
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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Jamaica, NY - Campaign Speech

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

JAMAICA HIGH SCHOOL, JAMAICA, L. I.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCT. 29, 1930.

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Among the many new problems that are being faced by students of government and also by millions of personally affected citizens, none is more important than that of the sudden, overwhelming change of a farming community into a full-fledged city, in the course of less than one generation.

Yet that is what has happened in Queens, in some of the out-lying parts of Brooklyn and in some of the nearer parts of Nassau County. Where even ten or fifteen years ago there were nothing but farms in this area there are today thousands upon thousands of homes. Country roads have been replaced by city streets; wells have been replaced by a metropolitan water system. Rapid transit, sewers, electric light and power; stores, industrial plants and great buildings replace the growing crops; and land worth a few hundred dollars an acre now brings its hundreds and even thousands by the front foot.

To me the marvelous change which has occurred in this area under our very eyes is one of the most vitally interesting stories of our whole American civilization, an epic which some day will be set side by side with the epic of the development of the Great West. That this splendid growth has gone forward by leaps and bounds each year is in itself a tribute to the fine spirit and the progressive action of the men and women that make up the population of Queens and of Kings.

Yet I realize well that these marvelous changes, this overnight doubling of population has brought with it many problems which would not have arisen if the growth had been less rapid. I realize full well that while values have risen greatly, the actual physical needs of these new communities have been difficult for the home-owner to meet -- and when I say home-owner that word represents the great majority of the people who live here. It is, of course, a fact that residents of Queens and of the outlying parts of Brooklyn are just as much a part of the city government of New York City as if they lived in Manhattan or the nearer parts of Brooklyn and their governmental problems are, therefore, primarily city problems. Nevertheless, any fairminded person realizes that the travel of many millions of people to and from the central parts of New York City places a heavy burden on these newer outlying parts, a burden which is out of all proportion either to their population or to their means.

Furthermore, there is the undoubted fact that geography itself has created an unforeseen situation. Not only people from the heart of New York City but also thousands of other people from the rest of the State of New York, the Hudson River Valley, and all the communities of up-state New York, people from New Jersey and Connecticut, and indeed almost from every state in the Union are passing in greater numbers than ever before through Queens and Brooklyn on their way to and from the nation's playgrounds of Long Island.

The broad question is presented; should the local taxpayers, the home owners of Queens and Brooklyn be the only people to foot the bill for the great avenues of transportation which are used not only

by themselves but by millions of other people?

You and I know that the State itself has recognized its opportunity to serve millions of people by creating a vast system of parks and parkways both on the north and the south shores of Long Island. The construction of these parks and parkways is nearing completion and already millions of people are using these playgrounds provided by the State. The southern parkway is already in constant use and work on the northern parkway will soon begin.

It is because I, from personal experience and personal observation, have become interested in the solution of the problem of ways of getting to and from Long Island that I started sometime ago the investigations and hearings for the purpose of working out a comprehensive and definite plan. I am glad that progress is being made and I want to say right here and now that I feel that the state owes an obligation to bear at least some of the burden of making the through highways equal to the tasks of carrying the traffic, most of which originates outside of these new areas of homes.

Put it another way. The average community in this state recognizes its obligation to maintain avenues and boulevards for through travel for its own citizens and for visitors, but at the same time its own citizens constitute by far the greater part of the people who use these avenues. Here in Queens and in the outlying parts of Brooklyn, however, these avenues are used and will for all time to come be used far more by those who are not residents of the territory traversed than by the inhabitants of that territory itself. Furthermore, one of the principal reasons for this huge volume of travel lies in the development

of the Long Island system of parks by the state government. There is an added reason why the state itself has an obligation to help build these arteries.

I am using this example of the state's duty to the individual community not only because it very directly affects you in your individual lives and in the maintenance of your property, but also because in this lies a lesson of the relationship between the state and all of the local subdivisions of government. In this case we are concerned with five parties in interest: at the top, the State; then the Long Island Park Commission, which is one of the actual causes of the great volume of traffic; third, the city government itself; fourth, the borough governments in Queens and Kings, and, finally, the individual taxpayers whose property is being taken or is being affected by heavy levies upon it.

At the present time, as you know, the representatives of the state are conferring with the representatives of the city, and the next step will be the presentation of a definite program to me in Albany, outlining the actual methods for assistance by the State. Then will come the necessary legislation, and I hope that the good people of Queens will send to Albany, Senators and Assemblymen who will be ready and willing to work with the administration in Albany toward this great and which so vitally affects all of you.

While I am in Queens I want to say a few words to the citizens of Nassau County who are listening in over the radio. Why is it that partisan newspapers go to the extreme length of printing not untruths but what is even worse - half truths. Why is it that some candidates

have to resort to the same low tactics? For instance, Republican candidates and Republican newspapers in Nassau and Suffolk counties are, I am told, telling the public that the Governor of the State deliberately and apparently without cause, vetoed a bill to establish a state normal and training school on Long Island for the training of teachers. That, of course, is on their part deliberate intent to defraud, because they stop there and do not tell the very obvious and very proper reason for the veto of the bill by me.

First of all, the Board of Regents, of whom eleven out of twelve are Republicans, did not recommend the building of a normal school on Long Island, and further, the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Graves, who is also a Republican, did not recommend the building of a normal school on Long Island.

Secondly, - and this is undoubtedly the reason which actuated these gentlemen, - the state at the present time has in the neighborhood of five thousand qualified teachers who are out of work -- teachers who are looking for jobs in the public schools of the state. I would be acting contrary to the whole conception of my oath of office if I were to approve the building of more normal schools at this time, resulting in adding to the surplus of teachers which already exists. I am, in other words, trying to protect the younger generation in this state. I am trying to prevent an increase in the existing surplus of teachers. When the present over-supply is taken up, then it will be right and proper to consider the question of a new normal school on Long Island.

Right in line with this same campaign of telling half truths, of trying to defame people's actions and their characters just before election, is the very definite rumor which comes to me that in this very Borough of Queens it is proposed at the eleventh hour to circulate among the Americans of German descent who live in this Borough, all sorts of allegations that I am or have been unfriendly to the German people. It is a fact that from the 3rd of April, 1917, to the eleventh of November, 1918, I was at war with Germany, as every other American was. It is also a fact that when the war ended the German people became again my friends, as they should be of every good American. I use this merely as an example to show the type of campaign which is being conducted, by the spreading of untruth upon untruth and by the spreading of some innuendoes or half truths, which is even more despicable.

But I can afford to be charitable with the newspaper editors and local politicians who think only of their own immediate benefit and are willing to do anything to win votes by stooping to misstatements, villification and deception. I can afford to be generous because they are only following an example which was set for them by the assembled talent which drew up the Republican state platform, about a month ago in Albany. In spite of defeat after defeat in this state the Republican leadership has not yet understood that stating the truth pays and that stating the half-truth or stating falsehoods is always found out by the voters before election day and duly and adequately punished.

It is not necessary for me to refer to the many campaigns in which malignant false statements were made about my predecessor in office, former Governor Alfred E. Smith. It is this inability of the Republican leadership to learn from the lessons of the past that has been largely responsible for the turning of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican voters to the Democratic candidates. It is for the same reason of disgust at deception that hundreds of thousands of enrolled Republicans, fine men and women who belong to the rank and file of that party, all cast their ballots for Democratic candidates on Election Day.

The brilliant analysis of the Republican State Platform of 1930 given by Governor Smith in the speech in which he nominated me at Syracuse is still fresh in people's minds. No one could dissect that platform better than he. It remains only for me to hit again a few of the high points of a document which is so full of insincerity, so full of plain unadulterated attempt to deceive that not one voter out of a hundred thousand will be taken in by it.

Let me illustrate - the Republican Platform says on the subject of State prisons.

"Three prison riots which took a toll of fourteen lives and the assassination of two prison officials, is part of the Democratic record in prison administration." On that same line of argument President Hoover must have been responsible, for the riots in the Federal prisons. Don't let us talk tommyrot.

Everybody knows that there were two principal causes of the prison riots. First, the complete failure of Republican

Legislatures for a quarter of a century to give us new prisons to take the place of antiquated, unhealthy dungeons, which were built one hundred years ago. And the other great reason was that the Republican Legislature refused to face courageously the problems presented by a new type of young prisoners who were being sent to jail for life under a series of laws that bear the name of the present Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Senator Baumes.

Then the Republican Platform goes on and tells what its framers knew to be one hundred per cent false; they say "No effort, however, has been made by the present administration to deal adequately with this subject, despite the fact that the State must in the near future spend many millions of dollars for construction and reconstruction of prisons."

What about the splendid prison progress which I initiated without any help from the Republican leaders whatsoever over one year ago - a program calling for the expenditure of Thirty Million Dollars in the next three years, in order to give every prisoner of the State adequate, sanitary and modern living conditions, fresh air and exercise, education and manual training, and segregation of the different types of prisoners? Who do they say initiated the idea of the Parole Board which is now functioning, after I made a long and strenuous fight to have it created last winter? Who do they think initiated the Prison Survey Commission, the Prison Labor Commission, the cantonments of prisoners which are helping to build our State roads, the increase in allowances for food and clothing for the prisoners, the increase in the number and the improvement in the training of the prison guards and the raising of their pay?

How honest, how honorable is it for the Republican Platform to say what it does when every man, woman and child in this state knows that the Republican Legislature had to be kicked and goaded and prodded by me, in order to get any action at all.

Then comes that priceless statement in the Republican Platform about Water Power. First they say:

"We promise a speedy solution of the problem of developing the water power resources of the state, which shall be based on sound economic principles." I sometimes wonder if my old friend, Mr. Edmund Machold, the directing genius of the leading power combines in this state, and at the same time the owner of the Republican State organization, seriously thinks that he is fooling the electorate of this state, either up-state or down-state, when he hands out a joyous line like that. We all know that development on what he calls "sound economic principles" means to him and his fellow leaders just one thing - development by his company. He and his party have both been committed to that principle for the last twelve years.

Compare the Republican statement that they are in favor of development on "sound economic principles" which means exactly zero, with the consistent Democratic principle that the state-owned water powers must and shall be developed by the state itself and retained for all time in the actual physical possession of the state and developed solely in order to insure low priced electricity for the people of the state, without any inordinate or unreasonable profits to any corporation.

Then the Republican Platform goes on with what is almost the last straw. It says: "At the last session of the Legislature the Republican majority on its own initiative did what it could to take this vexatious question out of politics by authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission, etc. etc."

Let me ask you this simple question: if a horse balks and simply declines for hour after hour to go where its driver wants him to go and finally under spur and lash makes up his mind to go where the driver wants him to go, does that horse do so on his own initiative? Perhaps I should have - I know I should have said elephant instead of horse.

Every school child in the state knows that the Republican majority in the last legislature finally yielded after Governor Smith and I, backed up by the whip and spur of public indignation and by public insistence, forced those leaders to give in.

And here is the best one of all. A statement so deliberately and outrageously, so one hundred per cent false that it is driving tens of thousands of disgusted Republicans to vote for me next Tuesday. It refers to the proposed legislation brought in by the Republican legislative leaders relating to the control of public utility corporations. It says: "Some of the most important bills were vetoed by the Governor at the request of the corporations affected." An answer by me to that straight falsehood is wholly unnecessary. As a matter of fact the bills referred to are the same ones which when introduced were opposed by some of the utility companies with such effect that the Republican leaders themselves not merely removed all the teeth of

these bills but rendered them so absurd that their introducers themselves declined to have anything to do with them. I vetoed them for the very simple reason that to put them on the statute books would cost the state several hundred dollars in unnecessary printing bills and would only have made our ineffective system of regulation more ineffective.

I could go through this Platform, item for item, if time permitted. It is literally filled either with half truths or untruths, with abuse and with the taking of credit where no credit is due.

What is the use? The same game has been tried year after year before this, and year after year Democratic majorities pile up. The people of this state are too intelligent to be taken in by the kind of propaganda and statements that might have been useful in 1830 when it took days and sometimes weeks to get information on the issues from one end of the state to the other. Our form of government is a success in this state because people know what is going on, and people are able to sift the true from the false. I have unbounded faith in the electorate of this state, and the nearer we get to Election Day the more confident I am that the voters in every section -- in the cities and on the farms -- will rebuke deception, will rebuke underhanded attacks and will support those who throughout the campaign in simple words have told the truth and told it cleanly.

From the Papers of
Louis Mc Henry Howe

ADDRESS BY:

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Delivered at

JAMAICA HIGH SCHOOL,

JAMAICA, L.I.

OCTOBER 29, 1930.

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WEDNESDAY EVENING

October 29, 1930

Speech by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt at Jamaica High School, Jamaica, Long Island.

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: Mr. Chairman, my friends in Queens: This is a great improvement on two years ago. At that time I spoke in a different school in Queens, and I had to climb the fire escape to get in! However, we got successfully up and successfully down and successfully through the following Tuesday!

I some times wish Queens weren't so big. It is so hard to cover the territory, and I'd like to cover the territory in Queens because it is not only one of the greatest boroughs, but is one of the greatest cities in itself in all the world. And it seems to me that among all of these new problems that modern civilization has brought to us students of government as well as the millions of people who are personally affected, to these people nothing is more important, more interesting, than this sudden and overwhelming change from a farming community of a generation ago into a full-fledged city in the course of just a few years. And yet, that is what happened in Queens, and some of the outlying parts of Brooklyn, the nearer parts of Nassau where ten or fifteen years ago there was nothing but farms -- and I can prove it because I can remember it! In this area are

thousands and thousands of the best thing in the world -- homes.

Country roads within my very distinct memory have been replaced by city streets. Old fashioned wells have been supplanted by a metropolitan water system. Rapid transit, sewer, electric light and power, stores, industrial plants, and great school buildings like this, they are replacing the growing crops and land that twenty years ago was worth only a couple of hundred dollars an acre, now brings its hundreds and even its thousands per front foot, and I wish I had guessed that twenty years ago! And to me this marvelous change that has come over this area literally under our own eyes, is one of the most vitally interesting stories of our whole American civilization. It seems to me that it is an epoch, this growth of the Borough of Queens, an epoch that some day will be set side by side and dramatized like the epoch of the development of the great west. That this splendid growth has gone forward by leaps and bounds each year is in itself, by itself, a tribute to the fine spirit and the progressive action of the men and women that make up the population of this part of the State of New York.

And yet, I realize perfectly well that these wonderful changes, this overnight doubling of our population has brought with it a great many problems that would not have

arisen if the growth had been less rapid. I realize full well that while values have greatly risen, the actual physical needs of these new communities have been difficult for the home owner to meet, and when I say "home owner", that word represents the great majority of the people who live here, and I am proud of it.

Now, I suppose it is a fact that the residents of Queens and the outlying part of Brooklyn are just as much a part of the city government of the City of New York as if they lived in Manhattan or the nearer parts of Brooklyn, and their government problems are therefore primarily city problems. But any fair-minded person who has looked into the situation at all realizes that the travel, the moving to and fro of millions of people to and from the central parts of New York City places a heavy burden on these newer outlying parts, a burden that is out of all proportion either to their population or to their means. And furthermore, there is the undoubted fact that geography itself, something that we weren't responsible for, has created an unforeseen situation. Not only people from the heart of New York City, but also thousands of other people from the rest of the State of New York, from the Hudson River Valley, from all over the communities of up-state New York, people from New Jersey, people from Connecticut, and indeed, people from every one of the other forty-six or forty-seven states of

the Union, are passing in greater number each year through Queens and Brooklyn on their way to and from the nation's playgrounds on Long Island.

Now, the broad question that is uppermost in all of our minds is this -- ought the local taxpayers, the home owners of Queens and Brooklyn be the only people to foot the bill for the great avenues of transportation? Ought they to be the only ones to foot the bill for transportation which is used not only by themselves but by millions of other people? Now, you and I know that the state itself, the government in Albany, has recognized the opportunity to serve millions of people in this great metropolitan area by creating a great system of parks and parkways both on the north and the south shores of Long Island. The construction of these parks and parkways is nearly completed, and already millions of people are using those playgrounds provided by the state. The Southern Parkway is already in constant use. The work on the northern parkway will begin soon.

I don't have to tell this audience or any other audience on Long Island of that great park development. I got a sort of a choky feeling the early part of August this year. A year before I had gone down to an unfinished project called Jones's Beach, an unfinished project where work was going on, where there were vast expanses of drifting

sand, and it got into my hair, and my ears, and my nose, and my eyes and stayed there for a week! I knew it must be an unfinished project. I couldn't visualize what it was going to be when it was finished. There it was, a great dream. This year in August I went back there. As I say, I got a choky feeling. There were somewhere around 75,000 people, men women and children, and those 75,000 people had plenty of room. The sands were dotted with them, but there was room for 75,000 more without any trouble at all, and those people were out getting close to the nature that God has given them, and I felt proud, not only of the State of New York that had done the job, the official end of it, but I felt proud of the magnificent response that the men and women and children of this great metropolitan area were making to this project, the way they were coming forward and using it with happy faces, drawing in health, and happiness, storing it up for the long, dark months of the winter time. And I said to myself then, "If there is anything I can do to keep on extending these great parks of Long Island, count on me to do it."

Now, it is because I from personal observation, from personal experience, became interested in the solution of this problem, of the ways of getting to and from the Jones's Beaches and the other places in Long Island that I started quite a long time ago the investigations and the

hearings for the purpose of working out a comprehensive and a definite plan. I am glad that progress has been made, and I want to say right here and now that I feel that the state owes an obligation to bear at least some of the burden of making the through highways equal to the tasks of carrying the traffic, most of which originates outside of these areas of new homes.

Put it another way. The average community in this state recognizes, of course, its obligation to maintain avenues, boulevards, and this new fangled term of arterial highways, whatever they call it, for through travel for their own citizens and for visitors. But at the same time, at the same time, its own citizens constitute in most communities in this state by far the greater part of the people who use these avenues.

But here in Queens and in the outlying parts of Brooklyn the situation is an entirely different one. These avenues are used and will be used for all time to come far more by those who are not residents of the territory traversed than by the inhabitants of their territory itself. And furthermore, one of the principal reasons for this huge volume of travel lies in the development of the Long Island system of parks by the state government itself, and that is an added reason why the state government itself has an obligation to the people of Queens to help build these arteries.

Action would have been got earlier if two gentlemen in Albany had been willing last winter to allow even to come out on the floor the bill introduced by Senator Kennedy (?). I gave him what is known as a special message on that bill to accelerate its way through the Legislature but he was told definitely, and I hope, politely, by Senator Hewitt and Assemblyman Hutchins that his bill didn't stand a Chinaman's chance at that session. In other words, we know perfectly well where to place the responsibility for the fact that nothing has been done in Albany yet.

Now, I am using these examples of the state's duty to the individual community not only because it very vitally and directly affects you and your individual lives, and in the maintenance of your property, but also because in this lies a lesson of the relationship between the state and all local subdivisions of government. In this case we are concerned with five parties in interest: At the top the State; then the Long Island Park Commission, which is one of the actual causes of the great volume of traffic; third, the city government itself; fourth, the borough governments in Queens and Kings, and finally, and by no means least, the individual taxpayer whose property is being taken or is being affected by heavy levies upon it.

And at the present time, as you know, the representatives of the State are conferring with the representatives

of the city, and the next step will be the presentation of a definite, concrete program to me in Albany outlining the actual needs for assistance by the State. Then will come, I trust, the necessary legislation, and I hope that the good people of Queens will send to Albany Senators and Assemblymen who will be ready and willing to work with the administration. And I will leave it to you to say which administration!

Now, while I am in Queens, but not so very far from the neighboring County of Nassau, I am going to ask your indulgence to let me speak for a few moments to the people of Nassau and Suffolk also, and to the people of Queens, about a problem that affects Long Island. Why? I wonder why it is that partisan newspapers go to the extreme length of printing not untruths, but what is even worse -- half truths. Why is it that some candidates have to resort to the same low tactics; for instance, Republican candidates and Republican newspapers in Nassau and Suffolk Counties are, I am told, telling the public that the Governor of this State deliberately and apparently without cause vetoed a bill to establish a state normal and training school on Long Island for the training of teachers.

You probably heard that line of talk. Now, that on their part is deliberate intent to defraud -- let's call it by its plain old-fashioned English name -- intent to defraud,

because they stopped there and don't tell the very obvious and very proper reason for the veto of the bill by me, and I was correct in vetoing the bill, and any Governor would have to veto the bill. Why?

First of all, because the Board of Regents in Albany -- by the way, eleven out of twelve are Republicans, although education is supposed to be non-partisan and non-political -- and further, the Commissioner of Education himself who is appointed by the Board of Regents, and strangely enough happens to be a Republican, too -- both the Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education failed utterly and wholly to recommend the building of a normal school on Long Island.

Did these papers and these local politicians mention that? Not so you'd notice it. And secondly, and this undoubtedly is the reason that actuated these august gentlemen, the State of New York at the present time has in the neighborhood of 5000 qualified school teachers who are out of work, teachers in this city and all over the state who are looking for jobs in the public schools at this moment. I would be acting contrary to the whole conception of my oath of office if I were to approve the building of more normal schools at this time, resulting in the adding to the surplus of school teachers which already exists. My friends, I am, in other words, trying to protect

the fathers and the mothers of boys and girls so that they will not put them into the teaching profession and then find that they can't get work. In other words, I am assuming a perfectly clear-cut economic policy that some government officials apparently overlook. I am trying to prevent an increase in the existing surplus of teachers, and when the present oversupply is taken up, then it will be right and wholly proper to consider the question of our new normal school on Long Island, and then I will be for it.

Right in line with this same campaign of telling half truths, trying to defame people's actions and their character just before election, there has come to me this afternoon the very definite rumor that in this very Borough of Queens it is proposed at the eleventh hour just before the election to circulate among the Americans of German descent who live in the Borough of Queens, all kinds of allegations that I am and have been unfriendly to the German people. That's easy. It is a fact that from the sixth day of April, 1917 to the 11th day of November, 1918, I was at war with Germany like every other American. And it is equally a fact that when the war ended the German people became again my friends as they should be the friends of every good American.

I use this merely as an example, and I could cite many of them, an example to show the type of campaign that

is being conducted by the spreading of untruth upon untruth, by the spreading of innuendos or half truths, which is even more to be despised.

But I can afford, my friends, to be charitable. I can afford to be charitable with the newspaper editors and the local politicians who think only of their own immediate benefit and are willing to do anything to win votes by stooping to misstatements, villification, etc. I can afford to be charitable with them and generous with them because after all, they are only following the example that was set for them by the assembled talent that drew up the Republican platform. In spite of defeat after defeat, year after year in this State, the Republican leadership has not yet understood that telling the truth pays; has not yet understood that stating the half truth or stating falsehoods is always found out by the voters before election day and is duly and adequately punished.

Now, it isn't necessary for me to refer to the many campaigns in which malignant, false statements were made about my beloved predecessor in office, Alfred E. Smith. But it merely serves to emphasize that it is this inability of the Republican leadership to learn from the lessons of the past that have been largely responsible for the turning of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican voters to the Democratic candidate, and it is for the same reason of

disgust at deception that hundreds of thousands of enrolled Republicans, fine men, fine women, who belong to the rank and file of that party all cast their ballots for Democratic candidates on election day.

The brilliant analysis of the Republican State platform of 1930 given by Governor Smith in the speech in which he nominated me for the Governorship at Syracuse is still fresh in people's minds. No one could dissect that platform better than he. It remains only for me to hit again a few of the high points of a document that is so full of insincerity, so full of plain, unadulterated attempt to deceive, that not one voter in 100,000 will be taken in by it.

Let me illustrate, just two or three short illustrations. The Republican platform says on the subject of State prisons: "Three prison riots which took a toll of fourteen lives and the assassination of two prison officials, is part of the Democratic record in prison administration." On that same line of argument, President Hoover must have been responsible for the riots in the Federal prisons. Don't let us talk tommyrot.

Everybody knows that there are two principal causes of the prison riots, not only in this State, but in other states and in the Federal prisons. First, the complete failure of the Legislature in this State, the complete failure of other legislative bodies, including the Congress of the

United States, for a quarter of a century past to give to us in this country new prisons to take the place of the antiquated, unhealthy, dungeons that were built one hundred years ago. And in this state of ours, the other great reason was that the Republican Legislature refused to face courageously the problems presented by a new type of young prisoner who are being sent to jail for life, to jail for life with no hope of ever getting out, sent there under a series of laws that bear the name of the present Republican candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Senator Caleb Baumes.

That is one example. And then the Republican platform goes on to say what its framers knew to be 100 per cent false. They say, "No effort, however, has been made by the present administration to deal adequately with this subject, despite the fact that the State must in the near future spend many millions of dollars for construction and reconstruction of prisons."

What about the splendid prison program? (A photographer snapped a flashlight picture of the Governor) That is part of it! (Laughter) And I will tell you why that shot was part of it. It is because that shot is a part of what they call nowadays publicity. And we won't get anywhere with the handling of this great subject of the young men in this state who are going to prison, most of them coming back into our midst into our communities, unless we get

the people of this state roused by publicity, and the way we are going to improve our prison situation is to have you people, men and women, take an interest in it and make yourselves heard in the halls of the Legislature in Albany.

Now, the Republican platform that said no effort was made by the administration -- what about the splendid prison program which I initiated without any help from the Republican leaders whatsoever over one year ago? A program calling for the expenditure of Thirty Million Dollars in these next three years, in order to give every prisoner of the State adequate, sanitary, modern living conditions, fresh air, exercise, decent sanitation, education, manual training, and the segregation of the different types of prisoners. Who do they say initiated the idea of the parole board that is now functioning after I had made a long and strenuous fight to have it created last winter? Who do they think initiated the prison survey commission, the prison labor commission, the cantonments of prisoners that are helping to build our state roads, the increase in the allowances for food, for clothing of prisoners, the increase in the number of and the improvement and the training of the prison guards, and the raising of their pay?

How honest, my friends, how honorable, is it for the Republican platform to say what it does when every man and

woman and child in this state knows that the Republican Legislature had to be kicked, and goaded, and prodded by me in order to get any action at all.

And then comes on top of that that priceless, that priceless statement in the Republican platform about water power. First they say: "We promise a speedy solution of the problem of developing the water power resources of the state, which shall be based on sound economic principles." I some times wonder, and I have known something about the politics of this state for twenty years, I some times wonder if my old friend, Mr. Edmund Machold, the directing genius of the leading power combine in this State, and at the same time the owner of the Republican State organization, seriously thinks that he is fooling the electorate of this State either up-State or down-State on the farms, or in the cities when he hands out a joyous lie like that?

Why, we all know that development on what he calls "sound economic principles" means to him and his fellow leaders just one thing -- development by his company. He and his partner have both been committed to that principle year after year for as long as I can remember.

And then compare the Republican statement that they are in favor of development on sound economic principles. That means exactly nothing at all. Compare that with the consistent Democratic principle that the State-owned water

powers must and shall be developed by the state itself, and retained for all time in the actual physical possession of the State itself, and developed solely in order to insure low priced electricity for the people of the State without any inordinate or unreasonable profit for any corporation.

I have been talking around the State, giving comparisons of the electric light bills of the householders of the State, comparisons of these electric light bills especially in some of these counties down here, Queens, Nassau, Westchester, comparing them with some of the other places in the State, Jamestown, New York, that runs its own municipal plant, the little town of Gouverneur, New York, where they have got their own little plant, and all those great cities just across the line in the Province of Ontario where the State develops its own water power, and I have been talking to the housewives of this State, telling them what they could get an electrified kitchen for if they lived somewhere else.

Why, we have been joking about it as we have gone around the country. I have been talking about all these different machines that the housewives can put into her kitchen -- electric cooking, electric refrigeration, irons, pots, pans, everything else run by electricity -- and not forgetting the waffle iron. Why, they have even threatened next year to take the star off our ticket as its emblem and

substitute the waffle iron!

And then the Republican platform goes on with what to me, is almost the last straw on the camel's back -- I mean the elephant's back. It says, "At the last session of the Legislature the Republican majority on its own initiative did what it could to take this vexatious question out of politics by authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission, etc., etc., etc."

Now, let me ask you this simple question, and again, I am going into the realm of natural history -- if a horse talks and simply declines for hour after hour to go where his driver wants him to go, and finally under the spur and the lash makes up his mind to go where his driver wants him to go, does that horse do so on his own initiative? Perhaps I am getting mixed with my natural history -- I should have, yes, I know I ought to have said elephant instead of horse. Why, my friends, every school child in this State of ours knows that the Republican majority in the last Legislature finally yielded after Governor Smith and I backed up by the whip and the spur of public indignation, the whip and the spur of public insistence, forced those leaders to surrender. Under their own initiative!

And here on this same subject, there is another straw, a statement so deliberately and outrageously, so one hundred per cent false that it is driving tens of thousands

of disgusted Republicans to vote for me next Tuesday. It refers to the proposed legislation of last winter that was brought in by these same Republican legislative leaders and referring to a control of public utility corporations, and the platform says, "Some of the most important bills were vetoed by the Governor at the request of the corporations affected."

Well, of course, an answer by me to that straight falsehood is wholly unnecessary. As a matter of fact, the bills referred to were the same ones which when introduced were opposed by some of the utility companies with such effect upstairs on the third floor of the legislative halls that the Republican leaders up there themselves, not merely removed all the teeth out of these bills, but made them so absurd that the introducers of the bills themselves declined to have anything to do with them. And then they came down to my desk and I looked them over, and I read them with care, and then I vetoed them, and you know why? I vetoed them for the very simple reason that to have put them on the statute books would have cost the State of New York \$200.00 or \$300.00 in unnecessary printing bills. And they would have added to our libraries, and would only have made our ineffective system of regulation more ineffective.

So I could go on through this platform item for

item if time permitted. It is literally filled either with half truths or untruths, with abuse, and with the taking of credit where no credit is due. Read it for yourselves.

But what's the use? The same game has been tried year after year before this, and year after year Democratic majorities pile up. The people of this State are too intelligent to be taken in by this kind of propaganda, and statements that might have been useful not in 1950 but in 1830, in 1830 when it took days and some times weeks to get information on the issues from Niagara Falls to Queens County. Our form of government, my friends, is a success in this State because people know what is going on, and people are able to sift the true from the false.

I have unbounded faith in the electorate of this State, and the nearer we got to election day, the more confident I am that the voters in every section in the cities and on the farms will rebuke deception, will rebuke underhanded attacks, and will support those who throughout the campaign in simple words have told the truth, and told it cleanly. (Applause)

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**The State's Duty to the People of Long Island—Park and Parkway
Developments—Misrepresentation of Republican Platform**

JAMAICA, October 29, 1930

P. 817

Among the many new problems that are being faced by students of government and also by millions of personally affected citizens, none is more important than that of the sudden, overwhelming change of a farming community into a full-fledged city, in the course of less than one generation.

Yet that is what has happened in Queens, in some of the outlying parts of Brooklyn and in some of the nearer parts of Nassau County. Where even ten or fifteen years ago there were nothing but farms in this area there are today thousands upon thousands of homes. Country roads have

been replaced by city streets; wells have been replaced by a metropolitan water system. Rapid transit, sewers, electric light and power; stores, industrial plants and great buildings replace the growing crops; and land worth a few hundred dollars an acre now brings its hundreds and even thousands by the front foot.

To me the marvelous change which has occurred in this area under our very eyes is one of the most vitally interesting stories of our whole American civilization, an epic which some day will be set side by side with the epic of the development of the Great West. That this splendid growth has gone forward by leaps and bounds each year is in itself a tribute to the fine spirit and the progressive action of the men and women that make up the population of Queens and of Kings.

Yet I realize well that these marvelous changes, this overnight doubling of population has brought with it many problems which would not have arisen if the growth had been less rapid. I realize full well that while values have risen greatly, the actual physical needs of these new communities have been difficult for the home-owner to meet—and when I say *home-owner* that word represents the great majority of the people who live here.

It is, of course, a fact that residents of Queens and of the outlying parts of Brooklyn are just as much a part of the city government of New York City as if they lived in Manhattan or the nearer parts of Brooklyn and their governmental problems are, therefore, primarily city problems. Nevertheless, any fair-minded person realizes that the travel of many millions of people to and from the central parts of New York City places a heavy burden on these newer outlying parts, a burden which is out of all proportion either to their population or to their means.

Furthermore, there is the undoubted fact that geography itself has created an unforeseen situation. Not only people from the heart of New York City but also thousands of other people from the rest of the State of New York, the Hudson River Valley, and all the communities of up-state New York, people from New Jersey and Connecticut, and indeed almost from every State in the Union are passing in greater numbers than ever before through Queens and Brooklyn on their way to and from the nation's playgrounds of Long Island.

The broad question is presented; should the local taxpayers, the home owners of Queens and Brooklyn be the only people to foot the bill for the great avenues of transportation which are used not only by themselves but by millions of other people?

You and I know that the State itself has recognized its opportunity to serve millions of people by creating a vast system of parks and parkways both on the north and the south shores of Long Island. The construction of these parks and parkways is nearing completion and already millions of people are using these playgrounds provided by the State. The southern parkway is already in constant use and work on the northern parkway will soon begin.

It is because I, from personal experience and personal observation, have become interested in the solution of the problem of ways of getting to and from Long Island that I started some time ago the investigations and hearings for the purpose of working out a comprehensive and definite plan. I am glad that progress is being made and I want to say right here and now that I feel that the State owes an obligation to bear at least some of the burden of making the through highways equal to the tasks of carrying the traffic, most of which originates outside of these new areas of homes.

Put it another way. The average community in this State recognizes its obligation to maintain avenues and boulevards for through travel for its own citizens and for visitors, but at the same time its own citizens constitute by far the greater part of the people who use these avenues. Here in Queens and in the outlying parts of Brooklyn, however, these avenues are used and will for all time to come be used far more by those who are not residents of the territory traversed than by the inhabitants of that territory itself. Furthermore, one of the principal reasons for this huge volume of travel lies in the development of the Long Island system of parks by the State

Government. There is an added reason why the State itself has an obligation to help build these arteries.

I am using this example of the State's duty to the individual community not only because it very directly affects you in your individual lives and in the maintenance of your property, but also because in this lies a lesson of the relationship between the State and all of the local subdivisions of government. In this case we are concerned with five parties in interest: at the top the State; then the Long Island Park Commission, which is one of the actual causes of the great volume of traffic; third, the city government itself; fourth, the borough governments in Queens and Kings; and, finally, the individual taxpayers whose property is being taken or is being affected by heavy levies upon it.

At the present time, as you know, the representatives of the State are conferring with the representatives of the city, and the next step will be the presentation of a definite program to me in Albany, outlining the actual methods for assistance by the State. Then will come the necessary legislation, and I hope that the good people of Queens will send to Albany, Senators and Assemblymen who will be ready and willing to work with the administration in Albany toward this great end which so vitally affects all of you.

While I am in Queens I want to say a few words to the citizens of Nassau County who are listening in over the radio. Why is that partisan newspapers go to the extreme length of printing not untruths but what is even worse—half truths. Why is it that some candidates have to resort to the same low tactics? For instance, Republican candidates and Republican newspapers in Nassau and Suffolk counties are, I am told, telling the public that the Governor of the State deliberately and apparently without cause, vetoed a bill to establish a State normal and training school on Long Island for the training of teachers. That, of course, is on their part deliberate intent to defraud, because they stop there and do not tell the very obvious and very proper reason for the veto of the bill by me.

First of all, the Board of Regents, of whom eleven out of twelve are Republicans, did not recommend the building of a normal school on Long Island, and further, the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Graves, who is also a Republican, did not recommend the building of a normal school on Long Island.

Secondly—and this is undoubtedly the reason which actuated these gentlemen—the State at the present time has in the neighborhood of 5,000 qualified teachers who are out of work—teachers who are looking for jobs in the public schools of the State.

I would be acting contrary to the whole conception of my oath of office if I were to approve the building of more normal schools at this time, resulting in adding to the surplus of teachers which already exists. I am, in other words, trying to protect the younger generation in this State. I am trying to prevent an increase in the existing surplus of teachers. When the present over-supply is taken up, then it will be right and proper to consider the question of a new normal school on Long Island.

Right in line with this same campaign of telling half truths, of trying to defame people's actions and their characters just before election, is the very definite rumor which comes to me that in this very Borough of Queens it is proposed at the eleventh hour to circulate among the Americans of German descent who live in this Borough, all sorts of allegations that I am or have been unfriendly to the German people. It is a fact that from the 3d of April, 1917, to the 11th of November, 1918, I was at war with Germany, as every other American was. It is also a fact that when the war ended the German people became again my friends, as they should be of every good American. I use this merely as an example to show the type of campaign which is being conducted, by the spreading of untruth upon untruth and by the spreading of some innuendoes or half truths, which is even more despicable.

But I can afford to be charitable with the newspaper editors and local politicians who think only of their own immediate benefit and are willing to do anything to win votes by stooping to misstatements, vilification and

deception. I can afford to be generous because they are only following an example which was set for them by the assembled talent which drew up the Republican State Platform, about a month ago in Albany. In spite of defeat after defeat in this State the Republican leadership has not yet understood that stating the truth pays and that stating the half-truth or stating falsehoods is always found out by the voters before election day and duly and adequately punished.

It is not necessary for me to refer to the many campaigns in which malignant false statements were made about my predecessor in office, former Governor Alfred E. Smith. It is this inability of the Republican leadership to learn from the lessons of the past that has been largely responsible for the turning of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican voters to the Democratic candidates. It is for the same reason of disgust at deception that hundreds of thousands of enrolled Republicans, fine men and women who belong to the rank and file of that party, all cast their ballots for Democratic candidates on election day.

The brilliant analysis of the Republican State Platform of 1930 given by Governor Smith in the speech in which he nominated me at Syracuse is still fresh in people's minds. No one could dissect that platform better than he. It remains only for me to hit again a few of the high points of a document which is so full of insincerity, so full of plain unadulterated attempt to deceive that not one voter out of a hundred thousand will be taken in by it.

Let me illustrate—the Republican Platform says on the subject of State prisons.

"Three prison riots which took a toll of fourteen lives and the assassination of two prison officials, is part of the Democratic record in prison administration." On that same line of argument President Hoover must have been responsible for the riots in the Federal prisons. Don't let us talk tommyrot.

Everybody knows that there were two principal causes of the prison riots. First, the complete failure of Republican Legislatures for a quarter of a century to give us new prisons to take the place of antiquated, unhealthy dungeons, which were built one hundred years ago. And the other great reason was that the Republican Legislature refused to face courageously the problems presented by a new type of young prisoners who were being sent to jail for life under a series of laws that bear the name of the present Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Senator Baumes.

Then the Republican Platform goes on and tells what its framers know to be 100 per cent false; they say "No effort, however, has been made by the present administration to deal adequately with this subject, despite the fact that the State must in the near future spend many millions of dollars for construction and reconstruction of prisons."

What about the splendid prison progress which I initiated without any help from the Republican leaders whatsoever over one year ago—a program calling for the expenditure of \$30,000,000 in the next three years, in order to give every prisoner of the State adequate, sanitary and modern living conditions, fresh air and exercise, education and manual training, and segregation of the different types of prisoners? Who do they say initiated the idea of the Parole Board which is now functioning, after I made a long and strenuous fight to have it created last winter? Who do they think initiated the Prison Survey Commission, the Prison Labor Commission, the canteenments of prisoners which are helping to build our State roads, the increase in allowances for food and clothing for the prisoners, the increase in the number and the improvement in the training of the prison guards and the raising of their pay?

How honest, how honorable is it for the Republican Platform to say what it does when every man, woman and child in this State knows that the Republican Legislature had to be kicked and goaded and prodded by me, in order to get any action at all.

Then comes that priceless statement in the Republican Platform about Water Power. First they say:

"We promise a speedy solution of the problem of developing the water power resources of the State, which shall be based on sound economic principles." I sometimes wonder if my old friend, Mr. Edmund Machold, the directing genius of the leading power combines in this State, and at the same time the owner of the Republican State organization, seriously thinks that he is fooling the electorate of this State, either up-State or down-State, when he hands out a joyous line like that. We all know that development on what he calls "sound economic principles" means to him and his fellow leader just one thing—development by his company. He and his party have both been committed to that principle for the last twelve years.

Compare the Republican statement that they are in favor of development on "sound economic principles" which means exactly zero, with the consistent Democratic principle that the State-owned water powers must and shall be developed by the State itself and retained for all time in the actual physical possession of the State and developed solely in order to insure low priced electricity for the people of the State, without any inordinate or unreasonable profits to any corporation.

Then the Republican Platform goes on with what is almost the last straw. It says: "At the last session of the Legislature the Republican majority on its own initiative did what it could to take this vexatious question out of politics by authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission, etc., etc."

Let me ask you this simple question: if a horse balks and simply declines for hour after hour to go where its driver wants him to go and finally under spur and lash makes up his mind to go where the driver wants him to go, does that horse do so on his own initiative? Perhaps I should have—I know I should have said elephant instead of horse.

Every school child in the State knows that the Republican majority in the last legislature finally yielded after Governor Smith and I, backed up by the whip and spur of public indignation and by public insistence, forced those leaders to give in.

And here is the best one of all. A statement so deliberately and outrageously, so 100 per cent false that it is driving tens of thousands of disgusted Republicans to vote for me next Tuesday. It refers to the proposed legislation brought in by the Republican legislative leaders relating to the control of public utility corporations. It says: "Some of the most important bills were vetoed by the Governor at the request of the corporations affected." An answer by me to that straight falsehood is wholly unnecessary. As a matter of fact, the bills referred to are the same ones which when introduced were opposed by some of the utility companies with such effect that the Republican leaders themselves not merely removed all the teeth of these bills but rendered them so absurd that their introducers themselves declined to have anything to do with them. I vetoed them for the very simple reason that to put them on the statute books would cost the State several hundred dollars in unnecessary printing bills and would only have made our ineffective system of regulation more ineffective.

I could go through this platform, item for item, if time permitted. It is literally filled either with half truths or untruths; with abuse and with the taking of credit where no credit is due.

What is the use? The same game has been tried year after year before this, and year after year Democratic majorities pile up. The people of this State are too intelligent to be taken in by the kind of propaganda and statements that might have been useful in 1830 when it took days and sometimes weeks to get information on the issues from one end of the State to the other. Our form of government is a success in this State because people know what is going on, and people are able to sift the true from the false. I have unbounded faith in the electorate of this State, and the nearer we get to election day the more confident I am that the voters in every section—in the cities and on the farms—will rebuke deception, will rebuke underhanded attacks and will support those who throughout the campaign in simple words have told the truth and told it cleanly.