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**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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**File No. 407**

**1930 October 30**

**Staten Island, NY - Campaign Speech**

From the Papers of  
Louis Mc Henry Howe

A D D R E S S

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

AT

THE DEMOCRATIC MASS MEETING

Liberty Theatre,  
Stapleton,  
Staten Island,  
October 30, 1930

THE LAW REPORTERS  
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Address of Governor Roosevelt  
Stapleton, Staten Island  
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GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: My friends of Richmond: I am very glad to get the chance to come back here. Two years ago they would not let me come. The last time that I attended a political rally of Staten Island was in the year 1920, when I was running for the second place on the National Ticket. And two years ago I wanted very much to come but the trouble was then, that when the Campaign started I was about one thousand miles away, somewhere down in Georgia. And then on my way back to our State, instead of getting into the State campaign I had certain speaking engagements on the road, in Ohio, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and several other places on behalf of the man who ought to be President of the United States. (Applause) So at last here I am. (Applause)

In the course of this past year -- nearly two years, as a matter of fact -- I have discovered that there are sixty-two counties in the State of New York and I have been in every one of the sixty-two. In going around, especially during the past two weeks, on this Campaign, I can tell you one simple fact, that nobody can dispute, and that is that never before throughout the State have we had such perfectly splendid meetings of men and women turning out not so much with the old "Hurrah boy!" stuff of red fire and bands, but turning

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turning out and getting interested and showing their interest in the problems of government. So in this campaign I have been talking the problems of the government of the State of New York.

Last night I was over in Queens, and I was talking about some of the misrepresentations that have been made by the Republican leaders in their platform and in the speeches of their candidates. Tonight I want to give to you just a few other examples of this campaign of deception attempted on the part of our friends, the enemy. Perhaps the most flagrant example of this is their solicitude for, and their attitude on Prohibition. Now, I don't want to go over the long story of their continual straddle on this question since the year 1918. The voters of this State took pretty good care of this on nearly every election day since then. But what I do want to talk about is the strange picture which they present this year on the question of Prohibition, and I want to tell you a story. Not a fairy story, but a true story. Now we have read in the newspapers that for the last two weeks the Republican chariot has been going through this State in an attempt to get votes this Fall, and it was very seldom, if ever, that any one on this chariot discussed any of the State issues. And after a trip through a good part of the State, it became more and more

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evident that the chariot was going to continue to be silent on the many broad issues of 1930. But the Republican leaders became suddenly aware of the fact that the people of the State were beginning to resent this silence as an insult to their intelligence. And so they undertook at last to discuss at least for a little time, the subject of Prohibition. But it was an awfully hard job for these leaders to give to that chariot the qualities of a chameleon, that is, first one color and then another, able to shift from wet to dry and dry to wet with great suddenness according to its temporary geographical location in its zig-sag course between the wet cities and the dry counties. That was a mighty tough job.

So we come down to the 17th day of October, this year. And that happened to be one of the wet days. (Laughter) It had been dry as the Sahara the day before down along the southern tier, but the chariot plunged into the moister region, in the neighborhood of Utica early the next morning.

By an unhappy chance my old friend, Assemblyman Jenks, had been carried over the borderline. You know, Assemblyman Jenks, I might explain is that undisputed and hitherto brave legislative leader of the dries, who year after year has lead his forces to defeat in an effort to obtain a State Enforce-

ment Act. But this year my friend Assemblyman Jenks, putting Party allegiance above his principles has been most useful to his Party as Exhibit A, to be displayed before the dry voters of the dry sections.

And on this morning of October 17th, that wet morning, unconscious of the fact that he had been carried across the line from the Sahara Desert into the wetter territory, Assemblyman Jenks took advantage of a brief pause in the proceedings to make a speech. But he forgot -- I am not sure that he even knew that at that moment he was in a region where the Republican Party did not even wish his name to be mentioned.

(Laughter) Now, here is what happened: I read from a New York newspaper of the next morning, October 18th, the following account of what occurred. And this is the exact quotation of the speech of Mr. Jenks. Here is what he said: "That M r. Tuttle is prepared when he is elected Governor, to give us ---" (Laughter).

M r. Jenks did not get any farther. And I am reading from the account. "Mr. Jenks did not get any farther. Addison B. Parker, Manager of the motor caravan n tour which has been on the Up-State road for twelve days pulled Mr. Jenks coat and said, 'Stop.'"

Somewhat embarrassed Mr. Jenks did stop.



Parker told him the candidate was coming, but that hardly seemed the reason since the candidate did not appear for at least two full minutes after.

My friends, that was the last utterance of Mr. Jenks on that particular tour. He got as far as saying, "That Mr. Tuttle is prepared when he is elected Governor to give us ---". And since then for ten long days the world has waited, the world has speculated, telegrams, cables from the uttermost parts of the earth coming in to the State of New York every day and every night to find out what Mr. Jenks would have said if he had finished his sentence. (Laughter and applause) Yes, since then we have waited and speculated as to what more he would say. And tonight, my friends, it is my privilege to fill in the blank that followed that day.

I read from the speech of Mr. Jenks at Canandaigua, as reported in the Binghamton Sun of October 27th, a speech devoted to prove that the Republican Party is really the dryest of the drys. And here follows the actual quotation from that paper that fills in that blank that came at the end of his previous attempt to speak, that fills in the rest of the sentence, and I might add that Binghamton is in the heart of the dry section -- and here is what Mr. Jenks said, how he finished his sentence. He said: "The Republican

candidate for Governor in whose interest I am here tonight says that if elected he would call upon every district attorney, constable and officer in the State to use the nuisance law. He agreed with me personally to sign an amendment, making it easier to get evidence in nuisance cases. The only way to protect the 18th Amendment", continued Mr. Jenks a little farther on, "is to do as I have done, get into the Republican Party. It contains all the drys of the State. To defeat him would weaken the Republican Party, your friend, and strengthen your enemy. We will live to see the day when the 18th Amendment is as well enforced as any other law. We drys must stand together, and stand by the only party that ever gave us anything." (Applause)

And so the suspense is ended, my friends, and the uncompleted sentence is completed. I am glad that Mr. Jenks has at least had the opportunity of ending that sentence that he began ten days before. I trust further, that those of you who believe that if in the days to come we are to have real temperance through this country, the 18th Amendment must and should be repealed. (Applause) That you who believe that with me, will set this statement of the dry leader of the Legislature, who is supporting the Republican State Ticket alongside of the speeches that are being made in the Boroughs of New York City by

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the Republican leaders and candidates, particularly those portions of their addresses where they fairly weep in explaining how really wet they have been for a very long time, in spite of the fact that they only let their sentiments be known to the public during the past four weeks. (Applause)

I wonder, is it a fundamentally honest thing for a political party to appear before the people of this State, in the headlines of the newspapers on the self-same day in different parts of the State as follows: In a New York City paper this heading: "Butler says Tuttle is the hope of the wets," while at the same time an Up-State paper blazons forth this headline: "Jenks says Tuttle is the hope of the Drys." (Laughter)

Now, if this were all a story it would be bad enough, but there are other chapters of it that make this story one of the saddest that has been written in the pages of the political history of this State. We have the spectacle of four candidates for State office on a Republican ticket, two of them making wet protestations, and two of them making dry protestations. Perhaps this is somebody's bright idea of a perfectly balanced team. But it is my observation and yours, too, I think, that when you hitch up one pair of horses pulling in one direction, against another pair of horses pulling

in the opposite direction, they don't get very far.

(Applause)

And, of course, as a matter of fact, very few people in this State of ours, Up-State or down State are being fooled by this obvious attempt to catch votes from both sides.

Now, let us go on a little to a further examination of the Republican campaign, and the Republican platform. I could continue for many days to come pointing out the deliberate ~~deceit~~ of that platform. Take, for instance, the plank in regard to labor, the plank in regard to labor that was adopted at the Albany Convention of the Republicans. It quotes the State Federation of Labor as saying this: "The quality and the quantity of legislative enactments, devoted to the interests of wage earning citizens of the State finds its only parallel in this generation with the labor legislation of the year, 1913." Then the platform goes on and says this: "These bills were drafted by Republicans after careful study, were introduced by Republicans and were passed by the vote of the Republican majority."

Ah, my friends, what utter rot! That is the only expression that I can think to use about that kind of political language. Who asked the legislature to pass those bills? Why, every one of them was contained

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in the Democratic platform of 1928, and not one of them was contained in the Republican platform. Or else they were suggested by the Democratic Governor, and not by the Republican leaders. And if the Republicans claim to being a friend of labor, if that claim is as strong as they make it, why then, -- and this is a simple question to ask -- is it that a non-partisan campaign committee of the New York State Federation of Labor on the 20th day of October, 1930, formally and officially said this: "Having examined and considered the official legislative and administrative records of Governor Roosevelt, and Lieutenant Governor Lehman, and the pledges relating to labor legislation and the relief of unemployment, and the administration of the Labor Laws contained in the State platform adopted by the Democratic State Convention on which Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant Governor Lehman have been renominated to succeed themselves, we hereby declare that we advise the support and reelection of Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant Governor Lehman in the interests of the well-being of the wage earning citizens of New York State." (Applause)

"We so advise for the reason that the record of humanitarian and remedial labor legislation proposed, and enacted under their supervision and direction has been unsurpassed in the history of the State."

Now, why is it also that President William Green of the American Federation of Labor wrote to me on August 22nd of this year, "You deserve the support of Labor and of all classes of people who seek to perpetuate our free institutions and who are engaged in preserving our principle of free government, through the advancement of the highest and best interests of the masses of the people. I express the earnest hope that all the working people and their friends in the State of New York may give to you their undivided support in your political and social reform policies. So that you may be permitted to give to the people the benefit of your service."

How does that sound in view of the statement in the Republican platform that they deserve credit for Labor Legislation?

Now, to go on, I recognize, of course, that people's memories are short, and that, therefore, when the Republican leaders in Albany wrote a plank in their platform dealing with rapid transit in New York City, they were taking the chance that it would fool some citizens in this City, whose memories do not go back to last February or March.

Here is what they say -- their platform plank says: "We shall cooperate to the fullest extent and with all the authority of the State Government to

assist the City of New York to solve in permanent and satisfactory manner the problem of rapid transit."

That, my friends, is an insult to the intelligence of those of us who remember that for the past two years or more the City of New York has gone to Albany every year, seeking remedial legislation, seeking legislative authority with which to put through a definite plan of unification of transit. And this past winter, the Mayor of the City, representatives of the boroughs and the representatives of many public and civic bodies traveled to Albany and sought the passage of the enabling legislation. Once more, the Republican leaders, for admittedly partisan purposes proceeded to turn down completely the demand of the City of New York.

You, in Staten Island, and indeed in every borough of the City, know well who is to blame for that situation. (Applause)

One more quotation from that platform and I am done. It says: "We pledge ourselves to made adequate provision for the development and maintenance of the State Parks for the benefit, for the greatest satisfaction and enjoyment of the public."

Well, refer once more to the record. When you go as you do go to any one of that great number, more than two score of the parks that have been developed by

one of that great number, more than two score of the parks that have been developed by the State during these past ten years, whether they be on the shores of Long Island or the Hudson River, or in the lake and mountain region of this great up-State area, you will always remember I am very certain that the program for the acquisition, the development and the construction of these parks was commenced in the first place, under the leadership of that great humanitarian, Alfred E. Smith." (Applause)

And you will remember, too, the long battles that he had with the Republican Legislature in order to get the necessary appropriations, the necessary money for the building of these parks. You will remember, for instance, the long legal battle that had to be carried to the Court of Appeals and even to the Supreme Court in Washington itself, before the people were able to get possession of that great Hecksher Park down on Long Island. And it is worth remembering in that connection that the leaders who backed the handful of individuals who by every possible legal scheme were blocking the whole progress of the Long Island Commission's development in the courts and in the legislature and who were fighting every inch of the way to prevent the people of the City of New York from getting use and enjoyment out of this splendid tract of woods and beaches, those leaders were in actual fact, the leaders of the Republican Party itself



on Long Island and elsewhere.

I think of these things because they refer necessarily to a record, a record of eight years, a record of progressive Democratic leadership in Albany. But it is an interesting fact that this year we are celebrating the Tenth Anniversary, next Tuesday, of the election of the last Republican Governor that this State has had. (Applause)

Now, that is not an anniversary that calls for great jubilation, because it marks a period ten years ago, a well-known two year period when the march of progress of the affairs of the State stopped and started back down hill. Those years marked the beginning of two years of reaction and special privilege, and dissatisfaction on the part of the citizens of this State. But the election of 1922 remedied all that.

But just to think of those two years, remember that the administration of that last Republican Governor was notable, not for what was done for the people during his term of office, but for what was done to the people with the combination of a Republican legislature and Republican State officials.

During those two years the well known Miller-Ripper Bills were enacted. The Bill, for instance, that deliberately broke down the functioning of the State

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Department of Labor by repeal of the progressive, humane, enactments of previous years, and a refusal on the part of the State to grant sufficient money to make the Labor and Welfare laws of the State operative. And another Ripper law of those years was that that changed the public service statutes of the State, and we have suffered from that ever since -- a bill that threw out the home rule principles under which the municipalities were working out their own problems, and power and lighting and transportation matters, a bill designed deliberately for the abolition of all home rule and transportation matters in the City of New York, a bill that merely carried out the well-known Republican attitude of standing in the way of home rule for this City.

And contrast also, with this year's platform the attitude of the Republican Legislature during these eight years. During all of that time, the Republican leaders have turned every year a deaf ear to every appeal made to them by the City of New York for cooperation in affording any form of transit relief.

Year after year, as I don't have to tell you, they have refused to cooperate. Year after year they have sent the representatives of New York City back from Albany without the relief that they had it in their power to give, and for the crowds and men and women and children, who are compelled to ride in the indecent conditions of

the subways, they have said in Albany, "We won't help you, we won't even let you help yourselves." That is a pretty strong indictment, my friends, but the people of this City will bear out the truth of it. All that I can ask the people of this State to do is to read the record, to think back over these past few years, to think back, indeed, over these past ten years. Having done that, whether you live in the up-State counties, or in the counties that make up this great metropolitan district, I am very sure that the great mass of the people will vote on Tuesday next in favor of that Party, and those candidates who have a broad knowledge and grasp of the fundamentals that spell continued progress in government and in civilization.

One final plea, it is a matter of principle that I am going to speak about, a matter of good government. It is right, as we have been taught, to hold the executive officers of the State, of the government, responsible for the administrative side, the administrative acts of the government.

Now, that is possible down in Washington, because the President of the United States has a Vice-President with him who belongs to the same party that he does. And more than that, the President makes the appointment of all the Cabinet officers, including the Secretary

of the Treasury and his Attorney-General. In other words, responsibility in the Federal Government centers in the President of the United States himself. And the people all over the country praise him or blame him if the government directly under him does well or not. But in Albany the situation is different because of your State constitution. There have been times when the State had a Governor, yes, in recent times, of one political faith and a Lieutenant Governor of another political faith. And there have been times when the Controller, who is really the Secretary of the Treasury of this State, or the Attorney-General, who corresponds to the Attorney-General in Washington, the law officers, have not belonged to the same party as the Governor. One of the elective officials, the Attorney-General has during the past two years, quite frankly, not been of very much help to my administration. And I hope much that if I go back to Albany next January for another two years, I shall have the help, the very splendid help of Captain John J. Bennett. (Applause)

You know of his fine business training, of his work as a teacher of the law, and of his great record in the service of his country; and then in the case of one other of my team mates -- he is here tonight -- in the case of the Controller, I can only say this to you: That under the administration of

Controller Morris S. Tremaine, (Applause) the financial standing, the credit, the soundness of the State government has never stood higher. And I am able to sleep comfortably and quietly and peaceably at night, knowing that the treasury of the State of New York is in safe hands. (Applause)

I was asked about two hours ago to bring you a message. Herbert Lehman, (Applause) whom I saw about seven o'clock, asked me to tell you how sorry he was that he could not be with you tonight. He only had something like seven other speeches scheduled, and he could not get out of them, and could not get over here. But I want to talk to you about the office of Lieutenant Governor. I have been singularly fortunate and happy in having with me as Lieutenant-Governor a man who has performed far more than the merely constitutional duties of that office, all that the Constitution says is that the Lieutenant Governor shall preside over the Senate. And most of them have followed that duty very scrupulously and stopped right there. But in the case of Herbert Lehman, it has been very different these past two years. He has been of constant and great assistance to me at all times through the year, and his splendid experience in business, in finance, in industry, as well as his deep interest in all social problems and welfare activities, has been

of great assistance to me in handling the affairs of that great business corporation, known as the Government of the State of New York, and it is of the utmost importance to the cause of good Government in this State that if I go back to Albany, Colonel Lehman should go back with me. (Applause)

So I trust, my friends, that in order to concentrate responsibility where it belongs, my shoulders are quite broad enough to bear it, that you will consider the importance of the other elective officers on the State ticket to be voted for next week. If the people of this State want, as I know they do, good men in public life, then these men should be reelected. (Applause)

We are facing some pretty broad questions next Tuesday. Some of them are political and some of them are not. One of them, I just want to throw this thought out, ought not to have any tinge of partisanship. You are going to be asked to vote yes, or no, on the proposition of a bond issue for the hospitals and prisons of the State. And I appeal to you Republicans and Democrats and Independents and Socialists, men and women alike to vote yes on that bond issue.

I make that appeal because it is not only in the interest of good business to spread the building of these institutions, the cost of it over a period of

twenty-five years, instead of trying to saddle it on the taxpayers in two or three. But even more than that is the point of view of humanity, the definite obligation, not just of the State of New York as a government, that the definite obligation of the twelve million men, women and children in this State to give adequate care, adequate medical facilities and adequate housing to the 70000 or more patients and wards of the State. We owe it to them, because, after all, they are our friends and neighbors, they have come from our own localities, many of them. The State of New York and its citizens can do no better turn to humanity, than in making it possible for us to improve the conditions under which these unfortunate people live.

So, regardless of every party, regardless of the history of that bond issue — forget, if you like, that if the Republican leaders had approved it a year ago, you would have had \$18,000,000 to spare this year, to be used to lower your taxes with, or to be used for further public improvements to help out on the unemployment situation. Forget that, if you like, but vote yes; forget the past and think of the future. Think of these people who are our friends and neighbors.

That is a part and parcel, my friends, of my general attitude toward the great question of government

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through liberal thought.

For a great many years I have been off and on in public life, and I have always dreamed dreams, and it is a mighty good thing to dream dreams once in awhile. And most of the dreams that I dreamed of away back in 1910 have come true today; away back there in 1910 when I first went to the Legislature and sat up there in the Senate in a seat next to my old friend from Staten Island, Senator Bain (applause) -- some of you will remember him-- We worked together twenty years ago to put through these things. And they called us -- the word Bolshevik had not been invented in those days -- Socialists, radicals, because we were standing and fighting in favor of the Workmen's Compensation Law. And away back years ago when I began to think about other things, too, I dreamed perhaps of the day when the State would have some kind of an Old Age Pension Law. And I little thought when I was thinking about some of the old people in the cities and in the country district, who were being carted off to the poor house, taken away to the poor farm, that it would fall to my happy lot to be the first Governor of this State to say to the Legislature, let's start Old Age Security Against Want. (Applause) And it was only this morning that I got a letter from Dr. Charles Johnson, the Director of Social



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Welfare in this State asking to see me at the very earliest opportunity, to discuss with me the actual putting into effect of this Old Age Security Law that we got last winter from the Legislature, and it is going into effect on the first of January next. There is something definite. (Applause)

And so I say that regardless of party, people of this State can and will continue to think of the progressive side of life. Because as you people right here on Staten Island are all dreaming dreams of how Staten Island is going to look ten years from now, are you not? And if you did not dream those dreams about how Staten Island is going to look ten years from now, why ten years from now Staten Island will look just the way it does now. So it pays to dream dreams about your own homes, and about your own boroughs, about your own cities, and about your own State, and about your own fellow-man, men and women, hoping and more than that, expecting that you and I are going to see the better part of those dreams come true. (The audience arose and applauded)

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Republican Deception on the Questions of Prohibition, Labor,  
Parks and Transit Relief

## CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

STATEN ISLAND, October 30, 1930

Last night in Queens I pointed out some of the misrepresentations made by the Republican leaders in their platform and in the speeches of their candidates. Tonight I want to give other examples of this campaign of deception attempted on their part. Perhaps the most flagrant example of it is their attitude on Prohibition. I do not want to go over the long story of their continual straddle on this question ever since 1918. The voters of this State took care of that on nearly every election day since then. What I do want to talk about is the strange picture which they present this year on this question.

We have read in the newspapers for the last two weeks of the Republican chariot going through the State in an attempt to get votes this fall. It was very seldom, if ever, that anyone in the chariot discussed any of the State issues. After a trip through a good part of the State it became more and more evident that the chariot was going to continue to be silent on the many broad issues of 1930, and the Republican leaders suddenly became aware of the fact that the people of the State were beginning to resent this silence as an insult to their intelligence. Accordingly they undertook to discuss at least once this question of Prohibition. But it was a very hard job for these leaders to give this chariot chameleon-like qualities, able to shift from wet to dry and dry to wet, with great suddenness, according to its temporary geographical location in its zigzag course between wet cities and dry counties.

Now October seventeenth happened to be one of the wet days. It had been dry as the Sahara the day before along the southern tier, but the chariot plunged into the moister region around Utica early in the morning. By an unhappy chance my friend Assemblyman Jenks had been carried over the border line. Assemblyman Jenks, let me explain, is that undisputed and hitherto brave legislative leader of the dries, who, year after year, has led his forces to defeat in an effort to obtain a State enforcement act. But this year Assemblyman Jenks, putting party allegiance above his principles, has been most useful as his party's "Exhibit A" to be displayed before the dry voters of the dry sections. On this October seventeenth, unconscious of the fact that he had been carried over into wet territory, Assemblyman Jenks took advantage of a brief hiatus in the proceedings to make a speech. He forgot that he was at that moment in a region where the Republican Party did not even wish his name to be mentioned. I read from a New York newspaper of October 18th, the following account of what occurred. This is the exact quotation of the speech of Mr. Jenks: "That Mr. Tuttle is prepared when he is elected Governor to give us ———."

Jenks did not get any further. Addison B. Parker, manager of the motor caravan tour which has been on the up-state road for twelve days, pulled Mr. Jenks' coat and said "stop." Somewhat embarrassed, Mr. Jenks did stop. Parker told him the candidate was coming but that hardly seemed the reason since the candidate did not appear for at least two full minutes."

That was the last utterance of Mr. Jenks on that particular tour. Since then we have waited and speculated as to what more he would say, and tonight it is my privilege to fill in the blank that followed that dash. I read from the speech of Mr. Jenks at Canisteo, as reported in the Binghamton Sun on October 27th, a speech devoted to proving that the Republican Party is really the driest of the dry. Here follows the actual quotation which fills in that blank which came at the end of his previous attempt to speak. I might add that Binghamton is in the heart of the dry territory. Mr. Jenks said:

"The Republican candidate for Governor in whose interest I am here tonight says that if elected he would call upon every district attorney,

judge, constable and officer in the State to use the nuisance law. He agreed with me personally to sign an amendment making it easier to get evidence in nuisance cases." "The only way to protect the Eighteenth Amendment," continued Mr. Jenks a little later on, "is to do as I have done, get into the Republican Party; it contains all the dregs of the State. To defeat him would weaken the Republican Party, your friend, and strengthen your enemy. We will live to see the day when the Eighteenth Amendment is as well enforced as any other law. We dregs must stand together, and stand by the only party that ever gave us anything."

I am glad that Mr. Jenks has at last had the opportunity of ending the sentence which he began ten days before. I trust further that those of you who believe with me sincerely that the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed, if we are to have real temperance, will set this statement of the dry leader of the Legislature, who is supporting the Republican State ticket, alongside of the speeches which are being made in the boroughs of New York by the Republican leaders—particularly those portions where they fairly weep in explaining how really wet they have been for a very long time in spite of the fact that they only let their sentiments be known to the public during the last four weeks.

Is it a fundamentally honest thing for a political party to appear before the people of this state in the headlines of the newspapers on the same day as follows: In a New York newspaper this headline: "Buckner says Tuttle is the hope of the wets," while at the same moment an up-state paper blazons forth the announcement "Jenks says Tuttle is the hope of the dregs."

If this were all of the story it would be bad enough, but there are other chapters of it which make this story one of the saddest which has ever been written in the pages of our political history. We have the spectacle of four candidates for State office on the Republican ticket, two of them making wet protestations and two of them making dry protestations. Perhaps this is somebody's bright idea of a perfectly balanced team. It is my observation that when you hitch up one pair of horses pulling one way against another pair of horses pulling in the opposite direction they get nowhere at all. Of course, as a matter of fact very few people in the state are being fooled by this obvious attempt to catch votes from both sides.

Let us go on to the examination of the Republican campaign and platform. I could continue for many days pointing out their deliberate deceit.

Take, for instance, the Labor plank in the Republican platform. It quotes the State Federation of Labor as saying: "The quality and quantity of legislative enactments devoted to the interests of wage earning citizens of the State finds its only parallel in this generation with the labor legislation of 1913." And then it says: "These bills were drafted by Republicans, after careful study; were introduced by Republicans and were passed by the vote of the Republican majority." What utter rot! Who asked the Legislature to pass the bills? Why, every one of them was contained in the Democratic platform of 1928, and not in the Republican platform, or else was suggested by the Democratic Governor and not by the Republican leaders. If the Republicans' claim to being a friend of labor is so strong as they make it, why then is it that a non-partisan campaign committee of the New York State Federation of Labor, on the twentieth day of October, 1930, formally and officially said: "Having examined and considered the official legislative and administrative records of Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant-Governor Lehman, and the pledges relating to labor legislation and relief of unemployment and administration of the labor laws contained in the State platform adopted by the Democratic State Convention, on which Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant-Governor Lehman have been renominated to succeed themselves, we herewith declare that we advise the support and reelection of Governor Roosevelt and Lieutenant-Governor Lehman in the interest of the well being of the wage earning citizens of New York State. We so advise for the reason that the record of humanitarian and remedial labor

legislation, proposed and enacted under their supervision and direction, has been unsurpassed in the history of our State."

Why is it that President William Green of the American Federation of Labor wrote me on August 22nd: "You deserve the support of labor and of all classes of people who seek to perpetuate our free institutions, and who are engaged in preserving our principle of free government through the advancement of the highest and best interests of the masses of the people. I express the earnest hope that all the working people and their friends in the State of New York may give to you their undivided support in your political and social reform policies so that you may be permitted to give to the people the benefit of your service."

I recognize, of course, that people's memories are short and that, therefore, when the Republican leaders wrote a plank in their platform dealing with rapid transit in New York City, they were taking the chance that it would fool some citizens in this city whose memories do not go back even to last February and March. Here is what they say: "We shall cooperate to the fullest extent and with all the authority of the State government to assist the City of New York to solve in permanent and satisfactory manner the problem of rapid transit." That is an insult to the intelligence of those of us who remember that for the past two years and more, the City of New York has gone to Albany seeking legislative authority with which to carry through a definite plan of unification. This past winter the Mayor of the city and representatives of many public bodies traveled to Albany and sought the passage of the enabling legislation. Once more the Republican leaders, for admittedly partisan purposes, proceeded to turn down completely the demand of the City of New York. You in Staten Island, and indeed in every borough of the city, know well who to blame for this situation.

One more quotation from that platform and I am done. It says: "We pledge ourselves to make adequate provision for the development and maintenance of the State parks for the greatest satisfaction and enjoyment of the public." Refer once more to the record. When you go to any of the two score of splendid parks that have been developed by the State during these past ten years, whether they be on the shores of Long Island or on the banks of the Hudson or in the lake or mountain regions of our great up-State domain, you will always remember that the program for their acquisition and construction was commenced in the first place under the leadership of that great humanitarian—Alfred E. Smith. You will remember too the long battles which he had with the Republican Legislature in order to get the necessary appropriations for the building of these parks. You will remember the long legal battle which had to be carried to the Court of Appeals and to the Supreme Court of the United States itself before the people were able to get possession of that great Heckscher Park on Long Island. It is worth remembering in that connection that the leaders who backed the handful of individuals who were blocking the whole progress of the Long Island Commission in the courts and in the Legislature, and who were fighting every inch of the way to prevent the people of the City of New York from getting use and enjoyment out of this splendid tract of woods and shore—these leaders were in actual fact the leaders of the Republican Party itself on Long Island and elsewhere.

This year we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the election of the last Republican Governor this State has had. This is not an anniversary that calls for jubilation, for it marks a well-known two years' cessation of the march of progress of the affairs of the State. It marked the beginning of two years of reaction, special privilege and dissatisfaction on the part of the citizens of the State. The administration of that last Republican Governor is notable not for what was done for the people during his term of office but for what was done to the people with the combination of a Republican Legislature and Republican State officers. During those two years the well known Miller ripper bills were enacted—the bill for instance which deliberately broke down the functioning of the State Department of Labor by repeal of progressive, humane enactments of previous years—a refusal of the State to grant sufficient appropriations to make the labor and welfare laws

of the State operative. Another ripper law was that changing the public service statutes of the State—a bill which throws out home rule principles under which municipalities were working out their own problems in power, lighting and transportation matters—a bill designed for the abolition of all home rule in transportation matters in the City of New York—a bill which merely carried out the well known Republican attitude of standing in the way of home rule for this city.

Contrast also with this year's platform the attitude of the Republican Legislature for the last eight years. During all of that time the Republican legislative leaders have turned a deaf ear to every appeal made to them by New York City for cooperation in affording any forms of transit relief. Year after year they have refused to cooperate; year after year they have sent the representatives of New York City back without the relief which they had in their power to give them. To the crowds of men, women and children who are compelled to ride in the indecent conditions of the subway they have said, "We won't help you; we won't even let you help yourselves."

All that I can ask the people of this State to do is to read the record, to think back over these past two years, to think back indeed over these past ten years; and having done that, whether you live in the up-State counties or in the counties which make up this great Metropolitan District, I am very sure that the great majority of people will vote on Tuesday next in favor of that party and those candidates who have a broad knowledge and grasp of the fundamentals that spell continued progress in government and in civilization.

One final plea. It is right to hold the executive officers of the government responsible for the administrative acts of the government. That is possible in Washington because the President himself has a Vice-President with him who belongs to the same party. And more than that, he makes the appointments of all of his Cabinet officers including his Secretary of the Treasury and his Attorney-General. In other words, responsibility in the federal government centers in the President of the United States himself.

In Albany the situation is different because of our State constitution. There have been times when the State had a Governor of one political faith and a Lieutenant Governor of another political faith. There have been times when the Comptroller, who is really the secretary of the treasury of the State, or the Attorney-General, who corresponds to the Attorney-General in Washington, has not belonged to the same party as the Governor. One of the elective officials, the Attorney-General, has during the past two years quite frankly been of little assistance to the administration, and I hope much that if I go back to Albany for another two years I shall have the help of Captain John J. Bennett. You know of his fine business training, of his work as a teacher of law, and of his great record in the service of his country.

In the case of the Comptroller, I can only say that under the administration of Comptroller Morris S. Tremaine the financial standing, the credit and the soundness of the State government have never stood higher. We need his continuance in office.

I have been fortunate in having with me as Lieutenant Governor a man who has performed far more than the mere constitutional duties of that office, Colonel Herbert H. Lehman. He has been of constant and great assistance to me at all times throughout the year, and his splendid experience in business, in finance and in industry, as well as his deep interest in all social problems and welfare activities, has been of vast assistance to me in handling the affairs of the great business corporation known as the government of the State of New York. It is of the utmost importance to the cause of good government that if I go back to Albany Colonel Lehman should go back with me.

I trust therefore that in order to concentrate responsibility where it belongs, you will consider the importance of the other elective officers on the State ticket to be voted on next Tuesday. If the people of this State want, as I know they do, good men in public life, these men should be elected.