural and farm problems, and who want the same leadership continued. (applause)

And, standing next to them, right alongside, shoulder to shoulder are their brethren from the great centers of population; those of us, - those millions from the congested areas, battling for more light and more air in their living quarters, proud of the victory that was accomplished when the multiple dwellings law was signed by me, and hoping to accomplish still more in their struggle for decent, sanitary and reasonable living conditions. (applause)

And then another regiment: - the millions that approve of and want an extension of the vast program of parks for the health and recreation of the citizens of the state, - the people who go to Jones Beach and Bear Mountain, and the other great playgrounds throughout the length and breadth of the state.

Next in line come those who want a continuation of that splendid system of educational assistance that has been developed in Albany in the past few years. Think of it, in 10 years, a rise in expenditure for education from \$10,000,000 to \$100,000,000!-- (applause) Is it worth it? I think so. (applause)

And then, next in line, we come to the regiment of the appreciative users of that splendid system of new highways and new bridges that cover the State of New York like a net.

Finally, the regiment of those who want a continuation of the health measures, the extension of public health work, under the leadership of the State and extending to every corner of every city, and of every rural community; the building up, for example, of the State-owned Spa at Saratoga Springs for the benefit of our citizens; (applause) the work for the cripples, for the blind, for the deaf, for injured workmen. (applause)

I could go on and tell you the names of a dozen more of these regiments that make up our battle-front.

Mile after mile of these regiments are holding that battle front -- that battle front of liberal thought and progressive government. Every regiment, let me repeat, has during these past 8 years been gaining ground slowly, but surely, and the advance could not have been possible unless the whole army, made up of these regiments, had been continuously fighting all along the line, not as individual units, but as a compact whole. (applause)

The principles, my friends, for which these regiments have been fighting affect all the people of all the state, -- rich and poor, country and city, men, women and children.

And, opposed to this far-flung army stand those forces of inertia, of reaction, of conservative opposition to the adoption of anything new, under the leadership of those same gentlemen who to-day, and for generations past, are in control of the Republican party. Let me repeat here what I have so often said, that it is the leadership and not the rank and file of that party which we oppose. It is today, as it has been for a generation past in the State of New York, a leadership of defeatism, a leadership of complete misapprehension of either the public will, or the public good. (applause)

It is a leadership based either on the ignorance of the trend of the time, or an unwillingness to give credit to those who have sponsored and labored for all of these progressive measures.

You and I know of that opposition, -- you and I know how inch by inch, foot by foot, it has been beaten back slowly but positively. You can take each and every regimental unit that I have been talking about -- the history of one is the history of all. Pick them out at random.

Take the battle over water power for instance: Ever since Governor Smith went to Albany, each and every

year he tried to get the Legislature to start a plan for the development of the water power resources of the State by a state agency for the benefit of the householders of the state. Year after year the Republican leaders refused to do it. Year after year, the demand from the people of the State became more insistent -- year after year the Republican leaders ignored it.

In 1929, when I first became Governor, I renewed that demand on behalf of the people that their own water power resources be preserved and developed for their benefit. Again in 1929, the leaders of obstruction refused to do it.

Finally, this year, they gave in. The Commission that they authorized is now at work. And so the idea of public development of water power has started its advance. But it has not yet won the victory. It still has a long way to go before it can reach the goal it seeks.

The next Legislature, and the next Governor must first approve any plan that is brought in by the Commission. You and I know that a Republican Legislature and a Republican Governor will never look kindly upon any plan of public development. (applause-prolonged) History, ancient and modern, proves that.

For years, they have been openly committed to the theory of turning over the water power resources of the state to private corporations under a lease for a long term of years.

We have only to look at the Republican platforms my friends for the past 8, 10, or 12 years, to see how definitely they have been committed to development by private companies; and even this year, - even after the appointment of the Commission they still refuse to come out definitely for development by a state agency. Why, even their candidates, who have said practically nothing on this great subject of water power, when they do speak of its development, they use indefinite and insincere language. Not one single one of them has come out in favor of public development of our water power. Not one single one of them is interested in cheaper electricity for our homes. Why, the idea of public development will

certainly get no sympathy from them. (applause)

Now, you people know that the Democratic policy towards the great water power of this state, does not contemplate the state going into the business of selling electricity in our homes, nor does it seek to deprive any legitimate return; but it does seek first to regulate public utility, or public utilities, so that they will make only a fair return, and secondly to provide a great volume of cheap water power to make lower rates possible, -- and it proposes to control that water power continually and perpetually so that there can be no question that that plan can be carried out. (applause)

Take another example: Take the battle for the eight-hour day, and the 48 hour week for women and children in industry. Year after year this has appeared in our platform -- going way back to the days when I was first in the Senate of the State -- 19 years ago -- this policy has appeared in our platform, -- year after year, we have asked the Legislature to give it to us, -- year after year they have refused.

Finally, goaded by the force of public opinion, and unable to resist the any longer the demand, they appointed a Commission to look into the subject, and thus delay it for another year. And when that year rolled by, and even after thousands of pages of hearings before the commission, the Republican legislature still refused to do anything. They tried to deceive the people of the State by passing a law, to which they gave the pretty, but false title, of a "forty-eight hour law"; but a law that was in reality nothing more than a forty-nine-and-a-half hour law.

So you see that the march forward of that piece of social legislation was blocked, hindered and fought in every way possible.

Take that great battle of labor to prohibit injunctions in strikes without preliminary hearings: For years the Democratic Party advocated that. For years the opposition leaders refused to have anything to do with it. Stronger and stronger became the force of public opinion and finally, at last this year they retreated and put it through.

Take finally this question of the long battle for the bond issue -- the bond issue to provide decent accommodations for our unfortunate wards of the State: Why, the state had long since committed itself -- 50 years ago -- to the policy of taking care of the insane, but for many years it neglected to provide physical facilities to keep pace with the great increase in the number of our patients.

In 1929, I asked the Republican leadership for a bond issue so that the State would no longer be ashamed of the overcrowding of its hospitals. They refused to give it to me. I called a conference in the Summer of 1929, and asked the Republican leaders whether they would authorize a bond issue if I called a special session. Again they refused. But instead, they said they would appropriate \$18,000,000 out of current tax revenues to build hospitals.

Well, I had to take it. It was the best I could get. And finally, this year -- 1930 -- after I had appealed time and time again to the people of the State to make themselves heard -- and they had made themselves heard -- then the legislative leaders agreed to submit the proposal this fall. But it took two years to get by. And if they had not been the party of obstruction -- if they had been willing to go along with me last year, -- well, we could have saved that \$18,000,000 out of current revenues, and we could have used it easily this year, either to reduce our taxes, or to use it to provide for public works for the employment of the citizens of our state who are now out of work. (applause-prolonged)

So my friends, the battle line is moving forward, -- each year a little further forward, -- but each year as a closely serried consistent army. Marching along with that army, as its chief ally has been public opinion helping it, urging it forward, laying down the barrage for it every election day.

And after all, the one great issue in this campaign is whether that march forward shall stop or not. The one great question to be decided a week from tomorrow is whether the great driving force of that public opinion will desert the army of social progress and liberal thought

(applause) -- whether public opinion will surrender to that army of Republican obstruction, and blockade that has stood in its way for 8 years. I know what the answer is going to be. (applause)

These are the great matters that are of interest to the people of the state of New York. They will always continue to be the great matters. They are, and they only can be the true issues in this campaign, and there is no possibility of the public of this State being confused as to that. (applause)

New York City issue

With that in mind, I now come down to New York City from up-state (applause-prolonged) - to New York City with respect to which I need make no defense (applause-prolonged) with respect to which I need no defense and need no defenders of my conduct as Governor of this State. (applause-prolonged)

I make no reply to those who for obvious political purposes have viciously and maliciously attempted to misrepresent my position or to those who without knowledge of or practice in government, have set themselves up as authorities (applause) on all questions, legal or otherwise. (applause-prolonged)

Those people have a personal end to accomplish from which no statement from me could divert them. (applause) With those people, it is that personal end, and not any consideration of the well being of their state which controls.

I address myself to the fairminded citizens of this State, who really believe in clean government every day of the year, in every part of the state, regardless of political considerations; (applause) but those fairminded citizens who also realize that government must be run in an orderly manner, and in accordance with well established American principles (applause-prolonged) (bells ringing, whistling and hurrahs) - a government run not to please the personal views or ambitions of anyone. Fairminded people realize that there is a substantial difference between the position of a Governor of this state acting in pursuance of his oath of office, and a candidate seeking that office

on promises. Anyone can make promises and prophecies, but the oath of office compels any man fit to be Governor of this State to perform his duties according to his conscience and the law. (applause-prolonged; bells and horns blowing).

And so, without further evidence, I am not convinced that 7,000,000 people of New York City cannot handle their own affairs; (applause) and unless by such evidence, I am so convinced, I will not interfere in their affairs. (applause-prolonged - horns blowing and bells ringing)

Without sufficient evidence, I have refused to believe that all judges in New York City are corrupt. (applause) Without sufficient evidence I have refused to believe that all office holders in New York City are dishonest. I have refused a wholesale investigation of New York City to an Attorney-General because the request made for it was admittedly based on the mere statement that, as they said: - "charges of office buying and misconduct by judges and other officials * * * are numerous, repeated and insistent." That type of charges has always existed and has by no means always been confined to New York City. (applause-prolonged) And whenever I have asked for supporting evidence, I have been informed that there was none, or I have been denied access to it. (applause-prolonged)

Wherever, and whenever there have been presented to me facts which would warrant me in acting in an orderly manner and according to my oath of office, I have acted promptly and vigorously. (applause)

I continue, and will in the days to come continue to perform to the full my duty as Governor of the Empire State of New York. (applause-prolonged for more than a minute).

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