
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

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1930 November 1

**Carnegie Hall, New York City, NY -
Campaign Speech**

*For which Henry Morgenthau
with my affection & thanks for all
that he has done for me Franklin D. Roosevelt*

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY

SATURDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 1, 1930

For two weeks as candidate for re-election to the Governorship of New York, I have discussed fully, without heat or passion, but with truth and frankness, the issues, the many great issues of this state campaign.

I have told the voters throughout the state the history of the government of the state during these past two years, a history of which all voters, regardless of party, have a right to be proud.

Further I have set forth fully the needs of the state for the two years to come, the proposals of my associates and myself for the continuation of orderly and progressive government based on honesty, on efficient administration, on humanity and on law.

Our campaign, as the people of this state know, has not been founded on falsification of the record, and it has not been founded on slander or on promises which cannot be fulfilled.

It has, on the other hand, been based on issues which affect the daily lives of the individual men, woman and children in every home of the state; on issues where the

state government comes into direct contact with their work and their play, with their living conditions, with their health and their happiness.

As opposed to this, there stands out a definite and undeniable fact which, as the campaign has gone on, is being realized more and more by every voter in the state. That fact is that the candidates of the Republican party have refused to discuss these issues. They have maintained a complete silence on all those many questions which affect all of the people of this state. They have failed even to set forth a constructive program of any kind for the governing of the state during the next two years.

Their campaign, on the other hand, has been based, first, last and all the time, on a falsification of the record and on attacks instigated not by any desire for good government or for progressive legislation or administration, but solely on ambition for office.

To those who believe that candidates should frankly discuss real issues and honestly reveal their views on the fundamental questions of the day, this action of the Republicans has been the most discouraging that we have ever known.

But there was a reason for this so far as Republican leadership was concerned. Before this campaign started obviously it was necessary for the Republican leaders to find an issue to conduct it on. Unquestionably they examined carefully the

whole range of public subjects to find such an issue.

First, there was water power -- the insistent and overwhelming demand that the state should develop the St. Lawrence for the benefit of the consumers at the lowest possible cost. But that was an impossible issue for the Republicans because year after year they had consistently stood for the virtual gift of this water power to private corporate interests well known to be in close association with the Republican leadership itself.

Then there was labor legislation. They could not use that because year after year they had blocked or weakened every important measure for the protection of the working people of the state, and further because organized labor itself had declared in no uncertain terms in favor of the re-election of the Democratic candidates.

Then there was the necessity for new prisons and new prison methods. They could not use that because the record of the Republican Legislature for fifty years past - a record of neglect and indifference toward prison reform - would make that issue impossible.

Then there was Prohibition. They could not use that because they themselves were split wide apart in the very leadership of their party on that question.

Then there was social welfare. They could not use that for the very obvious reason that it was the Democratic party and its leaders who, for a generation past, had initiated every great social reform in this state from workmen's compensation and the forty-eight hour law down to old age pensions and the building up of the new parole system, and the securing of new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the state.

Then there was farm relief and rural tax relief. They could not touch that because all of the great measures for the relief of the agricultural communities, which have become law during these past two years, were first initiated and first pushed by the Governor of the state himself.

Then there were the economic conditions under which the people of the state now find themselves. They could not touch that because that came too close home to the federal administration in Washington.

Then there were the parks and parkways - that great program initiated by Governor Smith, covering the state like a network. They could not touch that because they had blocked this program on every possible occasion, and, furthermore, because they remembered that their own leaders on Long Island sought to keep the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children in this city from enjoying the great gifts which nature had bestowed on the shores of Long Island.

There were other issues. But when the Republican leaders examined them and realized their record on those issues they knew that their only hope was to distract the attention of the people of this State from these real issues.

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They, therefore, decided to adopt, and have steadfastly adhered to a policy of misrepresenting and distorting a local situation in the City of New York, and from the start of the campaign they have refused absolutely to talk about any of the State issues whatsoever. And pursuing misrepresentation, without any sense of justice or propriety the Republican leaders have made every effort to convince the people of this state and the people of this country that our judiciary is corrupt and judges are unworthy to hold their high offices. No more reprehensible or cowardly act has ever been perpetrated in a campaign in this country than this deliberate attempt to bring dishonor on all - every one - of the members of our judiciary and their families and to break down the confidence of the public in this bulwark of our civilization. I say each and every member of the judiciary from the highest court to the lowest because the Republican campaign without question has been aimed at making unthinking people believe that all judges should be brought publicly and with a blare of trumpets before a grand jury and subjected to the public task of proving they are honest. The history of the judiciary in this state needs no defense. Men of unquestioned standing, integrity and

ability, many of them at a personal financial sacrifice to themselves and their families, have devoted and are devoting their lives to the great cause of justice. I refuse to believe, and further than that I deny, that our judiciary, under the leadership and guidance of such men as Chief Judge Cardozo and Presiding Judges Dowling and Lazansky, is saturated with corruption.

But, after continuing this campaign of calumny against the judiciary, coupled with utter silence on actual state issues for two whole weeks, the Republican leaders began to realize that the people of the city and the state were beginning to resent this hypocrisy as an insult to their intelligence, and that unless volume and tone could be added to their position they were utterly and hopelessly lost. The whole structure built on a false foundation was bound to crumble unless artificial support for it could be found. So the Republican leaders in their desperation turned to Washington.

What happened? The people of this state have been witnessing a spectacle so novel that its significance has not yet been fully grasped. The Republican national administration at Washington, suddenly solicitous for our welfare, presumed to send into this state campaign officers of the Cabinet itself to instruct us how to manage our state affairs. These gentlemen have been here and they have instructed us and lectured us on how we should handle our local affairs in this great state.

Who are they? First of all came the Secretary of War himself; then came the Secretary of State, the chief of the President's Cabinet, and tonight you are receiving further instruction from the Treasury Department in the person of its Under Secretary.

I make no personal attack on these three eminent gentlemen. I know them well. They are men of the finest character and I do not dispute their personal fitness to hold the great offices they do, but I do say that they have been misled - I do say that they have shocked the conscience of the fairminded and thoughtful people of this state by lending the prestige of their great national offices to such a campaign as this and they have even been cajoled into making a personal attack on me.

These same gentlemen and the Republican administration in Washington sponsoring it and the Republican National Committee financing it, and the New York State leaders and candidates themselves, have persistently cried from the housetops that national issues have no place in this campaign. An amazing assertion in view of the fact that for at least the last five state campaigns the Republican candidates for Governor have consistently talked about nothing else but national issues, chiefly the then so-called national prosperity. We in this state, in every city and on every farm, know the high impropriety of interference by the federal government in the purely local

affairs of any state and we are fully conscious of the effective manner in which the people of this great state will at the polls show their resentment against such conduct.

Before we look into the soundness of the instructions given to the people of this state by these representatives at Washington we have a right to demand that they show their credentials. Of these three estimable gentlemen, one comes from that great state of Oklahoma which we all respect. He has never lived in New York State; he knows nothing of the problems of New York State; he knows nothing of the situation in New York City; he knows nothing of the requirements and necessities of the twelve million people of this state. Whatever information he has, has been given to him obviously by the members of his own party. It can hardly be said that he has been impartially informed on our affairs. And yet he comes to us, presumably only by virtue of his great office. Well may the people of New York State resent this, as would the people of Oklahoma if the tables were turned.

The other two gentlemen of this triumvirate, the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of the Treasury, are both citizens of this state. The credentials that they present to the people of the state as authorizing them to give instructions are the same in both cases. Both of them have run for Governor in campaigns based largely upon the same kind of tactics as are being employed in this campaign. Both of them were defeated at the polls by

the people of this state. The people did not believe in them or in their issues then, and they will not believe in them or in their issues now.

The people of this state who repudiated them are the best judges of whether or not any man is fit to be Governor.

And now having examined the credentials of these gentlemen from Washington who have been telling us how to run our affairs of state, let us examine into the soundness of the instructions which they have given us. The substance of their instructions to us is this: That the only issue in this campaign is Judges in New York City, and nothing else counts.

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10.10 They tell the twelve million people in this state, whether they are so-called "wets" or "drys, who are sincerely interested in the important question of prohibition, and who are seeking a sound solution of the tremendous problem raised by it and who are endeavoring to rid themselves of the crime, violence and corruption bred by it, that that does not count. But I specifically call the attention of the people to the all-important fact that these instructors woefully

failed to tell the people of this state where they themselves stand on the prohibition issue. Do they believe in Mr. Hoover's position, or do they stand upon the straddle of the Republican party in this State? Why is it that they do not dare answer?

They tell the twelve million people of this State interested in the speedy and proper development of its great water power resources to provide cheap electricity for the homes of the State and to keep it from the hands of private corporations, that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this State who are anxious to protect its aged dependent citizens against the wants and miseries of old age, so that the State may help them to spend their last years in comfort, that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this state interested in its problems of taxation, and desiring that its entire system be revised in order more equitably to distribute its burdens, that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this state who look forward to a scientific study of the prisons of this state to provide a comprehensive plan and policy for prison construction as well as for the proper treatment, punishment, reformation, segregation and labor of prisoners, that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this state who have seen a complete revision of our parole system and the establishment of a modern enlightened system of parole to take care of the ninety-two per cent. of the prisoners of our state who return to private life, that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this State who are anxious to enlarge and modernize our State hospitals and secure new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the State that that does not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this State who are anxious to protect its milk and cream supply and to prevent the importation of impure milk and cream from without the State, that that does not count.

They tell the millions of men, women and children of this State who labor for their daily bread that all of the important problems of adequate labor and social legislation [such as the abolition of ex parte injunctions in strikes, preference on employment in State and local public works for New York citizens, an eight hour day and prevailing rate of wage on grade crossing eliminations, advisory minimum wage boards, elimination of unhealthy living conditions in congested areas, the establishment of the principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity, adequate appropriations to enforce the labor law and the workmen's compensation law, the increasing of compensation to victims of industrial accidents and their dependents, dispatch in the disposal and payment of compensation claims, the extension of workmen's compensation to include occupational diseases, the adequate regulation by the State of fee-charging employment agencies, the prevention of importation of prison-made goods from other states,] that all of these matters affecting the daily lives of every laboring man, woman and child in this State do not count.

They tell the twelve million people of this state who have enjoyed the vast system of parks and parkways inaugurated by Governor Smith and pushed and forwarded in every way by me, who look forward to the completion of the program so that still greater areas through the state from Montauk Point to Niagara may be made available for their health, recreation and enjoyment, that this does not count.

They tell the millions of farmers and other residents of rural communities in this state who are beginning to reap the benefits of that vast program initiated by me of constructive farm and rural tax relief, resulting in better roads, better schools and lower taxes for the rural population of the state and more adequate funds for agricultural surveys and experiment -- that those things do not count. And on this question at least everyone who knows of the complete failure of the Republican administration in Washington to carry out any form of adequate farm relief, they certainly speak with authority.

Having examined the credentials of these cabinet officers and the nature of their instructions to us, let us see whether they are qualified by success in Washington to instruct the voters in New York. They and their party, this present national administration, came before this state two years ago soliciting the votes of its people on representations, promises and prophecies. They represented themselves as the creators of the prosperity of the country. They were the originators of sound business; they were its protectors. Under them prosperity had always prevailed and ~~only~~ under them ^{only} could prosperity continue. Poverty was on

its way to be abolished. There is no need for me to demonstrate to you how false were those representations, those promises and those prophesies. There is no need for me to point out to you what has been unfortunately experienced by almost every man, woman and child in the nation. ~~DI~~ I say to these gentlemen: We shall be grateful if you will return to your posts in Washington, and bend your efforts and spend your time solving the problems which the whole nation is facing under your administration. Rest assured that we of the Empire State can and will take care of ourselves and our problems.

And so, with whatever comfort they can find in this federal support, and persisting in their original intention, the Republican Party has to this very last day of the campaign, refused even to talk about the real issues, instead they have talked only of judges in New York City.

Tonight, therefore, I shall depart from discussing these real issues of the campaign, in order again to repeat to the people of the state my record in this local situation and make that record and my policy clear.

During the last session of the Legislature, Republican leaders having in mind the coming campaign, and realizing that they would have no issue in it, considered the proposition of trying to manufacture publicity by an investigation of New York City. They looked it over and it did not seem to be a very happy thought, so they fell back on one of their most ancient practices of "passing the buck" to the Governor, and trying to put the Governor "in a hole." They went so far as to pass a bill

directing me to institute an investigation in New York City; and although I asked them, they refused or were unable to give me any grounds or reason for such an investigation. I sent the bill right back to them and told them that if they wanted such an investigation in New York City, they were free to go ahead and make one without even submitting the question to me. I pointed out to them that the Legislature not only had full power but was the only one charged with the duty of making any such investigation. They refused to do it. They did not even have the courage to do it.

Some months later, my attention was called to evidence which had been presented to a Grand Jury of the County of New York, alleging that a magistrate in the City of New York, had paid a district leader for his appointment. The Grand Jury had failed to indict those who were said to be implicated. Immediately within twenty-four hours I demanded a copy of the minutes. I read them. I deemed that it was appropriate that there should be further investigation. I could have suggested or directed the submission of the matter to another Grand Jury by the District Attorney. I elected, however, for the purpose of removing the matter from all possible criticism, to supersede the District Attorney and place it in the hands of the Republican Attorney General with a Republican judge. I did this within twenty-four hours of receiving the minutes. I foresaw the possibility that in a gubernatorial campaign which was soon to start, a Republican Attorney General who was indeed himself a leading candidate, might use this instrumentality in order to mislead the public. I foresaw that possibility but I did not hesitate to discharge my duty. I never have and I never will, so long as there is any duty to perform. The power of that Grand

Jury which I called, is absolutely unlimited to investigate any crime in the County of New York. The Court of Appeals has said so, and these gentlemen from Washington know so. Regardless of all misrepresentations to the contrary, I have never refused to enlarge the powers of the Grand Jury because the Governor of the State has no power either to enlarge ^{or} these powers or curtail them. But I wish again to point out what Republican candidates and Republican campaign orators and a small portion of the New York press has sought to obscure, that I, a Democratic Governor on the eve of a campaign for re-election sent into a Democratic county, a Republican Attorney General and a Republican judge with an extraordinary Grand Jury. That investigation was ordered and directed by me.

The next step related to specific abuses in the magistrates courts and in their procedure. I immediately called upon the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court to make a searching investigation of them all. The Appellate Division is the body charged by law with that duty and in accordance with that law I called upon them to perform it. That investigation has been put in the hands of Judge Seabury, a former Judge of the Court of Appeals. I defy anyone even to intimate that that investigation will not be honest, thorough and searching; and I challenge the untruthful assertion made by these gentlemen from Washington that such an investigation is futile. Let them have no doubt that if the Appellate Division discovers corruption in the magistrates courts the Appellate Division will have it punished, no matter where they find it.

Later on, I learned that a Judge had refused to waive immunity before the Ward Grand Jury. In order that I might perform my duty properly I immediately requested that the evidence in this case be sent to me so that the matter could be presented to the Senate of this state if the situation warranted action. Only the Senate of the State could act. I cannot remove a judge or compel him to resign, and the Republican leaders despite their hypocrisy know it. The public knows that the Attorney General advised against my receiving that evidence, and I was denied access to it. Without such evidence I can go no further. Whenever I was in a position to exercise my powers as Governor of this State properly and whenever I believed that those powers should be exercised, I had no hesitation in performing the duties of my office. If there exists evidence before the Ward Grand Jury to warrant my exercising any of the powers of my office, I hear about it only through the newspapers. It has never been presented to me. It may be that there exists such evidence as the special Attorney General informed the press of a few days ago, but if it does exist I have no knowledge of it. No word has come to the Governor about it. That latest statement from the Republican Attorney General is only further proof of what the people of this State have long suspected but now know -- that the Attorney General is using his office in every way possible in attempting to pervert the function of the grand jury itself, solely for the political benefit of Republican candidates.

The^{se} Republican candidates and a small section of the local press have sought a definite political object - to make the people of this City believe: (1) That the greater part of the 220 judges in this City are corrupt; (2) that as a result the judiciary as a whole is no longer worthy of the confidence of the people; (3) that neither I nor the Democratic Party in City or State would lift a finger to restore confidence in the courts and punish the guilty.

I, as a citizen of the State and as Governor, resent this campaign, as every person in this state who knows me, and who believes in honest and decent government, resents it.

I, and the members of my administration, do not yield place to any Republican candidate or editor in abhorrence of a corrupt judiciary. We do not yield place to anyone in indignation against any holder of public office who is recreant to his trust. We do not yield place to anyone in the sincere and honest desire to punish these judges who have^{prostituted} or who may prostitute their positions.

If there are corrupt judges still sitting in our courts they shall be removed. They shall be removed by constitutional means, not by inquisition; not by trial in the press, but by trial as provided by law,

If there is corruption in our courts I will use every rightful power of the office of Governor to drive it out -- and I will do this regardless of whether it affects or may affect any Democratic or any Republican organization in any one of the five counties of New York City, or in any one of the fifty-seven other counties of the state. That is clear. That is unequivocal. That is simple honesty. That is justice. That is American. That is right.

Now we have come to the close of the campaign. I ask the electorate of the State of New York for their support. I ask this as a rebuke to these Republican national and state leaders who, substituting false charges and deliberate misrepresentations, have had the cowardice to ignore the great problems and issues before the whole state.

I ask this as an expression of confidence in my administration, as an expression of confidence in the record of these past two years, and of the need, during the next two years, for a continuance of forward-looking, human and honest administration of the affairs of our state.

I ask this of the dwellers of this great metropolis, of the people of the other great cities, of the men and women in the villages and on the farms.

I ask this of the voters of all parties. I ask it in the name of good government.

Cheerfully and confidently I abide the result.

**Dishonest Campaign Methods Practiced by Republican Leaders
With Utter Unconcern as to Their Possible Results**

CAMPAIGN ADDRESS

NEW YORK CITY, November 1, 1930.

For two weeks as candidate for re-election to the Governorship of New York, I have discussed fully, without hate or passion, but with truth and frankness, the issues, the many great issues of this State campaign.

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the Republicans, because year after year they had consistently stood for the virtual gift of this water power to private corporate interests well known to be in close association with the Republican leadership itself.

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Then there was social welfare. They could not use that for the very obvious reason that it was the Democratic Party and its leaders who for a generation past had initiated every great social reform in this State from workmen's compensation and the forty-eight hour law down to old age pensions and the building up of the new parole system, and the securing of new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the State.

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There were other issues. But when the Republican leaders examined them and realized their record on those issues they knew that their only hope was to distract the attention of the people of this State from these real issues.

They, therefore, decided to adopt, and have steadfastly adhered to a policy of misrepresenting and distorting a local situation in the City of New York and from the start of the campaign they have refused absolutely to talk about any of the State issues whatsoever. And pursuing misrepresentation, without any sense of justice or propriety the Republican leaders have made every effort to convince the people of this State and the people of this country that our judiciary is corrupt and judges are unworthy to hold their high offices. No more reprehensible or cowardly act has ever been perpetrated in a campaign in this country than this deliberate attempt to bring dishonor on all—every one—of the members of our judiciary and their families and to break down the confidence of the public in this bulwark of our civilization. I say each and every member of the judiciary from the highest court to the lowest, because the Republican campaign without question has been aimed at making unthinking people believe that all judges should be brought publicly and with a blare of trumpets before a grand jury and subjected to the public task of proving they are honest. The history of the judiciary in this State needs no defense. Men of unquestioned standing, integrity and ability, many of them at a personal financial sacrifice to themselves and their families, have devoted and are devoting their lives to the great cause of justice. I refuse to believe, and further than that I deny, that our judiciary under the leadership and guidance of such men as Chief Judge Cardozo and Presiding Judges Dowling and Lazanski is saturated with corruption.

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They tell the 12,000,000 people of this State who are anxious to enlarge and modernize our State hospitals and secure new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the State that that does not count.

They tell the 12,000,000 people of this State who are anxious to protect its milk and cream supply and to prevent the importation of impure milk and cream from without the state, that that does not count.

They tell the millions of men, women and children of this State who labor for their daily bread that all of the important problems of adequate labor and social legislation such as the abolition of *ex parte* injunctions in strikes, preference on employment in State and local public works for New York citizens, an eight hour day and prevailing rate of wage on grade crossing eliminations, advisory minimum wage boards, elimination of unhealthy living conditions in congested areas, the establishment of the principle that the labor of a human being is not a commodity, adequate appropriations to enforce the labor law and the workmen's compensation law, the increasing of compensation to victims of industrial accidents and their dependents, dispatch in the disposal and payment of compensation claims, the extension of workmen's compensation to include occupational diseases, the adequate regulation by the State of fee-charging employment agencies, the prevention of importation of prison-made goods from other states, that all of these matters affecting the daily lives of every laboring man, woman and child in this State do not count.

They tell the 12,000,000 people of this State who have enjoyed the vast system of parks and parkways inaugurated by Governor Smith and pushed and forwarded in every way by me, who look forward to the completion of the program so that still greater areas through the State from Montauk Point to Niagara may be made available for their health, recreation and enjoyment, that this does not count.

They tell the millions of farmers and other residents of rural communities in this State who are beginning to reap the benefits of that vast program initiated by me of constructive farm and rural tax relief, resulting in better roads, better schools and lower taxes for the rural population of the State and more adequate funds for agricultural surveys and experiment—that those things do not count. And on this question at least everyone who knows of the complete failure of the Republican administration in Washington to carry out any form of adequate farm relief, they certainly speak with authority.

Having examined the credentials of these cabinet officers and the nature of their instructions to us, let us see whether they are qualified by success in Washington to instruct the voters in New York. They and their party, this present national administration, came before this State two years ago soliciting the votes of its people on representations, promises and prophecies. They represent themselves as the creators of the prosperity of the country. They were the originators of sound business; they were its protectors. Under them prosperity had always prevailed and only under them could prosperity continue. Poverty was on its way to be abolished. There is no need for me to demonstrate to you how false were those representations, those promises and those prophecies. There is no need for me to point out to you what has been unfortunately experienced by almost every man, woman and child in the nation.

I say to these gentlemen: We shall be grateful if you will return to your posts in Washington, and bend your efforts and spend your time solving the problems which the whole nation is fearing under your administration. Rest assured that we of the Empire State can and will take care of ourselves and our problems.

And so, with whatever comfort they can find in this Federal support, and persisting in their original intention, the Republican party has to this very last day of the campaign refused to talk about the real issues, instead they have talked only of judges in New York City.

Tonight, therefore, I shall depart from discussing those real issues of the campaign, in order again to repeat to the people of the State my record in this local situation and make that record and my policy clear.

During the last session of the Legislature, Republican leaders having in mind the coming campaign, and realizing that they would have no issue in it, considered the proposition of trying to manufacture publicity by an investigation of New York City. They looked it over and it did not seem to be a very happy thought, so they fell back on one of their most ancient practices of "passing the buck" to the Governor, and trying to put the Governor "in a hole." They went so far as to pass a bill directing me to institute an investigation in New York City; and although I asked them, they refused or were unable to give me any grounds or reasons for such an investigation. I sent the bill right back to them and told them that if they wanted such an investigation in New York City, they were free to go ahead and make one without even submitting the question to me. I pointed out to them that the Legislature, not only had full power but was the only one charged with the duty of making any such investigation. They refused to do it. They did not have the courage to do it.

Some months later, my attention was called to evidence which had been presented to a Grand Jury of the County of New York, alleging that a magistrate in the City of New York, had paid a district leader for his appointment. The Grand Jury had failed to indict those who were said to be implicated. Immediately within twenty-four hours I demanded a copy of the minutes. I read them. I deemed that it was appropriate that there should be further investigation. I could have suggested or directed the submission of the matter to another Grand Jury by the District Attorney. I elected, however, for the purpose of removing the matter from all possible criticism, to supersede the District Attorney and place it in the hands of the Republican Attorney General with a Republican judge. I did this within twenty-four hours of receiving the minutes. I foresaw the possibility that in a gubernatorial campaign which was soon to start, a Republican Attorney Gen-

eral who was indeed himself a leading candidate, might use this instrumentality in order to mislead the public. I foresaw that possibility but I did not hesitate to discharge my duty. I never have and I never will, so long as there is any duty to perform. The power of that Grand Jury which I called, is absolutely unlimited to investigate any crime in the County of New York. The Court of Appeals has said so, and these gentlemen from Washington know so. Regardless of all misrepresentations to the contrary, I have never refused to enlarge the powers of the Grand Jury because the Governor of the State has no power either to enlarge those powers or curtail them. But I wish again to point out what Republican candidates and Republican campaign orators and a small portion of the New York press has sought to obscure, that I, a Democratic Governor on the eve of a campaign for re-election, sent into a Democratic county, a Republican Attorney General and a Republican judge with an extraordinary Grand Jury. That investigation was ordered and directed by me.

The next step related to specific abuses in the magistrates courts and in their procedure. I immediately called upon the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court to make a searching investigation of them all. The Appellate Division is the body charged by law with that duty and in accordance with that law I called upon them to perform it. That investigation has been put in the hands of Judge Seabury, a former Judge of the Court of Appeals. I defy anyone even to intimate that that investigation will not be honest, thorough and searching; and I challenge the untruthful assertion made by these gentlemen from Washington that such an investigation is futile. Let them have no doubt that if the Appellate Division discovers corruption in the magistrates courts the Appellate Division will have it punished, no matter where they find it.

Later on, I learned that a Judge had refused to waive immunity before the Ward Grand Jury. In order that I might perform my duty properly I immediately requested that the evidence in this case be sent to me so that the matter could be presented to the Senate of this State if the situation warranted action. Only the Senate of the State could act. I cannot remove a Judge or compel him to resign, and the Republican leaders despite their hypocrisy know it. The public knows that the Attorney-General advised against my receiving that evidence, and I was denied access to it. Without such evidence I can go no further. Whenever I was in a position to exercise my powers as Governor of this State properly and whenever I believed that those powers should be exercised, I had no hesitation in performing the duties of my office. If there exists evidence before the Ward Grand Jury to warrant my exercising any of the powers of my office, I hear about it only through the newspapers. It has never been presented to me. It may be that there exists such evidence as the special Attorney-General informed the press of a few days ago, but if it does exist I have no knowledge of it. No word has come to the Governor about it. That latest statement from the Republican Attorney-General is only further proof of what the people of this State have long suspected but now know,—that the Attorney-General is using his office in every way possible in attempting to pervert the function of the grand jury itself, solely for the political benefit of Republican candidates.

The Republican candidates and a small section of the local press have sought a definite political object—to make the people of this city believe: (1) That the greater part of the 220 judges in this city are corrupt; (2) that as a result the judiciary as a whole is no longer worthy of the confidence of the people; (3) that neither I nor the Democratic Party in city or State would lift a finger to restore confidence in the courts and punish the guilty.

I, as a citizen of the State and as Governor, resent this campaign, as every person in this State who knows me, and who believes in honest and decent government, resents it.

I, and the members of my administration, do not yield place to any Republican candidate or editor in abhorrence of a corrupt judiciary. We do not yield place to anyone in indignation against any holder of public

office who is recreant to his trust. We do not yield place to anyone in the sincere and honest desire to punish those judges who have or who may prostitute their positions.

If there are corrupt judges still sitting in our courts they shall be removed. They shall be removed by constitutional means, not by inquisition; not by trial in the press, but by trial as provided by law.

If there is corruption in our courts I will use every rightful power of the office of Governor to drive it out—and I will do this regardless of whether it affects or may affect any Democratic or any Republican organization in and one of the five counties of New York City, or in any one of the fifty-seven other counties of the State. That is clear. That is unequivocal. That is simple honesty. That is justice. That is American. That is right.

Now we have come to the close of the campaign. I ask the electorate of the State of New York for their support. I ask this as a rebuke to those Republican national and State leaders who, substituting false charges and deliberate misrepresentation, have had the cowardice to ignore the great problems and issues before the whole State.

I ask this as an expression of confidence in my administration, as an expression of confidence in the record of these past two years, and of the need, during the next two years, for a continuance of forward-looking, human and honest administration of the affairs of our State.

I ask this of the dwellers in this great metropolis, of the people of the other great cities, of the men and women in the villages and on the farms.

I ask this of the voters of all parties. I ask it in the name of good government.

Cheerfully and confidently I abide the result.

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DEMOCRATIC RALLY

ROOSEVELT - LEHMAN

Carnegie Hall, New York City,

November 1st, 1930.

HON. JAMES J. WALKER, presiding: Ladies and gentlemen:

A very unhappy occasion deprived you of a far more distinguished chairman for this very important meeting of the final lap of the 1930 campaign, and it has a two-fold beneficent purpose, first, in that it has fallen to my distinction to preside over this meeting, and secondly, it will serve the purpose of keeping me quiet all night. (laughter) You may as well be forewarned now that if the list of distinguished speakers who will address you tonight were given sufficient time to bring you their entire message, you would probably be late for work on Monday morning. Of course, by that I mean that the Mayor also might be late for the same reason (laughter and applause). However, that I may begin to start to commence to fulfill some of the duties devolving upon me this evening, it is my great pleasure to present to you as the first speaker, the senior Senator from the State of New York (applause). Your confidence, your admiration, your affection, for loyal Copeland, has been manifested many times heretofore (applause). So without any more ado, with great pleasure to the chair, I give you Senator Royal S. Copeland (applause).

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Copeland.

SENATOR ROYAL S. COPELAND: Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen: I can think of nothing in the world that could keep the Mayor quiet, and we wouldn't want him to be quiet (Applause). I wish every citizen of this State could view this great addience from this vantage point. It does not seem possible that there could be so many Democrats in the world (Laughter). They reach from here to the vault of heaven. Mr. Barry, I congratulate you on the greatest pre-election gathering of Democrats we have ever had (Applause). This, I might say, is our pre-election jubilee, because the election is all over (Applause). Through an unprejudiced onlooker the past month must have been a pleasant one. A Republican candidate for Governor heaps on his Democratic rival all sorts of abuse. He hits at corruption and charges of every sort. He dares to think that the world, the flesh and the devil control New York politics. That is one picture. Then the unprejudiced observer finds the Republican President of the United States fairly frothing at the mouth, because a little American loving clerk in the Interior Department dares to hit that there is fraud in the disposition of Government-owned oil shale lands.

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Copeland

The President denounces the charges as reckless, baseless, and infamous, to use his language. The Secretary of the Interior discharges the clerk in the disgrace; the Republicans applaud.

Just what can be the frame of mind of an unprejudiced onlooker?

Tuttle assails Roosevelt and the unfriendly press as defenders of corruption. He makes this charge almost his sole campaign issue. He has the aid of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Treasury, the under-Secretary of the Treasury and others in high place.

The President is violently indignant and seeks to crush the critics of his administration.

Just what can the unprejudiced onlooker think? What can he think of Republican blindness to the outrageous attacks and approval of attacks upon the lofty character of a spotless man, Franklin D. Roosevelt?

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Let us gaze upon nother picture: there are 220 judges in New York City. Indictments, not convictions, are directed against 2 of them -- 2 out of 220.

Once there was a president, a Republican president, who had a cabinet of 10 men, Mr. Harding. Presumably these 10 men in his cabinet were outstanding Republicans, men of the highest integrity. The President died, and another Republican president entered the white House. The new President retained the old Cabinet, the same 10 Republicans, men of integrity.

A VOICE: Thieves!

SENATOR COPELAND: Alas and alas, that is what they were. One of the 10 was indicted, tried, and convicted for robbing his country of Teapot Dome. Albert Fall stands at the threshold of the penitentiary, this outstanding Republican. Another of the Republican cabinet of 10 had an intimate, Forbes, who was sent to the penitentiary for robbing the Veterans Bureau of five millions of dollars. The Attorney General was kicked out of the Republican cabinet. That left but 8.

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Copeland.

Two Republican cabinet officers out of ten unfaithful to their trust! Two Democrat judges out of 220! Human nature is much the same regardless of party, but if percentages mean anything, the Republicans are far ahead of us in wickedness (Applause).

Mr. Mayor, there face us too many genuince pressing, urgent problems to justify the frithering of time over political and social scandals. Unfaithful public servants regardless of party must be removed. That is common sense. In this respect the record of the Democratic party is just as plain and just as vigorous as the record of the R_epublican party. These unpleasant conditions cannot be made an issue. S_uch experiences ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XX~~ ~~XXXX~~ ~~XX~~ are liable to occur at any time, because they are founded on individual human failings. W_hen they do occur, they must be dealt with severely and with dispatch. They will be.

B_ut what is the issue? With five millions out of work, representing with their dependents twenty-five millions of our brothers and sisters, hungry and soon to be homeless--there we have the real issue of this campaign, the issue of unemployment. T_he social order itself is at stake.

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The Republican Party, National and State, has failed to find a way to avert disaster. (Applause) As I view it, my friends, it is time that the party of the people, the party that stands for the human needs of the people of America, it is time the Democratic Party took possession of Government from top to bottom. I pray that every voter may bear this in mind when he goes into the booth next Tuesday. In America sovereignty is lodged in the people. Sovereignty does not reside in the person of a King or an Emperor. It is exercised by the agents of the people, the members of the Congress. The wrongs of the people can be wringed there and nowhere else. If we are not to lose faith in our institutions, if we are to have our rights protected, the Congress must be made up of men who really and truly represent the sovereign people, to preserve our political faith. and Congress must be responsible to the present needs of the people. It is the ancient philosophy of our people ^{that} ~~xxx~~ only the best of men should be elected to that great body of social justice.

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Copeland

With distress everywhere in America, with soup lines in every industrial center, with the farmer in bankruptcy, with depression throughout our land, this is no time for hairsplitting and the retailing of scandals.

The economic situation demands constructive statesmanship (applause). There never was another time like this when both in state and nation wide leadership was needed. America has plenty of able men in every walk of life. Give our business men proper leadership, and the economic ills will disappear.

The country is on its toes, ready to go. Then the way is pointed out by those who are worthy of trust, all will be well with our country.

It is because I believe these things that I urge you to vote the Democratic ticket. We have at the head of that ticket a fine, upstanding man, who has shown by years of public service the fine qualities of heart and mind he possesses.

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Copeland.

Let us send back to Albany to the Governor's chair by the largest vote anybody ever had this great man (Applause). And then let us see to it that we have retained in his office the man who showed bravery beyond words in dealing with the Auburn Prison trouble, that splendid citizen of ours, Colonel Lehman (Applause). Mr. Tremaine, our great Comptroller, and that splendid young man, our candidate for the office of Attorney General, Mr. Bennett (Applause) deserves and should have the cordial support of every Legionnaire and every friend of every Soldier in the State of New York. And we have our judges, outstanding men, we have our ticket in general.

But I do not want to leave until I have said just one word about the fifty million dollar bond issue for the rebuilding of our hospitals and asylums. I hope that when you vote next Tuesday you will not forget the need of these inmates in these institutions, every one of them overcrowded, every one of them a place of fire hazard. We must vote the money in order that decent treatment may be given these wards of the State.

Now, once more, Mr. Mayor, may I say that we are here merely to celebrate what is going to happen next Tuesday. (Applause).

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Copeland

During the past month I have been all over the country, and I have no doubt that we are going to elect our ticket by an enormous majority. (Applause)

MAYOR WALKER: Did I say that I was to keep quiet all night, or did I promise? (Laughter) I don't think Senator Copeland will mind if I add a word to a very convincing statement that he made, when he described how two Republican cabinet members sort of fell out - two out of ten, I think you said, Doctor, as compared with two out of 320 judges in the City of New York. But there is another vital distinction too, that the two cabinet members who disappeared with the consent of all the nation (laughter and applause) dipped into the pockets of the people of the United States and stole from them. The two judges out of the 320 sitting in the City of New York were not charged with the larceny of one single penny of the people of the City of New York. They have only been charged, the two judges. The two cabinet members have been convicted. (applause) The two cabinet members were charged by distinguished independents in the United States Senate and not by the Republican Party. (Laughter)

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Walker

It was Norris, wasn't it, and Walsh of Montana, who uncovered those facts? (Applause) But it was a Republican attorney general who charged the 2 Democratic judges in the City of New York (applause). They are charged with selling stock, (Laughter) a violation of some blue-sky law. I want the opportunity to say there is no attempt, no desire, no willingness on the part of the Democracy of this city to condone any offense by any public officer. But you will admit it is more difficult to keep in touch and keep track of the side lines of 130,000 employees of the city than it is to keep your finger on a Cabinet member of the President (applause).

There is no question that probably the most accommodating issue that the Democracy might enter this campaign on is one of morality. Then the result would be ~~xxx~~ unanimous. (Laughter)

There is a young man with a great career of accomplishment in business, excellent standing at the bar, a true patriot, a genuine American, known in the first line trenches as Jack Bennett. (Applause). If that familiarity was good enough for the first line trenches, it is good enough for us (applause).

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Walker.

Probably upon no individual organization do the hopes of American depend more than on the American Legion. Those who knew the hardships, the sacrifices, the sufferings that were necessary for the preservation of the honor and the glory and the liberty of this country, ought to be considered for carrying the standard set by the American legion, right into the Government of our affairs during times of peace. The American Legion has a right to demand that peace may be maintained amongst the peoples of the world for the rest of time to come, and so in recognition, not only of the personal attributes, the splendid character and the high intelligence of the Democratic candidate for Attorney General, but the Government itself may come to those who laid down their lives, and those who serve for the integrity and honor of the Government, that it may be maintained, I give you one of the most splendid soldiers known to this State or in this country, in the person of the ~~XXXXXX~~ Democratic candidate for Attorney General, Jack Bennett.

MR. JACK BENNETT: E. Mayor and friends: Tonight's meeting in this great auditorium marks the closing of another State campaign. I do not know of a more fitting place to wind up that campaign than on this busy little island, which symbolizes to the world, not only our State, but also our nation, that whether we come from Kings, Queens, Bronx or Richmond, most of us look upon New York County as the center of our every-day activities.

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Bennett

A week ago I finished up a three weeks tour of the State. I travelled 3,000 miles and visited more than 250 cities and villages of this State, meeting many old friends and many new ones. Everywhere I went I was told the same thing by Democrats and Republicans alike, that Governor Roosevelt and the entire Democratic ticket will achieve a sweeping victory on Election Day (applause). That sentiment is logical because of the splendid record of accomplishment made by the Democratic Administration at Albany during the last two years. There can be only one result from the efficient, progressive, and humanitarian administration given by Governor Roosevelt and his colleagues, and that is to send him and the entire Democratic ticket to Albany for another two years (applause).

The Democratic Party has conferred upon me the signal honor of making me its candidate for Attorney General of this State (applause). It has given me the privilege of being associated on a ticket with such great leaders of Democracy as Governor Roosevelt, Lieutenant Governor Lehman, and Controller Tremaine (applause). In my limited time on the air I wish to discuss a few of the problems of importance to you as citizens, coming under the jurisdiction of the office of Attorney General. First, let me say that the duties of the Attorney General are found in the State constitution and are prescribed by law. I pledge you that when elected I shall perform all of the duties imposed upon that office to the best interests of the State and of its people without fear or favor (applause)

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Bennett

Time does not permit my going into the work of all the bureaus of the Attorney General's office. However, the work of some bureaus touches closely the welfare, the comfort, and the health of all the people of this state. These include the Bureaus of Health, Hospitals and Charities, Water Power and Control, Prevention of Fraud, and Compensation Appeals in Labor Cases. Despite its legal aspects, the office of Attorney General has its humanitarian side. This applies particularly to the administration of the laws dealing with the issuance of worthless securities by unscrupulous stock promoters.

For 10 years prior to taking up my active practice of the law, I held an executive position with the outstanding banking firm of America. That experience has given me the knowledge necessary to recognize unsound and valueless securities. Every year millions of dollars are mulcted from unsuspecting investors by scheming stock promoters. I know of the suffering and hardship which has been visited upon these unfortunate people who have been forced to give up their life savings, their homes, and in some cases their lives, because they have become the prey of one of the worst types of humanity, the man who sells worthless securities.

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Bennett.

These investors must be protected. I pledge you now that as Attorney General I will root out all those parasites selling such securities and put them where they can no longer prey on the wage-earner, the widow and the orphan. And that pledge stands whether the culprit is rich or poor, Republican or Democrat (applause).

The wage-earner has another interest vital to his welfare in connection with the compensation and labor laws brought into being by Democratic administrations. In past years interpretations and constructions have been placed on these laws, enacted for the relief and protection of the working man, so that their full benefits have not gone for those for whom they were intended. Humanitarian principles brought these laws into existence. Technicalities, shrewd construction or legal quibbling should be brushed aside and should have no place in their application and administration. Where those laws as they now exist conflict with the aims intended or lead to interpretations which obstruct their proper operation, I will make it my business as Attorney General to urge such amendments or modifications as will produce the most beneficial results to the State and to the working man alike.

One of the most important duties of the Attorney General is to prevent combinations in restraint of trade, or trusts. Such combinations keep up the prices of the necessities of life which we consumers are forced to pay. I promise you that when Attorney General I shall go into this matter and take such steps as are necessary to wipe out all such combinations.

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Bennett

As to all of these matters I believe that the Attorney General should have a broad knowledge of the fundamentals of the law, such as I have gained practicing and teaching law. In addition, he should have a desire and^{an} intent to interpret the laws of his State, not just for the sake of securing some ~~kind~~ cold legal end, but more important, to further human rights.

And now for a final word. There is to my mind only one issue in this campaign: Do the people of the State of New York wish to continue progressive, efficient and humanitarian government, such as Governor Roosevelt and his administration have given for the last two years? There can be no doubt of the answer. It will be yes. Governor Roosevelt will be returned to office, to carry on his wonderful program, and with him there must and will be elected a Lieutenant Governor, a Controller and an Attorney General, who are in full sympathy with his aims and ideals. (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: Four years ago the people of the State of New York elected Morris Tremaine, Controller of the State of New York. (Applause) Two years ago the people of the Empire State, by a great plurality, we elected Morris Tremaine Controller of the State of New York (applause). This year (applause) — you seem to know what I was going to say.

A VOICE: A Jimmy Walker plurality.

THE CHAIRMAN: Why, things are beginning to look as if Johnny and Jimmie may yet get together again.

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There has been a long interruption in that old friendship (laughter). However, this year, thanks to the splendid, unparalleled record made in the office of State Comptroller, the people of this state will again give to Morris Tremaine the largest plurality ever voted a candidate for that great office (applause). The great necessity of this office is evidenced by the legal protection written by the legislature around the office.

(At this point Borough President Julius Miller entered the hall, amid applause.)

MAYOR WALKER: Going to run away and be a judge (laughter and applause).

Governor Smith (applause), after 2 years of association with Comptroller Tremaine, is one of his greatest admirers, and looks upon him as one of the finest public servants ever engaged by the State of New York (applause). That same opinion after 2 years' experience is shared by Franklin D. Roosevelt (applause).

So now you have perhaps your last opportunity before election to look upon the present Comptroller and the next Comptroller of the State of New York (applause).

HON. MORRIS TREMAINE: Mr. Mayor, Lieutenant Governor Lehman, distinguished guests, fellow Democrats, and Liberal Republicans: (laughter and applause) I am very happy to be here tonight and talk to the people of New York. I came here in the panic of '93 when the Democratic party had started to repair the damages that had been done by one of the other parties, (Applause) and which they did so successfully under Grover Cleveland.

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Tremaine.

I am not permitted to talk politics, nor am I fitted to do it. My job is purely a business one, and the Government of the State of New York is a great business. It is a great human institution. It was the Democratic party that made it a business and that gave it its human side under the man that we all love, Alfred E. Smith (applause). Both the human side and the business side have been developed and speeded up under the management of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman (applause).

You all know about the wonderful institutions that the State of New York conducts, the hospitals for the care of those mentally afflicted, its correctional institutions where men are confined because they have never learned self-discipline, and that is really the reason for a prisoner; its wonderful cancer laboratory in Buffalo, its pulmonary hospital in the Adirondacks, its Crippled Children's Hospital, and all sorts of other institutions, in which it cares for the human beings through its health department and through its other institutions, to keep the people of the State of New York happy, not to forget our wonderful parks that you here in New York enjoy so much.

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Tremaine

The Democratic Party has nominated four men for its State ticket, all of whom have been trained in business, all of whom have had executive experience, and three of whom have had experience in the government of this State.

I need not go into the details or the merits of these men, except to remind you again that Franklin D. Roosevelt is a lawyer, a business man, a legislator and a Governor, and has devoted a very large part of his life to the human side of things, and has had an executive training in the Navy Department second to none.

You in New York know so well about Governor Lehman. You know that his family has been known in this City for nearly a hundred years in business. You know his executive talents. You know his great interest in charity. You know his great business ability. I would like to say right here and now that a lot of the credit that has been given to the Controller of the State of New York is due to the assistance that I received from Herbert Lehman (applause).

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You know that since he left college he has devoted about half his time to business and half his time to making this world a better place in which human beings may live and labor. You know about Jack Bennett too well for me to describe any further than to say to you that in my trip with him through this State, to see the affection that was developed or exhibited for him by his fellow Legionnaires, was truly impressive (applause). Now, as for the Comptroller's office, I am privileged to be the Democratic nominee for

the third time. I have held this office for four years, under 2 Governors, and we keep the records, and we know in that office how rapidly this state is arising toward the highest efficiency, and every department of the government of the state of New York has been steadily improving since I have been Comptroller, and I want anyone to challenge that statement. The State, during my administration, has been fortunate enough to borrow money at the lowest interest cost in 20 years. We have increased the efficiency of the office, speeded up its operation, with a very small increase in personnel, and an increase in business amounting to over 30 per cent. Only the other day I borrowed in anticipation of future bond issues, some money, seven million dollars, at 2 per cent, the lowest interest rate ever paid by the State of New York (applause).

I am very happy to be here and greet you all. I would just like to leave this one word, that every man on this ticket has had experience. Do we want experience or inexperience? Do we want the pupil or the graduate in government? I believe that the people of the state of New York, Democrats and Republicans alike, will support the splendid administration given by Governor Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman. I thank you. (Applause).

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Walker.

CHAIRMAN WALKER: All of which reminds the Chair, Mr. Tremaine, that while we have some overnight visitors from the President's cabinet who have recently come from Washington, Oklahoma and other points West (laughter) to tell us whom we should elect in the State of New York (laughter) and to tell us how bad the City Administration is, I might, thanks to a suggestion of yours, remind them in this very indirect way-- because I don't expect they are here tonight (laughter)-- that the standing of New York City bonds in the Bond Market of the world is the best evidence of the integrity and the stability of the Administration of the City of New York. (Applause).

The New York City bond is more attractive to bond purchasers than the composite advantages of bond of a half a dozen of the states that our visitors come from. Another little bit of evidence along that line, the Comptroller just whispered to me that New York City bonds are so inviting, and in fact, so irresistible, that the City of New York has purchased sixty million dollars worth of them. (Applause). Maybe we could borrow a few at the bank (laughter). It has cost us several years given over to intelligent, sympathetic, constructive communal work.

Miss Frances Perkins was invited by the State of New York to occupy the very important post of State Commissioner of Industry. That Department was created and made important in the minds of every worker in this City after the famous fire on Washington Square.

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Walker

What that department has done for the protection of the worker, what it has meant to industry at large is the result more particularly of her activity than any other individual in this State. I might very accurately and yet very happily associate with her activities the work of a candidate for Supreme Court in this present election, in the person of Bernard Shientag. (Applause) Now, my dear friends, the Mayor has the extreme pleasure and distinction of presenting to you Miss Frances Perkins.

MISS PERKINS: I share with Senator Copeland his belief that the vote on next Tuesday will be overwhelmingly Democratic, but even so I don't think it is time yet to do the rejoicing. I think there is still time to gather in more votes and more votes, not only the liberal Republicans, a few of those, but all the Democrats and all of the liberal independents. I think there is still time to get those, and I think we need those. Now, in the time of campaigning we always hear a great deal of talk and we always hear a great deal of very persuasive talk.

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Miss Perkins

1 But I take it that the Democratic party in this particular election does not want any votes except those which are given to it by people who believe that the record of the Democratic party in bringing about a good life, a better life, for the average man and the average woman in the state of New York, warrants the votes of the people (applause).

In other words, we do not want to over-persuade any of these liberal independents or any of these liberal Republicans to vote with us, unless they feel as we do about the need of measures to protect the helpless and to help those who need help to a greater opportunity in American life.

1 We do not want to be too over-persuasive. You know, it is dangerous to be too overpersuasive. In fact, it sometimes results in disaster, as an episode which happened on Brooklyn Bridge a few days ago indicates.

You know, in this period of unemployment, there have been a great many mergers of big business concerns in which important men have found themselves out of work.

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Perkins.

A young man who is a high-powered salesman, who had been with one of these big business enterprises, found himself out of work because of the merger of his firm with another firm, and he tried and tried to get work and he couldn't. He was one of these high-powered salesman who had a reputation of always being able to sell a bill of goods whether it was wanted or not in that particular household, and so when he found himself out of work and unable to get another job, he was very, very much discouraged, and decided there was nothing for him to do but jump off the Brooklyn Bridge, and so he went to the bridge, and being a man of quick action, took off his clothes and shoes, and was just climbing the rail to jump over, when one of the police force which had been trained in Mayor Walker's police college (applause)-- you know how they have been trained to be social minded and helpful to all of us-- one of these policemen came along and saw this young man on the rail, and he pulled him back, and he said, "Brother, brother, you must not do it." I dare say times have been bad. Let us talk it over. Perhaps if you and I talk together a while you will feel better about this." So the salesman said, "All right," and the policeman put his arm around his shoulder, and the salesman put his arm around the policeman's shoulder, and they walked up and down in deep conversation, talking to each other. They walked up and down for half an hour, talking intimately and earnestly all the time, and at the end of half an hour they came to a pause and they both went over the rail (laughter).

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I say we don't want to be too over-persuasive, and we only want votes from those who believe in our program. Now, in the words of a very distinguished and never to be forgotten New Yorker "That does the record show?" It shows to me that the Democratic party in this State has put itself clearly and definitely on record as being the party which is committed to a modern conception of social justice. In this we have gained the votes, year after year, period after period, and this particular party stands and will continue to stand for the modern conception of social justice, given realistic expression in the law, in the administration of the law, and in public opinion. Now, I only know this party-- my memory is only twenty years long for the Democratic Party in the State of New York, and I am so constituted that I never try to speak about things that I don't personally know about.

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Perkins

go when I cite the record of the Democratic Party in the efforts for social justice in this State, I shall only speak of the things that I can remember in the last 20 years which seem to me to have been of such importance that the liberal Republicans and the liberal independents and the thinking people of all sorts ought to vote to sustain this Party in power. First, the abolition and the regulation of child labor in 1910. My memory goes back as far as that. Was that a good thing for the young people of this State? Indeed it was (applause). And the Widows' Pension Law. Do you remember as far back as that? Some of you here I think do. And you remember how we were told that it was Socialism to talk about making it possible for children to stay in their homes with their own mothers when their mothers were widowed and the breadwinner gone. And that is an item to the credit of the Democratic Party. I think you remember the Tenement House Law, when the people of this State, with Democratic help and under Democratic leadership voted to stamp out out the old law tenements where the health and the vitality of our young people were being wrecked because of unsanitary conditions, and where we put ourselves on record as being willing to spend money for a better kind of housing.

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Miss Perkins

1 And then the labor laws to which Mayor Walker has referred. You know that under Democratic leadership the feeling of the people of this state, the feeling of the horror that young life could be wiped out by a great factory tragedy, resulted in a series of labor laws which not only built up the Department of Labor, which not only made the factories of this State safe for the people who worked in them, but which also put on the statute books a series of humane laws aimed at making working conditions better for the people of this state. It was then that we got the beginnings of the movement for a short work day for women and incidentally for men, for it has resulted in that, and we got the abolition of night work for women, and that we got a series of laws made into an industrial code to protect the life and the health and the safety of working people. 1 Were those things good for the people of this state, for the average man and the average woman? Indeed they were. And then we got the Workmen's Compensation Law, as you all know, under Democratic leadership. And think what that has meant in the protection of men and women and children when the bread-winner was injured in the course of his employment.

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As some of you remember the old days when he bore the whole cost alone. Contrast it with the present time when the community through the insurance principle bears a part of that cost.

And then think of the parks and recreation movement which has come into its flower under Democratic auspices. A party committed to the idea that the average man and the average woman deserved not only a living, but a good time, has been able to lead a movement effectively which has resulted in a great and an entirely modern system of state parks which has meant a better life for all the people of the community.

And then, as though that were not enough, in the last two years, we have had this great, new step toward the development of our water power in the hands of the people, for the people. No greater step has ever been taken, I think, in the state of New York, than that which seems to assure us that the development of the water power will be for the advantage of the common people.

And then we have had in the last two years the beginning of a program under state auspices of old age security, one of the most important items which has ever been added to the program of social welfare in this state.

And, most of all, in this crisis in the last two years, in this business crisis, and in this horrible unemployment, we have had leadership which has resulted in the most intelligent handling of the unemployment problem of any state in the Union. And unemployment, as we have said over and over again, cannot be cured either by fiat or by good wishes, but it can be infinitely relieved by speeding up public works. And that the Governor has done. And it can be infinitely mitigated by a program which looks to the preservation of industry, to stabilize its own program and its own activities, so that we may prevent future crises of unemployment.

And we have the Democratic party in its platform committed to the pledge to study every known method of preventing unemployment in the future. The Democratic party, by that pledge in its platform, makes this promise to the American people and the people of the State of New York, that when this particular crisis has passed away, we shall not forget unemployment, and shall continue to do something about it.

It is to that that the Democratic party will turn its attention in the next few years.

And now you will say to me, "But surely, to have accomplished this great program, there must have been in all these years some Republican assistance, and some Republican votes?" I am glad to say that there were. There have been some fine men who voted in the legislature for this program of social betterment who were Republicans. But the difference has been this, that whereas the Democratic party has rewarded and honored and put forward to places of greater responsibility those young men in the Assembly and in the Senate who voted for and worked for this program of social welfare, the Republican party has almost without exception retired those socially minded young Republicans to the walks of private life.

In other words, the Democratic party has officially endorsed and sponsored this program, and so has put itself in on record as being willing to stand by this forever. I once started out to count the young Republicans who had been retired as I had thought because of their votes, and because of their activity on some of these measures, but I got sick of it, and decided that after all statistics in a matter of this sort did not matter very much.

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Perkins.

You know, any public official is likely to become very statistical, because it is so easy for people in a department to get up figures which are very impressive, but whenever I start to become statistical, I think of my old grandfather who lived to be 104 years old, and was a very cranky old man, and when he went down ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ his 99th year to get himself made a pair of new boots, he turned fussy on the bootmaker and told him just how they should be made and just how thick the soles should be made, so they should wear well. The old bootmaker who was good and tired of him by this time turned on him and said, "Well, Mr. Perkins, you are 99 years old. Surely you don't expect to live to wear out these boots," and my grandfather turned back to him and said, "My good man, don't you know that statistics prove that very few men die after 99?" (Laughter and applause.)

Now, this social welfare program to which the Democratic party is committed in this State and which I think is its chief reason for asking the votes of the thinking people throughout the community is a program on a big scale in which every one can have a part. We shall need good judges to interpret this program, to make it real, judges who are sympathetic, who are intelligent, who understand this social program and who care about it. I only speak of one of the judges tonight, a man whom I know and have worked with for all these many years, Bernard Shientag, whom I am sure when these laws come to him for interpretation will give intelligent and scholarly and sympathetic effect ~~to~~ to what the Legislature under the Democratic leaders has intended to write into our books (Applause).

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Perkins

Now, I want to ask of this audience one thing more. We often in these days of campaign tell the people of the State why our candidates should be re-elected or should be elected, but we seldom say anything to the candidates as to what we wish to do for them or to help them if they are elected. And these men who stand in these positions of responsibility, bear our burdens, take the blame for all our errors, and make great sacrifice of themselves, what do we promise them? Frequently in effect we forget them after they are once elected and we have shares that small moment of glory. Can this great audience not promise tonight in the name of the Democratic people of the State of New York that if these candidates who have made such sacrifice of themselves are elected, that they will give them not only loyalty at the polls, but loyalty after the election; that they will stand by them (applause) while they put into effect and make greater and greater the social program that the Democratic Party in the State of New York commits itself to in this election (applause).

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Walker.

CHAIRMAN WALKER: Never in all the history of the State of New York nor any other State that I have ever heard of, has a man theretofore unknown to political activity won such admiration, such confidence, such esteem and such affection as Herbert Lehman enjoys (applause). My dear friends, that is not a gratuitous observation of a stereotyped chairman; that is also from the record. Yet in that comparatively short time as Lieutenant Governor of this State, Herbert Lehman is known to the entire American public as the finest type of public servant ever known in the American history (applause).

Now, the Lieutenant Governor, I repeat, as you know, has only been in public life two years. I didn't know that he had such a start as was described by Comptroller Tremaine, who said his family has been here for more than a hundred years in this City, and I am inclined to believe that is true, because the force, the intelligence, the finesse and the progress of his administration, it seems to me, would almost require a hundred year preparation to attain (applause). Who is it that enjoys a finer reputation throughout the business and banking world than Herbert Lehman.

A VOICES: Nobody.

CHAIRMAN WALKER: Who is it that enjoys a more secure position in the hearts of the people of the State of New York than Herbert Lehman?

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Walker.

A VOICE: Nobody.

CHAIRMAN WALKER: The Chairman knows something about, or remembers something about presiding officers of the State Senate. You know how reluctant it is to ring a word of compliment from a Republican about a Democrat (laughter) and yet it was the unanimous opinion, when the last Senate adjourned, by Democrats and Republicans that there had never been a more intelligent or fairer presiding officer over the Senate than Herbert Lehman (applause).

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Walker

When the terrible forces of illness compelled the Governor to go south in his heroic effort to regain complete health, Governor Roosevelt rested serenely, as did the Empire State, while Herbert Lehman occupied the chair of the Chief Executive of this State. Now, there would be a terrible temptation here to turn this into a convention and to do some nominating but with Democratic precision and intelligence let us get this thing over on Tuesday next that we have to do, and then we will turn our minds to those other things (applause).

My dear friends, a real humanitarian, genuine public benefactor, a real statesman, a man devoted to the City and the State of New York - I give you Herbert Lehman (applause).

LIEUT. GOV. HERBERT LEHMAN: Mayor Walker, Mr. Curry, friends: I am glad to be here tonight in this hall, situated in the Assembly District in which I was born and in which I have lived for all the 52 years of my life (applause). The campaign serves a useful purpose, because it permits the people of the State to take political inventory of their executives and their representatives. Promises, glittering prophecies, mean little unless they are translated into terms of achievement.

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The only thing that really counts in the long run is the record, and the people of the state will unquestionably this year, as in other years, base their votes, their judgment, on the record of achievement and on the guarantee that that record gives of a further performance of sound and enlightened and human government.

I have frequently said that virtually every major state project must measure up to the following standards: first, it must be based on sound economic considerations. Second, it must have intelligent public opinion behind it; and third, it must equally affect all the people of the state without discrimination in favor of group or locality. That is the yardstick which we have followed in Albany during the last two years in considering and in enacting legislation and in following through the activities of the state.

But a large majority of the State's activities, I should say at least 90 per cent, really do not relate at all to politics, but rather to government alone, because they affect the economic well being and the social lives of all the people of the state regardless of locality, regardless of race, regardless of group, and regardless of economic status. And so, a fourth standard has come into being, largely, I believe, because of the vision and the leadership of a great Governor and a great American, Alfred E. Smith. (Applause)

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Howe**

I call that new conception, that additional standard, the factor of human relationships, the factor of human rights.

Government has a dual function. First, it must concern itself at all times, of course, with the protection of property and the maintenance of law and order. That is a function that is so important that there can be no question of its necessity. But there is a further duty than those which I have described, and that is that Government is not just a matter of laws, not a matter of brick and mortar or of the levy of taxes or the spending of money, or of sound administration. It is a matter of flesh and blood, of human lives, of human rights, of absolute justice and equity to all its citizens, of the protection of the weak against exploitation; and particularly and finally it is the duty of Government to see that the happiness and contentment and prosperity of our millions of homes are increased so far as that is humanly possible.

That has been our conception of good Government. That has been the standard and the measure and the actuating force behind our thoughts and actions, behind the thoughts of this other great Governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt (applause), and those of us who who in the past two years, like myself, have had the privilege of working with him and under him.

No Government that fails to take into consideration or to act on that principle of the protection of human lives and the protection of homes, of bringing greater contentment and happiness right into the lives of the people and into their homes can claim to be progressive, sound or enlightened. But I know that we have unfalteringly, unswervingly, for many years recognized and fought for the principle which I have just enunciated. And so I make the claim, and make it here tonight, confident of the sanction of intelligent public opinion, that the Democratic Party is the real party of progress in this State.

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Lehman

And what does the record disclose?

A great set of enlightened, progressive, human activities. Time will not permit me to go into them in any detail. Some of them have already been enumerated and described by Miss Perkins, particularly the steps that have been taken towards the advance in enlightened labor legislation and old age assistance and protection, and in the conservation of the water power resources of the State for the benefit of the people of the State. But there are others, many others, which briefly I want to describe at least with some degree. In the first place, we have concerned ourselves in developing so far as practicable a real educational system in ~~the~~ New York State. As recently as 12 years ago the State expended for education, for all purposes, including State aid to schools, the small sum of nine million dollars, and this year it is expending \$110,000,000, ninety seven million dollars of which is being returned by the State to the communities for the purpose of defraying their expense of education.

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Howe

Now, that vast sum, that great increase, was made possible to all because of the sanction and enthusiastic approval and encouragement of the people of the state who have felt that every boy and girl in the state is entitled to a good, sound, free education under well-trained, experienced teachers, receiving adequate compensation. And I say further that it is not only the right of the child to have that kind of an education, but the duty of the state to see that he gets it. And nothing, in my opinion, is more important than the development of our educational system. And so far as I am concerned, I never would be willing to subscribe to anything that would mean a single backward step in our educational system (applause). And the development of our educational system certainly, ladies and gentlemen, has meant better homes, greater happiness in the homes.

And then we come to the question of the care of our wards. I haven't got time to describe the conditions in our hospitals, in our prisons. You know of the great degree of overcrowding. You know of the steps that have been taken in the last 8 years to correct and improve that degree of overcrowding. We are on the right road. Much has been done. Much still remains to be done.

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The pure, the adequate proper care of the inmates of our hospitals for the mentally afflicted, means a great economic gain, as well as a social gain, because every man or woman unfortunate enough to be in those hospitals that we can cure or sufficiently improve to return to society as a tax earner instead of a tax payer, as a constructive force rather than a drag on the community and on his family, means just that much economic as well as social gain; and through these improved methods of medical and physical care which we are putting into effect and which we hope to put into effect to a far greater degree in the coming next two or three or four years, we have brought about greater prosperity in the home, the reuniting of families otherwise separated, and greater happiness and contentment into the home.

And there is the question of public utility regulation, a simple one. Up to recent months nothing adequate was done in the way of public utility regulation, and in the last six months, as you know, the first serious~~xxx~~ and constructive and successful step to bring about the proper regulation of our public utilities which gain their franchise and their right to do business from the sovereign will of the people of the State, has ~~xxxx~~ been taken, and Governor Roosevelt's theory on that is simple and sound. It is simply this, that public utility rates for services rendered by public utility companies should be as low as possible taking into consideration, of course, the right

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of the investor to receive a reasonable return on the legitimate investment of his funds. That principle is of course recognized. The investor is entitled to a reasonable return on his legitimate investment, but beyond that Governor Roosevelt has said, and the people of the State through intelligent public opinion have backed him up, that the rate should be made and kept as low as reasonable and in accordance with law (applause).

The cost of public utility service is in every home, goes into every budget of every home in the State, and so the maintenance of reasonable rates means much to the happiness and the prosperity of the home.

And we come to the question of the building of roads. We spent last year fifty-two million dollars for the maintenance and building of good roads in this State; one-sixth of the budget went for that purpose, and let me tell you I know from my own experience and my own knowledge that good roads mean much both to the economic gain of the State and to the social lives of its people. They mean much economically, because they permit merchants and farmers and manufacturers cheaply and rapidly to transport their goods to market. They mean much to the social life of the community, because they permit people in even widely scattered rural communities to visit each other, to go to church, to send their children to school, to go to the movie, the theatre or lecture or concert, and that greater means of communication, that greater means of association, has again meant much to the happiness and contentment of the people in their homes (applause).

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Lehman

Then we come to the question of the care of prisoners. No one in the State, I believe, is more insistent on the maintenance of law and authority than I, but just because we want to see law and authority and order maintained, is no reason why we should be unwilling to give humane, decent treatment to the unfortunate inmates in our State's prisons, and so Governor Roosevelt has proceeded on the theory that in the first place the prison system should be remodelled, so far as practicable. Our prisons today are 100 years old. They should be renovated, remodelled, made large enough so that there can be intelligent segregation, intelligent classification, so that the men and women unfortunate enough to be incarcerated, receive a reasonable education to fit them again for the struggle of life, and receive education in manual art, and kept at work usefully, and if possible gainfully.

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Lehman

Do not forget that out of every hundred boys that go to prison at least 94 again come out, come back to the community, become members of the community, and it is to the interest of the state and every community in the state to see that those boys come out of prison as little hardened as possible, with as little grudge against society as possible, so strengthened morally and intellectually that they really can take their place in the community again.

And that hope, that desire to rehabilitate this unfortunate, despised class of our population which still has such a potent influence on all the affairs of the State, means much if we can achieve our aims and our hopes and our ideals, means much again to the homes and the lives of the people, because it means a better, a cleaner, a safer community in which to live. (Applause)

I have a list of other activities that long (indicating). I wish I could go into them all. I do not have the time, because I know the Governor is either here or about to arrive. So I am going to stop.

I simply want to say this: I do not think there ever was a time when it is more important to have the right type of man in Albany, in the Governor's chair, than just this year. We are going to face many problems, both as individuals and as the state.

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Howe

LL-1

Lehman

The State is going to face many problems of a serious and complicated financial character because of lessened revenues from many taxes, such as the Income Tax, the Stock Transfer Tax, the Corporation Tax, and other taxes.

We have got to have a man at Albany as we have had for the last two years, of business training, of knowledge of the affairs of the State, of knowledge of the State and its people all over the State, in Chatauga, in Erie County, as well as in New York, in New York as well as in Broome and Monroe; a man of vision and understanding and sympathy with the people. And those qualities, as President Coolidge in his speech said last night, aren't easy to find. They don't come over night. They don't come for the asking. They come, as he again said, only through study and hard work and toil and devotion. And we have got those very qualities right now and here today and for next year and the year after, in the person of our present and our next Governor, Franklin D. Roosevelt. (Applause)

(Governor Roosevelt entered the hall and the audience arose and applauded).

MAYOR WALKER: Ladies and gentlemen, the Republican candidate for Governor during this campaign has charged that Franklin D. Roosevelt lacked courage.

A VOICE: He is a liar!

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MAYOR WALKER: You took the words out of my mouth. No one could be familiar with the inspired fight for renewed and complete health that has been carried on by Frank Roosevelt without losing one bit of the very great courage of heart with which he was born, nor for one moment eradicating the firm smile from his face.

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Governor Roosevelt has a brand of courage and a wealth of courage greater than which is possessed by any living man (applause). Great as it is, it is not even as great as his moral courage. As great as his courage, his intelligence is equal, (applause) because he saw through the subterfuge, he plainly saw the trap, the political hypocrisy, that tried to drag him into a position with which his conscience could not subscribe. My fellow citizens, I give you a great statesman, enclosing a splendid heart, and a highly intelligent mind. I give you the Governor of the State, and an American gentleman, for whom I bespeak the most enthusiastic, the most hearty reception and approval that the people of this city have ever given to anyone. (applause).

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: Mayor Walker, and my friends of New York: I always feel just a little shaky when a great gathering of this kind gives me that kind of a reception. It is just two weeks ago tonight that I left my desk in Albany and undertook what is always a somewhat tedious and always of necessity a somewhat distasteful task to engage in, a State campaign throughout the length and breadth of the state, and I have now covered the length and breadth of the State; for two weeks, as a candidate for ^{re-}election to the Governorship, I have discussed fully, without hate, without heat, without passion, but I hope with truth and frankness, the issues, the many issues of this State campaign.

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NN-1

Roosevelt.

I have told the voters throughout the State the history
two
of the Government of the State during these past/years, a history
of which all voters regardless of party have a right to be proud.

And, further, I have set forth the needs of the State
come
for the next few years to/~~xxxxxxx~~ the proposals of my associates
and myself for the continuation of orderly and progressive
Government based on honesty, on efficient administration, on
humanity and on law (applause).

Our campaign, as the people of the State know, has not
been founded on falsification of the record, and it has not been
founded on slander or on promises that cannot be fulfilled. It
has, on the other hand, been based on issues that affect the
daily lives of the individual men, women and children in every
home of the State, on issues where the State Government comes
into direct contact in some way or another, direct contact with
their work and their play, with their living conditions, with
their health, and with their happiness.

As opposed to this, there stands out a definite and
undeniable fact which as the campaign has gone on is being
realized more and more by every voter in the State, regardless
of party, regardless of location. That fact is that the candi-
dates of the Republican party have refused to discuss these
issues.

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They have maintained a complete silence on all of these many questions that affect all of the people of the State. They have failed even to set forth a constructive program of any kind for the governing of the State during the next two years. Their campaign, on the other hand, has been based first last and all the time on a falsification of the record and on attacks instigated not by any desire for good government or for progressive legislation or administration but solely on the ambition for office (applause).

To those people, and that means the vast majority of people in this State, to those people who believe that candidates should frankly discuss the real issues and honestly reveal their views on the fundamental questions of the day, this action of the Republicans has been the most disturbing thing that we have known of in modern times. But I suppose there is a reason. I suppose there was a reason for this, so far as the Republican leadership was concerned; for before the campaign even started obviously it was necessary for the Republican leaders to find an issue to conduct it on. Unquestionably they examined carefully the whole range of public questions to find such an issue.

First, there was water power, the insistent and overwhelming demand that the State should develop the St. Lawrence for the benefit of the consumers at the lowest possible rates, but that was an impossible issue ~~for the~~ for the Republicans, because, as Governor Smith and I have reason to know, year after year they have consistently stood

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Roosevelt

for the virtual gift of the State-owned water powers to private corporate interests well known to be in close association with the Republican leadership itself. (Applause)

And then there was labor legislation. They could not use that because year after year they had blocked or weakened every important measure for the protection of the working people of the State, and further because organized labor itself had declared in no uncertain terms in favor of the reelection of the Democratic candidates (applause).

Then there was the necessity for new prisons and new prison methods. They could not use that, because the record of the Republican Legislature for 50 years past, a record of neglect and indifference towards prison reform, would make that issue impossible.

Then there was Prohibition (laughter). They could not use that because they themselves were split wide apart in the very leadership of their party on that question.

And then there was social welfare. They could not use that as an issue, for the very obvious reason that it was the Democratic Party and its leaders who for a whole generation past had initiated every great social reform in this State from Workmen's Compensation and the 48-Hour Law, down to Old Age Pensions and the building up of the new Parole System and the securing of new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the State.

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Howe

And there was farm relief and rural tax relief, and you will think they might find an issue, ~~xxxx~~ but they could not touch that, because all the great measures for the relief of the agricultural community which have become law during these past two years were first initiated and first pushed by the Governor of the State himself, and then there were the economic conditions under which the people of the state now find themselves; but they could not touch that. That came too close home to the Federal administration in Washington.

And then there were the parks and the parkways, that great program initiated by Alfred E. Smith (applause), that great program that covers the State as a network. But they could not touch that, because they themselves had blocked that program on every possible occasion; furthermore, they forget that their own leaders down on Long Island were the very people who sought to keep the hundreds of thousands, the millions of men, women and children of this city from enjoying the great gifts of nature and of sunshine and of air that had been bestowed upon us on the shores of Long Island.

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QQ-1

Roosevelt.

So I could go on. There are other issues which they undoubtedly discussed and thought of, but when the Republican leaders came to examine them and realize their own record on those issues, they knew then that the only hope was to distract the attention of the people of this State from these real issues, so they decided to adopt, and have steadfastly adhered to a policy of misrepresenting and distorting a local situation in the City of New York, and from the start of the campaign they have refused absolutely to talk about the State issues, anywhere, and at any time, (applause) and pursuing misrepresentation, without any sense of justice or propriety, the Republican leaders have made every effort to convince the people of this City and State, the people of cities and urban communities and the people of the rural communities, that our judiciary is corrupt and that judges are unworthy to hold their high offices. No more cowardly or reprehensible act has ever been perpetrated in a campaign in this nation than this deliberate attempt to bring dishonor on all, yes, every one of the members of our judiciary, and their families, and their wives and the children, and to break down the confidence of the public in this bulwark of our civilization (applause). I say each and every member of the judiciary, from the highest court of the State to the lowest, because the Republican campaign, without question, has been aimed at making unthinking people believe that all judges should be brought publicly with a blare of trumpets before a grand jury and subjected to the public task of proving they are honest.

RR-1

Roosevelt

The judiciary of the State of New York needs no defense. Men of unquestioned standing, men of unquestioned integrity and ability, many of them at great personal financial sacrifice to themselves and their families, have devoted and are devoting their lives to the great cause of justice.

I refuse to believe, and further than that I deny, that our judiciary under the leadership and guidance of such men as Chief Judge Cardozo (applause), such men as Presiding Justice Dowling (applause), such men as Presiding Justice Lazansky (applause) — I deny that that judiciary is saturated with corruption.

But, after continuing this campaign of calumny against the judiciary, coupled with utter silence on actual state issues for two whole weeks, the Republican leaders began to realize that the people of the City and the State were beginning to resent this hypocrisy as an insult to their intelligence (applause). And the Republican leaders began to realize that unless volume and tone could be added to their position, they were utterly and hopelessly lost.

The whole structure had been built up on a false foundation. It was bound to crumble unless artificial support for it could be found. So in desperation and in need, the Republican leaders turned to Washington.

What happened? The people of this State have been witnessing a spectacle so novel that its significance has not yet been fully grasped. The Republican national administration in Washington, suddenly solicitous for our welfare, presumed to send into this state campaign, officers of the Cabinet itself, to instruct us on how to manage our state affairs. These gentlemen have been here and they have instructed us and lectured us on how we should handle our local affairs in the Empire State.

Who are they? First of all, came the Secretary of War (laughter); then the Secretary of State, the chief of the President's Cabinet, by the way; and tonight ~~xxx~~ we in this state are receiving further instruction from the Treasury Department in the person of its Under Secretary.

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Roosevelt

My friends, I make no personal attack on

these three eminent gentlemen. I know them well. They are men of the finest character, and I do not dispute their personal fitness to hold the great offices they do. But I do say that they have been misled. I do say that they have shocked the conscience of the fair-minded and thoughtful people of this State by lending the prestige of their great National offices to such a campaign as this. And they have even been cajoled into making a personal attack on me. These same gentlemen, and the Republican administration in Washington sponsoring it, and the Republican National Committee financing it, and the New York State leaders and candidates themselves abetting it, have persistently cried from the house-tops that National issues have no place in this campaign, - an amazing assertion. An amazing assertion in view of the fact that for at least the last five state campaigns the Republican candidates for Governor have consistently talked about nothing else but National issues, chiefly the then so-called National prosperity.

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Roosevelt.

We in this State, in every City and on every farm, know the high impropriety of interference by the Federal Government in the purely local affairs of any State, and we are fully conscious of the effective manner in which the people of this State will at the polls show their resentment against such conduct (loud applause). But before we look in^{to} the soundness of the instructions that are given to the people of this state by the representatives of the Washington Government, I think that we have the right to ask that they show us their credentials (laughter and applause). Of these three estimable gentlemen, one comes from that great State of Oklahoma which we all respect. He has never lived in New York State. He knows nothing of the problems of New York State. He knows nothing of the problems of New York City. He knows nothing of the requirements and the necessities of the twelve million people who live in this State. Whatever information he has has been given to him quite obviously by members of his own party. It can hardly be said that he has been impartially informed on our affairs. Yet he comes to us presumably only by virtue of the great office which he holds. Well may the people of the State of New York resent this, as would the people of the State of Oklahoma if the tables were turned (applause).

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And the other two gentlemen of this triumvirate, the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of the Treasury, both of them are citizens of this state.

A VOICE: And we defeated them.

GOV. ROOSEVELT: The credentials that they present to the people of the state as authorizing them to give instructions are the same in both cases. Both of them have run for Governor in campaigns based largely upon the same kind of tactics as are being employed in this campaign. Both of them were defeated at the polls by the people of this state. (Applause)

A VOICE: Al Smith beat them.

GOV. ROOSEVELT: The people did not believe in them or in their issues then, and they will not believe in them or in their issues now (applause).

Yes, I am inclined to think that the people of this state who repudiated them are the best judges of whether or not any man is fit to be Governor (applause).

And so, my friends, having examined the credentials of these gentlemen who have been telling us how to run our affairs of state, let us examine into the soundness of the instructions which they have given us. Now, the substance of their instructions to us is this: That the only issue in this campaign is Judges in New York City, and nothing else counts. Let us see. They tell us that twelve million people of New York State, whether they are so-called "Wets" or "Drys", who are sincerely interested in the important question of prohibition, and who are seeking a sound solution of the tremendous problem raised by it, and who are endeavoring to rid themselves of the crime, the violence and the corruption bred by it, that that does not count. But I specifically call your attention to the all-important fact that these instructors woefully fail to tell the people of this state where they themselves stand on the prohibition issue. (Applause)

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Roosevelt

Do they believe in the position of the President, or do they stand upon the stratum of the Republican Party in this State? Why is it that they do not dare to answer? And they tell us that the 12,000,000 people of this State interested in the speedy and proper development of the great water power resources to provide cheap electricity in our homes and to keep it from the hands of private corporations, that that does not count. And they tell the 12,000,000 people of the State who are anxious to protect our aged dependent citizens against the wants and miseries of old age, so that the State may help them to spend their last years in comfort, that that does not count. And they tell us, the twelve million people of the State interested in this problem of taxation, and desiring that this entire system be revised in order more evenly and equitably to distribute its burdens, that that does not count. And they tell the twelve million people of the State who look forward to a scientific study of the prisons of the State to provide a comprehensive plan, a policy for prison construction as well for the proper treatment, punishment, reformation, and the segregation and the labor of the prisoners, that that does not count.

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Roosevelt.

They tell us further ~~that~~ the twelve million people of this State who have seen a complete revision of our parole system and the establishment of a modern and enlightened system of parole to take care of the ninety-two or ninety-four per cent. of the prisoners of our State who return to private life, that does not count. They tell the twelve million people of the State who are anxious to enlarge and modernize our state hospitals, and secure new buildings and equipment for the unfortunate wards of the State, that that does not count either.

And they tell the population of the State, a population anxious to protect its milk and cream supply and to prevent the importation of impure milk and cream from other States, that that does not count.

Yes, they tell all of us, they tell the working population of this State, the people who labor for their daily bread, that all of the important problems of adequate labor and social legislation, all that whole long list of great things that have been done for the working men and women, yes, and the children in this state, that all of these matters affecting their daily lives do not count.

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And they tell the twelve million people of the state who have enjoyed the vast system of parks and parkways inaugurated by Governor Smith and pushed and forwarded in every way by me, the people who look forward to the completion of that program so that still greater areas through the state, from Montauk Point to Niagara may be made available for our health, our recreation and enjoyment, that that too does not count. They tell the millions of farmers and other residents of the rural communities who are beginning to reap the benefits of that great program of constructive farm and rural relief resulting in better roads, better schools, lower taxes for the rural population of the state, that those things do not count either. And, by the way, on this question at least every one knows of the complete failure of the Republican administration in Washington to carry out any form of adequate farm relief. So, these gentlemen certainly speak with authority (applause). And so, having examined their credentials, and having examined the nature of their instructions to us, let us now see whether they are qualified by success in Washington to instruct the voters of New York (applause). They and their party, this present national administration, came before this state two years ago, soliciting the votes of our people on representations, promises, and prophecies. They represented themselves as the creators of the prosperity of the country; they were the originators of sound business; they were its protectors; under them prosperity had always prevailed, and under them only prosperity could continue. Why, poverty itself was on its way to being abolished! There is no need for me or for anyone else to demonstrate to you the falsity of these prophecies. There is no need for me or anyone else to point out to you what unfortunately, has been experienced by almost every man, woman and child in the nation this past year.

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Roosevelt

So I say very gently, very politely, but very firmly to these three gentlemen, I say to them, "We, the People of the State of New York, will be grateful to you if you will return to your posts in Washington." (Applause) "We shall be grateful to you if you will go back there and bend your efforts and spend all of your time in solving the great problems which the whole Nation is facing under your administration; (applause) and I say to them, "Rest assured that we, the Empire State, can and will take care of ourselves and our problems." (Applause) So with whatever comfort they can find in this Federal support and proceeding in their original intention, the Republican Party has, to this very last day of the campaign, refused even to talk about real issues, and instead they have only talked about judges in New York City. (Applause) So tonight, my freinds, I shall depart for the first time in this campaign from the discussion of the real issues of the campaign. I shall depart from that in order again to repeat to the people of the State of New York, my record in this local situation, and to make that record and my policy clear - it goes back some months to last Winter in Albany. During the last session of the Legislature, the Republican leaders having in mind the coming campaign, and realizing that they would have no issue in it, considered the proposition of trying to manufacture publicity by an investigation of New York City.

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Howe

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Roosevelt.

They looked it over, and it didn't seem to be a very happy thought. So they fell back on one of their most ancient practices, which they have tried on a previous governor and myself, of passing the buck and trying to put the Governor in a hole (laughter). And history shows that other people have fallen into the hole. Isn't that right? (Laughter). They went even so far as to pass a bill directing me to institute an investigation in New York City, and although I asked them, they refused or were unable to give me any grounds or any reason for that investigation. And I sent the bill right back to them, and told them that if they wanted such an investigation in New York City, they were free to go ahead and make one without even submitting the question to me (applause). Yes, I pointed out to them that the Legislature not only had full power but was the only one charged with the duty of making any such investigation. And they refused to do it. More than that, they did not have the courage to do it. Some months later my attention was called to evidence which had been presented to a grand jury in the County of New York alleging that a magistrate in the City of New York had paid a district leader for his appointment. The grand jury had failed to indict those who were said to be implicated. Immediately, within twenty-four hours, I demanded a copy of the minutes. I read them. I deemed that it was appropriate that there should be further investigation. I could have suggested or directed the submission of the matter to another grand jury by the district attorney. I elected, however, to remove the matter from all possible criticism, to supersede the district attorney and place it in the hands of the Republican Attorney General with a Republican Judge. And I did that within twenty-four hours of receiving those minutes (applause).

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Roosevelt

Oh yes, I foresaw the possibility that in the governorship campaign that was soon to start, a Republican Attorney General, who was indeed himself at that time a leading candidate might use this instrumentality in order to mislead the public. Yes, I foresaw that possibility. But I did not hesitate to discharge my duty. I never have and I never will, so long as there is any duty to perform (applause).

Now, the power of that grand jury which I called is absolutely unlimited to investigate any crime in the county of New York. The Court of Appeals has said so, and these gentlemen from Washington know so. Regardless of all misrepresentations to the contrary, I have never refused to enlarge the powers of that Grand Jury, because the Governor of the State has no power either to enlarge these powers or curtail them.

But I want to point out what Republican candidates and Republican orators and a small, a very small, portion of the New York press has sought to obscure, that I, a Democratic Governor on the eve of a campaign for reelection, went into a Democratic county, yes, sent into that county a Republican Attorney General and a Republican judge with an extraordinary Grand Jury. That investigation was ordered and directed by me.

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Howe

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Roosevelt

The next step related to specific abuses in the Magistrate's Courts and in the procedure of those courts. I immediately called upon the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court to make a searching investigation of all of them. The Appellate Division, as everybody who takes time to read knows, is the body charged by law with that duty, and in accordance with that law I called upon them to perform it. That investigation has been put in the hands of Judge Seabury, a former Judge of the Court of Appeals itself and I defy anyone even to intimate that that investigation will not be honest and thorough and searching, and I challenge the untruthful assertion made by these gentlemen from Washington that such an investigation is futile. Let them have no doubt that if the Appellate Division discovers corruption in the Magistrate's Courts, the Appellate Division will have it punished no matter where they find it. (Applause).

And later on I learned that a Judge had refused to waive immunity before this Special Grand Jury. In order that I might perform my duty properly, I immediately requested that the evidence in this case be sent to me so that the matter could be presented to the Senate of the State if the situation warranted action.

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Howe

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Roosevelt.

Only the Senate of the State could act. I cannot remove a judge or compel a judge to resign, and the Republican leaders, despite their hypocrisy, know that (applause). And the public knows that the Attorney General advised against my receiving that evidence, and the public knows that I was denied access to it, and without such evidence, I can and I will go no further. (Applause). Now, whenever I was in a position to exercise my powers as Governor of this State promptly, and whenever I believed that those powers should be exercised, you know full well that I have had no hesitation in performing the duties of my office (applause). If there exists evidence today before the Grand jury to warrant my exercising any of the powers of my office, I hear about it only through the press. It has never been presented to me by the Attorney General, by his assistants, by the grand jury itself or by the judge which presides over it. It may be that there exists such evidence as the Special Attorney General informed the press of a few days ago, but if it does exist, I have no knowledge of it. No word has come to the Governor about it, though apparently the gentlemen of the press know all about it (applause). Yes, that latest statement from the Republican Attorney General is only further proof of what the people of this State have long suspected, but now know, that the Attorney General is using his office in every way possible in attempting to prevent the function of the Grand Jury itself, solely for the benefit of the Republican candidates (applause).

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Yes, these Republican candidates in a small section of the local press have sought a definite political object, to make the people of this city believe three things: first, that the greater part of the 220 judges in the City of New York are corrupt; secondly, that as a result of this, the judiciary as a whole is no longer worthy of the confidence of the people; and third, that neither I nor the Democratic Party in City or State would lift a finger to restore confidence in the courts and punish the guilty.

Now, let's see. I, as a citizen of the State, I, as Governor of the State, resent this campaign, as every person in this State who knows me, and who believes in honest and decent government, resents it, too. (Applause). I, and all the members of my administration, do not yield place to any Republican candidate or editor in abhorrence of a corrupt judiciary. We do not yield place to anyone in indignation against any holder of public office who is recreant to his trust. We do not yield place to anyone in the sincere and honest desire to punish those judges who have prostituted or who may prostitute their position. If there are any corrupt judges still sitting in our courts, they shall be removed (applause). They shall be removed by constitutional means and not by inquisition (applause). They shall be removed, not by trial in the press, but by trial as provided by law. (applause)

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Roosevelt

If there is corruption in our courts I will use every rightful power of the office of Governor of this State to drive it out, and I will do this regardless of whether it affects or may affect any Democrat or any Democratic or any Republican organization in any one of the five counties of New York City or in any one of the 57 counties in up-State New York. (Applause)

A VOICE: How about the Republican Federal Judge Moscovitz?

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: There you have it --

A VOICE: And Winslow?

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT:-- There you have it, my friends --

A VOICE: Convicted.

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: There you have it. That statement of mine is clear. That is unequivocal. That is simple honesty. That is justice. That is American. And, more than all, that is right. (Applause)

And now we have come to the close of the campaign. I ask the electorate of the State of New York for their support. I ask this as a rebuke to those Republican National and State leaders who, substituting false charges and deliberate misrepresentation, have had the cowardice to ignore the great problems and issues that lie before the whole State. (Applause).

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Roosevelt.

I ask this as an expression of confidence in my administration, as an expression of confidence in the record in these past two years and of the need during the next two years for a continuance of forward-looking, human and honest administration of the affairs of our State (applause). I ask this of the dwellers in this great Metropolitan City, of the people of the other cities of the State, of the men and the women in the villages and on the farms. I ask this vote of confidence from the members of all parties. I ask it in the name of good Government, and cheerfully and confidently I abide the result. (Prolonged applause).

MAYOR WALKER: In all the history of the State of New York, there has been but one man elected four times as the Governor of New York (applause), and it remained for that same man to make "The Sidewalks of New York" a National anthem (applause). On the first Wednesday after the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1928, it seemed as if fourteen million Americans were wrong, (laughter) but in the last days of October and the early days of November in 1930, one hundred and twenty millions of people knew that the fourteen millions who voted for Al Smith were right (applause). There is no use talking about this any longer.

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Walker and Smith

The final number on this all-star program, showing to the world the most splendid, harmonious, undivided Democracy that the city and state of New York has ever known, is presented, none other than Al Smith (applause).

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH: Governor Roosevelt, Your Honor, our Mayor: You know it is awful hard for me to say to Jim Walker "Your Honor" down there. I think back in the old days in Albany, when we were sleeping together, and he had those ridiculous pajamas; I saw him stretched out on the white bed-sheets, and because of his particularly slim figure, he looked to me like a peppermint stick (laughter). However, that is past. And I always thought the Governor a kind and kindly hearted man. I always felt that he had a great reverence for nearly everybody, and I am surprised tonight. He actually took to task the representatives of the Federal administration for their stand on prohibition, the "noble experiment." It seems to me that in 1912, or 1916, or 1914, that President Wilson, from Washington, (applause) asked for the election of a Democratic Congress -- in 1916, and our Republican friends throughout the country thought that was something unprecedented, that the President should make any such public expression.

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Smith

But of course in 1930, that is different. The shoe is on the other foot. However, listen. In every American campaign until we get to about probably another generation -- I hope so; that would comprehend probably our grandchildren, Frank, until they become 21 -- let's hope that by that time the bunk and the bluster and the bluff of all the issues that have nothing to do with the Government will be rubbed out of campaigns (applause). There is one thing that we have to be thankful for, it is a little better than it used to be. When I was a boy, I can remember hanging around the "cocktails" down in the Bowery, around the James Slip and along that old neighborhood there. And when you would go to a Republican meeting you would see a well-dressed fellow hollering about Lincoln, the great principles of Lincoln. Then you would go around the corner to a Democratic meeting and you would see a thin fellow with a loud voice hollering about Jefferson. And not one of them was saying anything about the problems that are confronting us today. Like the Republican candidate last night some place where he was speaking, spoke about Tweed (laughter). I have been informed -- I don't know it as a fact-- that Tweed lived down in my neighborhood (laughter) but I never saw him, and in fact, know very little about him. But if you want to talk about scandal in the administration of public affairs, there is no use of going back to the days of Tweed (laughter). We might rest in 1923 and 1924 for the greatest political scandal that this country ever heard of (applause).

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Smith.

However, that is not what we are here for tonight. We are here on the constructive side. The Democratic party is a constructive party. The Democratic party seeks to do things and not to find fault.

So, therefore, as citizens of our State interested in her welfare, what are we looking forward to? That is what I am here to talk about.

First, we will take our great Department of Highways. In the present calendar year, sixty million dollars has been expended upon the improvement and the development of a comprehensive State system of highways contributing to commerce, building up business, and promoting the health of the twelve and a half million people that use them in our own State alone.

We are looking forward to the widening of these roads, as we must, to meet development and to meet growth. We are looking forward to a one hundred foot boulevard from Bear Mountain Bridge right into the Adirondack Trail. It has got to come. On the history of the past, it can come by Democratic initiative and not by Republican reaction (apause).

We are looking forward to the full and complete development of our great park and parkway system.

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We are looking for the completion of the Northern Boulevard on Long Island. We are looking forward to the full and complete development of Montauk Point. We are looking forward to the great parkway that will reach from the teeming millions in the metropolitan district into the Taconic region. We are looking forward to the preservation of the forest preserve and the development of all the state parks comprehended within the present system; and we are doing it in such a way as to look into the far-distant future, so that we may make such provisions for the generations that are yet to come that in due time the little children that kneel at the mother's knee will pray for the great State of New York that made such a wonderful contribution to their health and well-being, their comfort and their happiness (applause). We are looking forward to the development of our great water power resources, and we want that development under state ownership and under state control.

We want it under state control so that we can have something to say by the power of contract with respect to the rates, to the end that electricity may serve the home, the farm, the factory, industrial establishments, and small business, at the rate that the state can dictate. That is the big point in water power development, and that is the point that the Republican party has stood against with all the fire and with all the vigor they can bring to their command.

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And that is a point that the Republican Party has stood against with all of the fire and all of the vigor that they could bring to their command. They detest and hate the thought of State ownership and State control, with the power of contract, so that the State of New York stands at the switch and they turn it on or off in accordance with what the distributing company is willing to give by way of concession to the ultimate consumer. You don't hear much about that in this campaign; they don't talk of that; that is not profitable, does not make votes from their standpoint, but it means a great deal to the eleven million people that own these water power resources. That is not a last minute fight. That has been going on since 1911. I could stay here until it would be time to go to Church in the morning, (laughter) outlining that history, and there are a couple of men on the platform, the Governor and the Mayor, that had something to do with it themselves and know as much about it as I do. We are looking forward to the time when the State will match the appropriations that are made by the localities for the Boards of Child Welfare. We desire to do that, because we believe that is the one way that we can make the backward localities of the State realize the necessity and the obligation that rests upon them, to make full contribution as against the death of the parents, when the children and the mothers must, I feel, accept the policy of the State of keeping the little family together on the death of the father. That has been objected to

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by Republican Legislatures, one after the other, and without
any real reasonable explanation for their action.

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We are looking forward to the day when we can strengthen the statute enacted upon a recommendation of Governor Roosevelt to provide in old age against want. We desire to have everybody in the dawn of their lifetime be assured from the hallows that come from the possibility of the poorhouse or dependence upon friends or relatives for the sustenance of life.

We are looking forward to the enactment of an honest, straightforward forty-eight hour a week bill for women in industry, and not the kind of statute that was be-deviled and maimed and crippled by a lobby supposed to be representing industry. I doubt, I feel like denying, I feel ready to say that seventy per cent. of the industrialists of this State are in accord with the principal of the forty-eight hour law, and the small minority has had power and influence enough to cripple it. So that it has the name of being a forty-eight hour law, but in operation negatives its very purpose.

We are looking forward to the creation within the Department of Labor of a bureau to study the wages of women in industry, familiarly referred to as the minimum wage board,

because the Democratic party feels that it is just as cruel to under pay a woman as it is to overwork her (applause). And we believe that industry in this State is ready to make that proposition. I would welcome the advice and suggestion that would come from such a board, because I am satisfied that the thinking men and the thinking women of the State interested in the industrial endeavor desire to let women that work for them receive a sufficient wage to permit them to live in decent health and in decent comfort.

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As for men, it is not necessary? Why? Men belong to labor unions, and they organize. By the power and force of organization they can fix their salaries.

But young girls, young women, just go into industrial occupations for the purpose of bridging over the time between their leaving of school and the day when they establish their own home. They are transits in industry. Therefore, the Democratic party has held that it is the duty of the state to reach out its strong arm and protect them by a minimum wage sufficient to provide them with the ordinary comforts that they have to have as expectant mothers in the interest of a good, strong race (applause).

We are looking forward to the extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act, so that it may comprehend all industrial and occupational diseases.

We are looking forward to a strengthening of the Labor Law to the end that the state may go the very limit for the protection of the lives, the health, and the promotion of the comfort of the millions of men, women and children engaged in factory work.

Certainly we that know New York are looking anxiously to the day when we can wipe off the soil of this city the dirty, broken-down, ~~dim~~ dilapidated old tenement houses that so many of our people are forced by circumstances to live in.

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And we are looking forward to the day when they will be replaced by modern, up-to-date dwelling houses, making such a substantial contribution to the morals, the welfare and the health particularly of our children. We are looking forward to the day when by progressive legislative action there can be created a State housing bank that will furnish the finances necessary to start a limited dividend corporation on the job. What was the ~~xxxx~~ Republican treatment of the housing bill? They took right out of the thing the carburetor, and they expected the machine to run. The State housing bank was the carburetor, because the great obstacle to building today is the cost of borrowing money. Aided by a State housing bank, that obstacle could have been overcome and we people of the State look forward to the day when Republican influence will be missing with respect to that. (Applause)

There is something that we are all interested in, no matter where we live, and that is in the education of our youth. The constitution of this State places upon the Legislature by fundamental law the duty of providing a common school education for all the children in the State.

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And we are looking forward to the day when, by consolidation and by improvement of the rural school system, the children in the country will be given the same opportunity that is given to the children in the City, and strange to say, City people think more about that than the country people do (applause). We are looking forward as an improvement in the Government of the State, to the extension of the term of the Governor, so that we can get away from this foolish, senseless performance that we are going through at the present time, electing a Governor every two years, driving him out on the stump before a single policy that he has inaugurated has had a chance to ripen. We have public opinion with us on that to the last degree, but we have to meet that stupid, that small and that senseless little opposition that comes from organized Republican politicians, because they want the election on the year that you are electing the president. They want to let the thousands of people that only vote every four years and have no interest in the State, to be one of the determining factors. We are looking forward to the day when we will be able to bring the major portion of the New York State thought into line with the unquestioned policy that the term ought to be extended, and that the election should not occur in the presidential year. (Applause) We are looking forward also to an investigation and a study, and possible action from the study, of an adequate system of town and county Government that we have in this State.

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Everybody complains of the burden of taxation. Right. How about attacking the problem at its source? How about finding where the waste is? How about plugging up the holes? In 1926, county government in this state cost the people forty-eight million dollars. How do we know that we want so many counties? They were all set up 100 years ago, when you could not get around the state. Who knows anything about the old form of town government? How many people realize that we elect the town superintendent of highways? It costs money to elect an official. The state of New York appoints its superintendent of highways, and he expends sixty million dollars a year. But the towns elect him. They give him the dignity of an elected official, and in some of the towns the salary of the superintendent is more than the town expends for highways.

I read an interesting report from the Comptroller the other day about Putnam County, ten thousand people. It certainly ought to be a part of Westchester county, or it ought to be tacked on to Dutchess. I don't know, but to carry on a county of ten thousand people and have its expenditures increase 160 per cent in ten years, looks like a joke. And our Republican friends will be talking about the size of the appropriation bill, and overlook entirely this condition that drags from the tax roll more than the State, and for practically no service.

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And it is a matter of fact that all of the small counties in the interior parts of the State could be well likened to what were referred to as the "rotten boroughs" in England, where there is a small number of people concerned, apparently, with what is going on.

And investigation of the Comptroller's office showed the Sheriff of one up-State county collected from the State and the county both for transferring prisoners (laughter) and there was evidence that some of the prisoners were carried on the board bill for weeks after they had been discharged (laughter).

Again I say I could go through that until it would be time to go to Church (laughter). All we ask is that it be investigated and the facts laid before us. That the Republican Party is unwilling to do. And I do not think that I have to tell you the reason, because they are not going to interfere with the grease that oils the local machine (laughter).

We are looking forward to the day when every dangerous grade crossing in this State will be removed (applause), because we know that railroad operation at grade has taken a tremendous toll in life and in limb, and we urge it as a public health measure.

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We are looking forward to the day when by liberal appropriations to the Department of Health we can materially reduce the death rate. Dr. Biggs, former Commissioner of Health, made a statement that went around the world when he said that within natural limitation public health is purchaseable. He meant by that that liberal appropriations, scientific treatment, the setting up of proper sanitary districts and proper supervision, that the State has it within her power to pull down the death rate, and the figures of the State Department of Health justify it. In 1920, ninety infants out of every thousand born in the State of New York died in infancy, and ~~the~~ eight years ~~that~~ was reduced to sixty, by a reorganized Health Department and by liberal appropriation, by care, by attention, and by the appointment of the people properly qualified to do the work.

When you go in the polls on Tuesday, there will be on the ballot a proposition on which you are to vote yes or no.

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The proposition is to permit the legislature to bond the state for fifty million dollars for the erection of buildings for the care of the State's wards. That means the feeble-minded, the insane and the prisoners. By all means stay in that booth long enough to vote "Yes". (applause)

That fifty million, and the fifty million voted by the people in 1923, is to meet a crisis in the care of the state's unfortunates, that was brought about by long years of Republican neglect. Some of our oldtime institutions in this state would cost more to repair than they are worth. It would be cheaper, if you could do anything with the inmates in the meanwhile, it would be cheaper to tear them down than try to repair them. Up in Utica, the old Utica state hospital was built in 1843. Over here on Ward's Island, the main administration building was used as a home for immigrant girls as far back as 1854. They are a disgrace to the city. But plus that, we have the other problem of the constantly increased population, so that on last Friday there were 47,163 people in the state hospitals for the insane -- 47000. Plus that, we have the problem of the care of the feeble-minded. Plus that, we have the problem of the care of prisoners committed for penal offenses.

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How many people have any idea of the cost of building a State hospital? Remember, they cannot be built inside of a City. They have to be built out in the country. And what you really do is set up a new village, because you have to provide water supply, sewage disposal, light, heat and power, and everything that goes with an organized village. The experts of the State in the department of architecture and of mental hygiene have it figured down to the dollar. In order to produce a State hospital with accommodations for doctors, for nurses, for attendants, and for all the help required, is \$4,000 a patient bed. The new hospital at Pilgrim, Long Island, is to take care of 10,000 people. At \$4,000 a bed, that is \$40,000,000. Now, that is what it costs, and there is no use of our fooling ourselves about it. There is no use of playing the old Republican trick of doing the ostrich act, stick your head down in the sand and take a chance that nothing is going to happen (laughter). We cannot afford to do that. We cannot afford to do it. We have to rehabilitate our hospitals and our prisons. We cannot stand for the old cell blocks such as we have at Auburn, at Dannemora, and we recently had at Sing Sing. The people of this State may desire to punish those people that offend against the laws of society, but no proper thinking person desires to break down their health. We want to restore them to society if we can as useful members (applause), but we have no desire to so incapacitate them that nothing is left to them except a life of crime.

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Now we are looking forward to the day when the people of the State of New York with clean heart and with clear conscience can raise their hands up to heaven itself and say that the richest, the greatest, the most powerful commonwealth in the country has done its full duty to the poor, the weak, the sick and the afflicted (applause).

How is all this to be accomplished? What is the avenue of approach? How do we bring it about? It must be patent upon its face that under our party system of Government we have to look to the party.

Well, which party should we look to? Now I know that everybody in Carnegie Hall tonight expects me to say, "The Democratic party." But don't let me say it. You look it up. Look into the record. Study the history for the last twelve years. You will find that everything that I have spoken about here tonight was promoted by the Democratic party and viciously and vigorously opposed by the Republican party. I stand on that statement and I would be willing even to debate it after election if there is anybody who thinks that it is not right.

There is one hope according to the record, there is one hope according to the history, and it lies in the election of the Governor.

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The State of New York long ago became convinced that he has the brain (applause), he has the ability and he has the desire to push that program to completion. It lies in the election of Colonel Lehman (applause). The State never had a better Lieutenant Governor in its long history. No man has given so unselfishly of his time, of his talent, and his ability, as has Colonel Lehman. It lies in the election of Morris Tremaine, a business man trained in finance, who has handled in four years one billion dollars, a thousand million dollars of public money, and not a breath from the party that would delight beyond the power of description to be able to say something about him, but they cannot do it.

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Our young candidate for Attorney General. (Applause), He is a young man. Why, of course. Of course he is, and that helps us. He has got a great future in front of him. He has got a great opportunity in the office of Attorney General, which is a quasi-judicial and executive position that requires just good brains, and good common sense, and good judgment, and he possesses all three of them (applause). What we hope to achieve for the benefit of the state that we all love, that she may keep her place in the front rank and the front line as the great commonwealth of the country, will be achieved by an overwhelming Democratic victory next Tuesday (applause).

The End

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Democratic State Convention

Central High School Auditorium

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1930

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