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Address at Rochester, New York, October 18, 1932

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October 18, 1932

REPORT OF ADDRESS

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Delivered at

ROCHESTER, N.Y.

2:30 P.M.

OCTOBER 18, -- 1932

GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT: Mr. Chairman, my friends of Rochester, and of Monroe County: This is a grand home-coming -- and I speak very feelingly that word "homecoming", because politically speaking I owe a great deal to Rochester, and to this Convention Hall. (applause) The very first State Convention I ever went to was held in this hall, and I as an alternate delegate from Dutchess County sat over there in that far-corner, (applause-prolonged and laughter), 22 years ago -- my initiation into politics. And I remember that night very well too; because there were 16 of us -- it was before a lot of the fine, modern hotels were built, -- and there were 16 from Putnam and Dutchess and Columbia County, who all had to sleep in one room (laughter). And it only had one window. (laughter) And the fight continued from 2 A.M., when we started to go to bed, until 7 A.M. when we got up because we were evenly divided; (laughter) -- eight of us in favor of keeping that window open, and the other half, or eight of them in favor of keeping it closed. (laughter)

So that phase was in my introduction to Rochester, and to politics. And, as some of you know, I renewed my acquaintance four years ago by long distance telephone with the City of Rochester, all the way from down in Georgia, 1200 miles away. And before I knew it, I was nominated for the Governorship of this State. (applause)-prolonged).

I don't want to make a speech to you to-day. You are friends and neighbors of mine. And during these many years you people in Rochester -- and indeed I think in almost every community in this State -- must have become rather tired of seeing my face constantly popping up in season and out. (laughter) I can talk to you though as neighbors, and I want to talk to you about something that you and I have got an equal interest in, -- the Government of our State. I am not here in the guise of a Presidential candidate -- not for one minute. I know what Monroe County is going to do on the 8th of November, so far as I am concerned. (laughter-applause)

But I want to talk to you about something that concerns you and me just about equally, -- with equal importance to the National problem in many ways, -- and that is: What are you and I going to do about our State after the first of January? I want to take you back -- as my old friend

Al Smith would say, "Let's look at the record." (laughter-applause-prolonged). We are not afraid to ask the question as to where we are going in this State after the first of January. I know the answer, and I think most of you do too.

There came out of a newspaper the other day a report of a speech by a very brave and a very fine young man who is running for Governor of this State on the Republican ticket -- an old friend of mine. And the headline in this story says, "Colonel Donovan ridicules the Forgotten Man," --- "ridicules the forgotten man"! And he wants to know whether my claim that there are forgotten people in this country is based on any record of accomplishment in this State. And I will tell him:

Is the record of accomplishment in this State worth quoting? Or is it something we want to hide under a bushel? Let us go back: There are two theories of Government in this State, just as there are two theories of Government in Washington, -- the theory of people who want to let things alone; who don't want to move forward; who oppose legislation just because it is new; and who have to have improvement in Government forced down their throat. That is one side.

The other side, -- the side of those who believe in progress of government, in making government move along with the progress of human civilization and not stand still.

Now, it is perfectly true -- let us be fair -- there are some parts of this country, there are some states, there are some communities, some counties and some villages and some towns, where the so-called political party that has represented progress has been the Republican Party. And there are other places where it has been the Democratic Party. But on the other hand, ^{what} we are concerned with -- you and myself -- has been the history of the State of New York. And mind you, when I am talking about Parties, I am not talking about the rank and file of the Republican Party. I am talking about the leadership of the Republican Party, and the people who speak for it.

What does the record show on that? Who is this "forgotten man"? Well, let us analyze a little: After that convention in this Hall in 1910 I was elected to the State Legislature as a member of the Senate. I was only a kid, but I found myself down there in that Legislature along with a lot of other kids -- mostly on the Democratic side: Jim Foley, who is now the Surrogate of New York City, and the great leading authority on the Law of Decedents' Estates. And Bob Wagner, Senator from this State, in Washington. And Alfred E. Smith, the leader of the Assembly.

Now, you had there a group of young men -- and I was proud to belong to that group, and probably if you will go back through the Legislation, and the history of this State, you will find that there was no single session of the Legislature that produced as much as that session of 1911. Did it count for anything? Well, let us see: That was the session that passed the Workmens' Compensation Law, and we youngsters in the Legislature who were in favor of it -- we were called Communists; we were called radicals. And who are the leaders of the opposition? -- O, not the Republican Party! That is different. But the leaders of the opposition were the leaders of the Republican Party who are essentially the same as the leaders of that Party are to-day: - In many cases the same men. In other cases, the same trend of thought. What else did we put through? We put through the direct primary laws, with the idea of trying to eliminate some of the control over parties which at that time was rested too much in the hands of a selfish few. And we put through factory inspection laws. You people didn't know that until that session when there was practically no such thing as a factory inspection law on the Statute books of this State. We passed the first law, limiting the hours of labor for women and children in industry, and we thought we were doing a heroic thing when we made it illegal for women and children in industry to work more than 54 hours a week. That is how radical we were.

And I succeeded in getting through the law calling for one day's rest in seven. It was never on the books before that. And so forth and so on. Who were those laws intended to help? The forgotten man and the forgotten woman (applause).

I am going back in telling you that in order to give you a little history of our own State. From that day to this there has been a definite line of demarcation between Democratic leadership on the one hand and Republican leadership on the other, and I will prove it.

The Democratic leaders were in control of the policies of this State from 1911 down through 1914, and I do not hesitate in saying that during those years, in Albany, that the Democratic leadership in Albany put this State in the advance, at the head of the procession of all the other states in regard to progressive and liberal laws of all kinds, liberal government intended to benefit the average citizen.

Then we had four years of standing still, and I would like to ask: During those four years of Governor Whitman, what constructive measure was put on the statute books of this State - 1914 to 1918?

After four years of standing still it was necessary to start the wheels going once more, and what did we do? In the Fall of 1918 we elected Alfred E. Smith Governor (applause). And when he came in he found much to do. In two years he accomplished much to bring us back, to try to catch up for the four years of wasted time. But in the great sweep of the Presidential election of 1920 he went down to defeat, and he was succeeded by a very worthy Judge from up-State New York, Judge Miller. Judge Miller had what they call a business administration. He cut the expenses of government. Right. He pruned here and he pruned there. It did not make any difference so long as he pruned. There is pruning and pruning.

When you quit taking care of the housing facilities, and the patients of the State of New York, for two years and start making them sleep in the corridors of our State Hospitals, I am not for that kind of pruning (applause). When you begin to cut on the appropriations for public health, I am not in favor of that kind of pruning. The result was, after two years of Governor Miller, the people of this State sent Alfred E. Smith back to Albany, that time for six years, in order to repair the damage that had been

done by Republican leadership (applause).

I am getting down to modern times, but I am giving you a background. I am quoting the record. When Governor Smith came back he had not only to start in to build hospitals and prisons, to rebuild the health system of the State, to reorganize the whole State government, - incidentally cutting 118 different departments of government down to 18 -- yes, that is good business -- of course, it is Democratic, but nobody would admit it (laughter) -- but he had to do a lot more. He had to bring the State up to modern ideas of social justice.

I have talked about social justice a good many times and I am going to keep on. He believed and the people of the State believed just a few things. Now let us see what. You have all heard about the State Park Program. Things were getting to this pass in the State of New York that a great deal of the best land in this State, scenic land, beaches, forests, streams, were getting so completely in the hands of private owners who put barbed-wire fences around them that the average citizen could perhaps drive along the public highway, but he could not go six inches off that highway to eat his lunch without getting arrested (applause).

(applause).

And so under the leadership of Governor Smith we started a park program, and it cost a lot of money, and the people of the State of New York, if they had it to do over again, would vote it just the same because we believe in the simple theory that the fellow or the girl who cannot afford to own fifty acres or one thousand acres of beautiful scenic land have got some right, some where, some place to go out into God's open air nature and enjoy themselves (applause).

Yes, that was for the kind of forgotten man that I am talking about (applause).

And he had to build up the labor laws. He had to practically rebuild the highways of the State of New York. He had to strengthen every kind of social legislation and, last but not least, he had to withstand a terrific effort -- on the part of who? -- Republican leadership to give away to the power trust the State-owned water power, one million and a quarter horse-power on the St. Lawrence River.

Yes, you people who burn an electric light in your home or on your farm or in your little business have Governor Smith to thank in the first place that that St. Lawrence

power is not now in private ownership. He would have been the perennial and continual Governor of the State of New York if we had not decided to run him for the Presidency; he would still be Governor. But we did decide and we did our best to elect him, and at that particular point in the picture this Convention Hall comes in again because they pulled me up north from Georgia and made me run in his place (applause).

I am bringing you down to the Fall of 1928. Any one of these great social measures that I have mentioned, that were put through in the early days when we were together in the Legislature or in the eight years that Smith was Governor, any one of them, I ask you to name any single one that was sponsored by the Republican leadership in this State, and you cannot name one.

When I went to Albany four years ago I had still a lot of work to do. We still had to carry out the building program to take care of the wards of the State. We had to take care of the crippled children. We had to take care of the mentally deficient people. We had to take care of the prisoners, many of whom were being housed in old-time cells that went back to the year 1840. Prisoners?

Sure. But human beings and in many cases forgotten men also (applause). We were housing them in cells that were six feet long, and figure this out in your own mind, six feet long, and that means that a tall man could not stretch out all the way, and six feet high, and that means that a tall fellow could not stand up straight in his cell, and three feet wide, one yard wide. We still had a lot of those with prisoners in them. In other words, we still had the task of catching up to bring the State government up to our ideals of modern civilization.

Who was it that proposed all that? Was it the leader of the Republican majority in the Senate, our old friend Senator Knight? Was it the speaker of the Republican majority in the Assembly, our old friend Speaker McGuinness? Was it the Chairman of the Republican State Committee? No. Who proposed it? The Democratic administration in Albany. And who opposed it? The Republican leadership.

Who proposed making the so-called 48 hour work law for women and children in industry a real 48 hour law instead of a 49 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour law? It took me two sessions of the Legislature before the Republican leaders were compelled to come to it. I suppose now they will claim that they passed the Bill. Sure, they passed it. Who made them? I did.

And who proposed and put through a half holiday a week for women in industry -- was it the Republican leaders? I leave that to you. And who proposed putting occupational diseases in industry on the list of workmen's compensation diseases for which workers could be compensated? It took me three years to get that through the Republican leadership's heads. (applause)

And who, at the beginning of this depression, fought against extending the state system of employment offices throughout the state? I will leave that to you. And who opposed the carrying out of the park system which Governor Smith had begun? No, it was not the Democratic Administration. Every year I had to fight to get the park program carried through. And who was it that first proposed the system of old age pensions that we have got in this state? (applause) Well, this old bolshevik that's talking to you today (applause - laughter)

I had that in my first annual message to the legislature on January 3, 1929, and the Republican leaders threw up their hands in holy horror and said, "What's the matter with the poor farm?" (laughter). Why shouldn't we keep the poor house, the county poor house? It's a very nice

adjunct to our political machine in nine counties out of ten in upstate New York. Why have any change of the system? This fellow Roosevelt, he is a communist. (applause)

Well, during that session we began to hear down in Albany from the people of this state, and the people of this state realized -- I will just show you how our minds have moved in these past twenty years -- they realized that it is a whole lot better for old people to be taken care of in their own homes, or in their friend's homes, or in their families' homes during their declining days, when through no fault of their own they have come to distress and need; far better that than to turn them over to the best institution in all the world. (applause)

And so the legislature heard the voice of the people of this state, and they finally did the usual thing -- they decided they would appoint a commission. I have a sneaking theory in the back of my head that that appointing of commissions is not only a trick of the Republican leadership in the State of New York. I have heard of the same practice down in Washington, D. C. (applause)

Now, after that commission had been sitting for a year, they did the unexpected thing. They brought in a real honest-to-God recommendation, and that was to put in a system of

old age security against want throughout the State, and it was such a strong document, that after about a month and a half of calling it communistic, the Republican legislature passed the necessary legislation.

Claim credit for it? Sure. Sure they claimed credit for it. The candidate for governor on that ticket is saying that is a Republican measure. Now, if that's the kind of campaign that he is going to conduct in this state, let me give you a word of prophecy. He is going to be beaten just as badly as my old friend Charlie Tuttle was in 1930. (applause)

And then what happened on power? St. Lawrence power, if you like. Well, you and I know that the first year they appointed a commission in order to keep this governor quiet and the Commission brought in a report the second year, and at the same time in order to keep this governor of yours quiet, they appointed another commission to look into the question of the State's relationship to public utility corporations, and who was counsel of that Republican -- Republican-appointed, Republican-controlled Committee? The counsel to it and the man who wrote the report was my old friend Col. Donovan (laughter). You see I am begininng to tie things together, my friends.

On that committee I think there were nine people on it, I had the appointment of three, and the six Republican

members, including the President-pro-tem of the Senate, Senator Knight, and several of the late Assemblymen, they brought in a report prepared by their counsel, Col. Donovan, just as reactionary a document as you possibly could find anywhere in regard to public relation to utility companies. And my three members -- there were only three of them -- brought in a minority report to the contrary.

There is a perfectly clear definite issue this Fall between the Democratic attitude and this public utility control towards the development of the St. Lawrence water power on the one side, and the Republican attitude which would take you back, my friends, take you straight back to the days when the Republican-controlled legislature of this State gave away a charter for the State-owned power on the St. Lawrence to the Aluminum Company of America, free of cost.

Why, why do I say that? Because I repeat that the leadership of the Republican Party, not the rank and file, but the handful of people who control its leadership and its machinery are the same people today as they were in the year 1907 when the so-called Aluminum Trust grab was put through the Legislature, and you have seen it go on ever since. You have seen it in that second term of Governor

Smith when the Republican Attorney General tried through the old machinery that was then in existence to have the Water Board, so-called, of this State hand over to the private power companies the same St. Lawrence power on a so-called fifty year lease, fifty year lease.

Well, while they were about it why didn't they make it a five hundred year lease. We would all be dead anyway. (laughter and applause).

Now, my friends, in those days there was a very delightful young gentleman, a good friend of mine in this State, who had been speaker of the Assembly, Ed Machold, the Republican leader. You all know about him. And we Democrats used to say in those days that Ed Machold was tied up with the Power Trust while he was in the Assembly. Everybody knew it but they used to stand up and say, "Oh, no, no relationship whatsoever; not even a fifth cousin" (laughter and applause). But just the minute he got out of the Legislature he turns up as one of the principal owners and one of the principal officers of the Niagra Hudson Power Company. A strang coincidence (laughter).

And, my friends, I am not making any charges but I

am simply making a simple statement. A simple statement that you have got three weeks to investigate and come to your own conclusions (applause).

This other friend of mine, who is now running for the Governorship on the Republican ticket, is the favored candidate of the same Electrical Utilities interests that were behind Ed Machold in the old days. He is their intimate associate. He is consulted by them on all occasions and they were the principal backers of his nomination on the Republican ticket. You have got three weeks to talk that over in this State and you will find that I am right just the way in the old days I was right about my friend Ed Lachold (applause).

Now, I think it is a fair question -- I think it is a perfectly fair matter to ask, for the people of the State to ask, and I am not doing it -- I am running in Pennsylvania and West Virginia and ~~Massachusetts~~ Indiana the next day, and Illinois and Missouri the next day -- I haven't got time to ask questions in this State and so I am going to let you people do it. Go out and ask the Republican candidate for the Governorship how he stands in regard to his St. Lawrence policy. That is a fair question.

Ask him if he stands four-square with me on that policy. Ask him if he is Governor, if he will co-operate with me down in Washington ~~xxxx~~^{next} Fall. (applause) Ask him if he is in favor, definitely, yes or no, in favor of the State of New York building the dam and the power house across that River and having its hands on the throttle of the power from now on into eternity (applause). Ask him if he is in favor, as I have been, of having what I have called the birch-rod in the cupboard, of having ^{right} the/~~xxx~~ and the authority/^{if}~~xxx~~ a private utility company ~~xxxxxx~~ won't transmit and distribute that power into your homes, into the individual homes and the apartments and farms and small business of this State, giving good service at a reasonable rate, ^{if} he would then favor having the State of New York go into the business and transmit the power itself (applause). They are forgotten people too (laughter). They have been pretty well overlooked, these Republican leaders in this State for just ten years (applause).

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And I believe -- I don't believe in parts that do not mean much, like ten -- a dozen is a whole lot better.

Twelve is a lot better than ten and that is why I would like to see the progressive policies in this State stretched to a round dozen years. Now how can you do it? (Applause) You know how to do it and I know how to do it. This government of ours is a funny thing. You just can't take a fellow out of the office of Mayor of the City who has never been in Albany in his life and put him in charge of the State government with definite assurance that he is going to be a successful governor for everybody. You can't take a man just because he has been head of a big business and make him Governor and be sure that he will be a great governor. You have got to have something more than policy. You have got to have two other qualities. You have got to have policy that is right. If we are going to do anything at all in the governorship -- common sense. But you have got to have two other qualities, you have got to have some knowledge of the government itself. You have got to have somebody that knows the ^{vast} machinery of a corporation that is spending pretty nearly three hundred million dollars a year of your money that you are a stockholder in. You can't just go and take somebody from an entirely different business and be sure that he is going to

make good. The fact of being a lawyer does not mean that my friend Col. Donovan would make a good Governor. The fact that Col. Donovan is an extraordinarily brave man, a splendid man with a great war record does not prove that he will make a good Governor.

Now, let's come down to him. You have got to have certain other qualities if you can find them and it is not every year you can, but in this State, my friends, you have got this year a pretty simple choice. You have got a man who is not only an experienced business executive, a man with great ability along business lines, and believe me in the next two years we ought to have a pretty good business man in Albany, I can tell you that, there are going to be business problems of the first magnitude, cutting budgets, collecting taxes, making both ends meet and from time to time borrowing money at the lowest possible rates of interest. That is one quality that this man has, excellent business judgment, excellent business training.

Above that he has got a thorough knowledge of an experience in the State government itself. He knows every nook and cranny of the State, every county, every institution and, believe me, we have got an awful lot of institutions

in the State of New York. You have got to know a thing, you have got to see a thing, you have got to be familiar with the administrative problems of every institution before you can really make a good governor. Well, let me give you an illustration. You cannot check up on everything at the same time.

Some things are bound to get past even the fellow with the best intentions and the hardest working man in the world, I found last year by pure luck. I happened to see a picture of a new cow barn down in Rockland County that the State Architect and the Department of Social Welfare had put up in connection with Litchworth Village which is the place that we take care of mentally deficient children in, and I looked at the plans, and I know something about a farm myself, and I said to myself "It is a beautiful barn but what is the estimate of its cost?" Now, they were going to put in there, they were going to put in forty cows and they were going to make the State pay \$160,000. for that barn. And when I heard that I say that is \$,4000. per cow (laughter). And yet the housing of these unfortunate children is being done by the State at less than \$3000. per child. Now, that is the kind of thing that comes up before a Governor and requires not only constant vigilance on his part but it requires also a pretty good knowledge of the State's institutions.

Finally, the third qualification is this: You know that there are two ways of approaching every angle. You can approach the thing that is before you, the problem in front of you, from the cold matter-of-fact point of view, to think only in terms of business, to think only in terms of the balance sheet, to think only in terms of making a financial record -- and let us be quite frank -- that is the kind of governor our old friend Governor Miller was, and that is not said in derogation of Governor Miller, because along those lines he was 100%. But there is the other type of governor that views things from the point of humanity, who thinks in terms of the greatest good for the greatest number, who is honestly shocked if patients of hospitals have to sleep out in the corridors, and does something about it, who is honestly shocked when he hears about prisoners who sleep in small cells, and does something about it.

Now, you have a man who has all three of those qualifications -- a business man, a man with a complete knowledge of the State government, inside and out, and a humanitarian, and that is why I am asking the people of this State, on this one short stop that I can spare in upstate New York, I am asking them to send down to Albany as my successor the present Lieutenant Governor of this State, Colonel Lehman. (Applause.)

Finally, my friends, there is just one more thing that affects this State, and it affects the nation -- believe me, I know -- and that is unemployment. (Applause)

Now, there are two sides to unemployment: one is almost 100% a national problem of changing and restoring -- changing our economics from what they are today on a national scale, restoring our economics to common sense and getting this country back on its feet sanely and naturally so that by attacking on a thousand fronts at the same time we will resume normal business. That is the national problem. But with that goes an immediate problem that applies to every community in the United States, and that is a three-fold problem: national, local and state. As I have said many times, the first responsibility is on the locality to do what they can for the relief work of those who are unemployed, and, incidentally, you people in Rochester are known all over the United States as having made one of the most intelligent and successful attacks on that local problem of any community in the country. That is the local end of it, and when that is insufficient, then it is the duty of the State to step in, and, when that is insufficient, then it is the duty of the Federal Government itself to step in and bring relief.

What happened in this State? Through that Winter of 1930-1931, the State kept in close touch and coordinated in the efforts of all of the communities, upstate and downstate.

It made suggestions, carried through its employment agency work and kept a close touch on the situation. So far as I know, the State of New York was the first state to recognize the state's responsibility towards its citizens, and a little over a year ago, the beginning of September, 1931, two people in Albany -- just two -- came to a conclusion that it was time for the State to act, and they were the first two people -- the first people connected with any state government in the United States that came to that conclusion and acted. And those two people were the Lieutenant Governor of the State and the Governor of the State. (Applause).

The result was that after some opposition on the part of the Republican leaders, we got through the Legislature two bills, one an appropriation of twenty million dollars of state bonds in order to take care of relief work and match the efforts of communities in every part of the State that needed help, and the second bill was the bill to raise money. And the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor said to the Legislature, "Double the income taxes and you will raise it," and we did. (Applause)

The result has been that this state, better than any other large state -- and, mind you, we have thirteen million people in the state -- we have been able to carry on in providing the pure necessities of life to those who are out of work. We have, I hope and think, prevented actual starva-

tion in a great many cases.

The emergency is still before us -- certainly through this Winter. Now, my friends, what are you going to do? Are you going to have a man in Albany who remembers the people who need relief -- a man whose whole career has shown his understanding of humanity, his understanding of crucial needs, his understanding of the interests of the average citizen in this country and what he is up against, or are you going to turn over your State government to a man who may be entirely sincere but has neither practice nor record in regard to any of the work of the Government of the State of New York. (Applause)

Now, there is just one other thing, and then I am going to close -- just about two more sentences. I have seen a good deal ^{of} Presidents, going back to a certain administration in Washington, - about the year 1901 and 2. I won't mention any names lest that same question should rise again. - I have seen Presidents, and I have seen a good many of them, use their office with the help of Governors. In other words, there can be, and ought to be a pretty close association between the office of President, and the offices of the Governors of the several states of the Union. I am going to let you in on a secret. I have been Governor now for nearly four years. And during that time the Federal administration has never once sought conference with the Governor of the State of New York in the solution of any problem of social welfare, or of Government -- with one exception: About a year and a half ago one of the many commissions appointed in the National Capitol sent a third assistant to Albany to talk with a second assistant in one of the State Departments -- and I heard about it accidentally after he had left. But the point ~~is~~ I make is this: The National Government and State Governments should and ought to co-operate with each other far more than they have in the past.

And when I go down to Washington, I propose to start something new. (applause-prolonged). I don't want to

regard Governors of the 48 States as strange people who are carrying on some fully unconnected foreign system of Government with which I as President have no relation. I am going to ask them to come to Washington and sit around the table. (applause-prolonged)

Now, when I do it -- won't that be realistic? -- when I do it there is one thing I should like to know. I should like to know that I can call up Albany myself on the long distance telephone, and instead of getting a strange voice on the phone, the voice of a man that I don't know. whether he is in sympathy with me or not -- I would like to say on that telephone:

"Hello, Herbert:-- (drawned out by applause-prolonged) -- I wish you would run on down to the White House and have supper. I have got a lot of problems that are common problems to the Federal Government and the State of New York. I want ^{you} to come down and talk it over with me, and see if we can't be of mutual help to each other." (applause)

And that is why, very simply, but very much from the heart, I hope that after the Fourth of March next I will be able to pick up the telephone just that way. (applause) And that you good people -- my neighbors back home -- will be carrying on in our State the same policies of social justice and of liberal government that we have been living under for the past 10 years. Give me that help when I leave you for a short time next March. (applause-prolonged)

E N D

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GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Delivered at

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2:30 P.M.

OCTOBER 18, -- 1932

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So that phase was in my introduction to Rochester, and to politics. And, as some of you know, I renewed my acquaintance four years ago by long distance telephone with the City of Rochester, all the way from down in Georgia, 1200 miles away. And before I knew it, I was nominated for the Governorship of this State. (applause)-prolonged).

I don't want to make a speech to you to-day. You are friends and neighbors of mine. And during these many years you people in Rochester -- and indeed I think in almost every community in this State -- must have become rather tired of seeing my face constantly popping up in season and out. (laughter) I can talk to you though as neighbors, and I want to talk to you about something that you and I have got an equal interest in, -- the Government of our State. I am not here in the guise of a Presidential candidate -- not for one minute. I know what Monroe County is going to do on the 8th of November, so far as I am concerned. (laughter-applause)

But I want to talk to you about something that concerns you and me just about equally, -- with equal importance to the National problem in many ways, -- and that is: What are you and I going to do about our State after the first of January? I want to take you back -- as my old friend

Al Smith would say, "Let's look at the record." (laughter-applause-prolonged). We are not afraid to ask the question as to where we are going in this State after the first of January. I know the answer, and I think most of you do too.

There came out of a newspaper the other day a report of a speech by a very brave and a very fine young man who is running for Governor of this State on the Republican ticket -- an old friend of mine; And the headline in this story says, "Colonel Donovan ridicules the Forgotten Man," --- "ridicules the forgotten man"! And he wants to know whether my claim that there are forgotten people in this country is based on any record of accomplishment in this State. And I will tell him:

Is the record of accomplishment in this State worth quoting? Or is it something we want to hide under a bushel? Let us go back: There are two theories of Government in this State, just as there are two theories of Government in Washington, -- the theory of people who want to let things alone; who don't want to move forward; who oppose legislation just because it is new; and who have to have improvement in Government forced down their throat. That is one side.

The other side, -- the side of those who believe in progress of government, in making government move along with the progress of human civilization and not stand still.

Now, it is perfectly true -- let us be fair -- there are some parts of this country, there are some states, there are some communities, some counties and some villages and some towns, where the so-called political party that has represented progress has been the Republican Party. And there are other places where it has been the Democratic Party. But on the other hand, ^{what} we are concerned with -- you and myself -- has been the history of the State of New York. And mind you, when I am talking about Parties, I am not talking about the rank and file of the Republican Party. I am talking about the leadership of the Republican Party, and the people who speak for it.

What does the record show on that? Who is this "forgotten man"? Well, let us analyze a little: After that convention in this Hall in 1910 I was elected to the State Legislature as a member of the Senate. I was only a kid, but I found myself down there in that Legislature along with a lot of other kids -- mostly on the Democratic side: Jim Foley, who is now the Surrogate of New York City, and the great leading authority on the Law of Decedents' Estates. And Bob Wagner, Senator from this State, in Washington. And Alfred E. Smith, the leader of the Assembly.

Now, you had there a group of young men -- and I was proud to belong to that group, and probably if you will go back through the Legislation, and the history of this State, you will find that there was no single session of the Legislature that produced as much as that session of 1911. Did it count for anything? Well, let us see: That was the session that passed the Workmens' Compensation Law, and we youngsters in the Legislature who were in favor of it -- we were called Communists; we were called radicals. And who are the leaders of the opposition? -- O, not the Republican Party! That is different. But the leaders of the opposition were the leaders of the Republican Party who are essentially the same as the leaders of that Party are to-day: - In many cases the same men. In other cases, the same trend of thought. What else did we put through? We put through the direct primary laws, with the idea of trying to eliminate some of the control over parties which at that time was rested too much in the hands of a selfish few. And we put through factory inspection laws. You people didn't know that until that session when there was practically no such thing as a factory inspection law on the Statute books of this State. We passed the first law, limiting the hours of labor for women and children in industry, and we thought we were doing a heroic thing when we made it illegal for women and children in industry to work more than 54 hours a week. That is how radical we were.

And I succeeded in getting through the law calling for one day's rest in seven. It was never on the books before that. And so forth and so on. Who were those laws intended to help? The forgotten man and the forgotten woman (applause).

I am going back in telling you that in order to give you a little history of our own State. From that day to this there has been a definite line of demarcation between Democratic leadership on the one hand and Republican leadership on the other, and I will prove it.

The Democratic leaders were in control of the policies of this State from 1911 down through 1914, and I do not hesitate in saying that during those years, in Albany, that the Democratic leadership in Albany put this State in the advance, at the head of the procession of all the other states in regard to progressive and liberal laws of all kinds, liberal government intended to benefit the average citizen.

Then we had four years of standing still, and I would like to ask: During those four years of Governor Whitman, what constructive measure was put on the statute books of this State - 1914 to 1918?

After four years of standing still it was necessary to start the wheels going once more, and what did we do? In the Fall of 1918 we elected Alfred E. Smith Governor (applause). And when he came in he found much to do. In two years he accomplished much to bring us back, to try to catch up for the four years of wasted time. But in the great sweep of the Presidential election of 1920 he went down to defeat, and he was succeeded by a very worthy Judge from up-State New York, Judge Miller. Judge Miller had what they call a business administration. He cut the expenses of government. Right. He pruned here and he pruned there. It did not make any difference so long as he pruned. There is pruning and pruning.

When you quit taking care of the housing facilities, and the patients of the State of New York, for two years and start making them sleep in the corridors of our State Hospitals, I am not for that kind of pruning (applause). When you begin to cut on the appropriations for public health, I am not in favor of that kind of pruning. The result was, after two years of Governor Miller, the people of this State sent Alfred E. Smith back to Albany, that time for six years, in order to repair the damage that had been

done by Republican leadership (applause).

I am getting down to modern times, but I am giving you a background. I am quoting the record. When Governor Smith came back he had not only to start in to build hospitals and prisons, to rebuild the health system of the State, to reorganize the whole State government, - incidentally cutting 118 different departments of government down to 18 -- yes, that is good business -- of course, it is Democratic, but nobody would admit it (laughter) -- but he had to do a lot more. He had to bring the State up to modern ideas of social justice.

I have talked about social justice a good many times and I am going to keep on. He believed and the people of the State believed just a few things. Now let us see what. You have all heard about the State Park Program. Things were getting to this pass in the State of New York that a great deal of the best land in this State, scenic land, beaches, forests, streams, were getting so completely in the hands of private owners who put barbed-wire fences around them that the average citizen could perhaps drive along the public highway, but he could not go six inches off that highway to eat his lunch without getting arrested (applause).

(applause).

And so under the leadership of Governor Smith we started a park program, and it cost a lot of money, and the people of the State of New York, if they had it to do over again, would vote it just the same because we believe in the simple theory that the fellow or the girl who cannot afford to own fifty acres or one thousand acres of beautiful scenic land have got some rights, some where, some place to go out into God's open air nature and enjoy themselves (applause).

Yes, that was for the kind of forgotten man that I am talking about (applause).

And he had to build up the labor laws. He had to practically rebuild the highways of the State of New York. He had to strengthen every kind of social legislation and, last but not least, he had to withstand a terrific effort -- on the part of who? -- Republican leadership to give away to the power trust the State-owned water power, one million and a quarter horse-power on the St. Lawrence River.

Yes, you people who burn an electric light in your home or on your farm or in your little business have Governor Smith to thank in the first place that that St. Lawrence

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power is not now in private ownership. He would have been the perennial and continual Governor of the State of New York if we had not decided to run him for the Presidency; he would still be Governor. But we did decide and we did our best to elect him, and at that particular point in the picture this Convention Hall comes in again because they pulled me up north from Georgia and made me run in his place (applause).

I am bringing you down to the Fall of 1928. Any one of these great social measures that I have mentioned, that were put through in the early days when we were together in the Legislature or in the eight years that Smith was Governor, any one of them, I ask you to name any single one that was sponsored by the Republican leadership in this State, and you cannot name one.

When I went to Albany four years ago I had still a lot of work to do. We still had to carry out the building program to take care of the wards of the State. We had to take care of the crippled children. We had to take care of the mentally deficient people. We had to take care of the prisoners, many of whom were being housed in old-time cells that went back to the year 1840. Prisoners?

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Sure. But human beings and in many cases forgotten men also (applause). We were housing them in cells that were six feet long, and figure this out in your own mind, six feet long, and that means that a tall man could not stretch out all the way, and six feet high, and that means that a tall fellow could not stand up straight in his cell, and three feet wide, one yard wide. We still had a lot of those with prisoners in them. In other words, we still had the task of catching up to bring the State government up to our ideals of modern civilization.

Who was it that proposed all that? Was it the leader of the Republican majority in the Senate, our old friend Senator Knight? Was it the speaker of the Republican majority in the Assembly, our old friend Speaker McGuinness? Was it the Chairman of the Republican State Committee? No. Who proposed it? The Democratic administration in Albany. And who opposed it? The Republican leadership.

Who proposed making the so-called 48 hour work law for women and children in industry a real 48 hour law instead of a 49½ hour law? It took me two sessions of the Legislature before the Republican leaders were compelled to come to it. I suppose now they will claim that they passed the Bill. Sure, they passed it. Who made them? I did.

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And who proposed and put through a half holiday a week for women in industry -- was it the Republican leaders? I leave that to you. And who proposed putting occupational diseases in industry on the list of workmen's compensation diseases for which workers could be compensated? It took me three years to get that through the Republican leadership's heads. (applause)

And who, at the beginning of this depression, fought against extending the state system of employment offices throughout the state? I will leave that to you. And who opposed the carrying out of the park system which Governor Smith had begun? No, it was not the Democratic Administration. Every year I had to fight to get the park program carried through. And who was it that first proposed the system of old age pensions that we have got in this state? (applause) Well, this old bolshevik that's talking to you today (applause - laughter)

I had that in my first annual message to the legislature on January 3, 1929, and the Republican leaders threw up their hands in holy horror and said, "What's the matter with the poor farm?" (laughter). Why shouldn't we keep the poor house, the county poor house? It's a very nice

adjunct to our political machine in nine counties out of ten in upstate New York. Why have any change of the system? This fellow Roosevelt, he is a communist. (applause)

Well, during that session we began to hear down in Albany from the people of this state, and the people of this state realized -- I will just show you how our minds have moved in these past twenty years -- they realized that it is a whole lot better for old people to be taken care of in their own homes, or in their friend's homes, or in their families' homes during their declining days, when through no fault of their own they have come to distress and need; far better that than to turn them over to the best institution in all the world. (applause)

And so the legislature heard the voice of the people of this state, and they finally did the usual thing -- they decided they would appoint a commission. I have a sneaking theory in the back of my head that that appointing of commissions is not only a trick of the Republican leadership in the State of New York. I have heard of the same practice down in Washington, D. C. (applause)

Now, after that commission had been sitting for a year, they did the unexpected thing. They brought in a real honest-to-God recommendation, and that was to put in a system of

old age security against want throughout the State, and it was such a strong document, that after about a month and a half of calling it communistic, the Republican legislature passed the necessary legislation.

Claim credit for it? Sure. Sure they claimed credit for it. The candidate for governor on that ticket is saying that is a Republican measure. Now, if that's the kind of campaign that he is going to conduct in this state, let me give you a word of prophecy. He is going to be beaten just as badly as my old friend Charlie Tuttle was in 1930. (applause)

And then what happened on power? St. Lawrence power, if you like. Well, you and I know that the first year they appointed a commission in order to keep this governor quiet and the Commission brought in a report the second year, and at the same time in order to keep this governor of yours quiet, they appointed another commission to look into the question of the State's relationship to public utility corporations, and who was counsel of that Republican -- Republican-appointed, Republican-controlled Committee? The counsel to it and the man who wrote the report was my old friend Col. Donovan (laughter). You see I am beginning to tie things together, my friends.

On that committee I think there were nine people on it, I had the appointment of three, and the six Republican

members, including the President-pro-tem of the Senate, Senator Knight, and several of the late Assemblymen, they brought in a report prepared by their counsel, Col. Donovan, just as reactionary a document as you possibly could find anywhere in regard to public relation to utility companies. And my three members -- there were only three of them -- brought in a minority report to the contrary.

There is a perfectly clear definite issue this Fall between the Democratic attitude and this public utility control towards the development of the St. Lawrence water power on the one side, and the Republican attitude which would take you back, my friends, take you straight back to the days when the Republican-controlled legislature of this State gave away a charter for the State-owned power on the St. Lawrence to the Aluminum Company of America, free of cost.

Why, why do I say that? Because I repeat that the leadership of the Republican Party, not the rank and file, but the handful of people who control its leadership and its machinery are the same people today as they were in the year 1907 when the so-called Aluminum Trust grab was put through the Legislature, and you have seen it go on ever since. You have seen it in that second term of Governor

Smith when the Republican Attorney General tried through the old machinery that was then in existence to have the Water Board, so-called, of this State hand over to the private power companies the same St. Lawrence power on a so-called fifty year lease, fifty year lease.

Well, while they were about it why didn't they make it a five hundred year lease. We would all be dead anyway. (laughter and applause).

Now, my friends, in those days there was a very delightful young gentleman, a good friend of mine in this State, who had been speaker of the Assembly, Ed Machold, the Republican leader. You all know about him. And we Democrats used to say in those days that Ed Machold was tied up with the Power Trust while he was in the Assembly. Everybody knew it but they used to stand up and say, "Oh, no, no relationship whatsoever; not even a fifth cousin" (laughter and applause). But just the minute he got out of the Legislature he turns up as one of the principal owners and one of the principal officers of the Niagra Hudson Power Company. A strang coincidence (laughter).

And, my friends, I am not making any charges but I

am simply making a simple statement. A simple statement that you have got three weeks to investigate and come to your own conclusions (applause).

This other friend of mine, who is now running for the Governorship on the Republican ticket, is the favored candidate of the same Electrical Utilities interests that were behind Ed Machold in the old days. He is their intimate associate. He is consulted by them on all occasions and they were the principal backers of his nomination on the Republican ticket. You have got three weeks to talk that over in this State and you will find that I am right just the way in the old days I was right about my friend Ed Lachold (applause).

Now, I think it is a fair question -- I think it is a perfectly fair matter to ask, for the people of the State to ask, and I am not doing it -- I am running in Pennsylvania and West Virginia and ~~Marxkandxandx~~ Indiana the next day, and Illinois and Missouri the next day -- I haven't got time to ask questions in this State and so I am going to let you people do it. Go out and ask the Republican candidate for the Governorship how he stands in regard to his St. Lawrence policy. That is a fair question.

Ask him if he stands four-square with me on that policy. Ask him if he is Governor, if he will co-operate with me down in Washington ~~xxxx~~^{next} Fall. (applause) Ask him if he is in favor, definitely, yes or no, in favor of the State of New York building the dam and the power house across that River and having its hands on the throttle of the power from now on into eternity (applause). Ask him if he is in favor, as I have been, of having what I have called the birch-rod in the cupboard, of having ^{right} the/~~xxx~~ and the authority/~~xxx~~^{if} a private utility company ~~xxxxxx~~ won't transmit and distribute that power into your homes, into the individual homes and the apartments and farms and small business of this State, giving good service at a reasonable rate, if he would then favor having the State of New York go into the business and transmit the power itself (applause). They are forgotten people too (laughter). They have been pretty well overlooked, these Republican leaders in this State for just ten years (applause).

(. . .):

And I believe -- I don't believe in parts that do not mean much, like ten -- a dozen is a whole lot better.

Twelve is a lot better than ten and that is why I would like to see the progressive policies in this State stretched to a round dozen years. Now how can you do it? (Applause) You know how to do it and I know how to do it. This government of ours is a funny thing. You just can't take a fellow out of the office of Mayor of the City who has never been in Albany in his life and put him in charge of the State government with definite assurance that he is going to be a successful governor for everybody. You can't take a man just because he has been head of a big business and make him Governor and be sure that he will be a great governor. You have got to have something more than policy. You have got to have two other qualities. You have got to have policy that is right. If we are going to do anything at all in the governorship -- common sense. But you have got to have two other qualities, you have got to have some knowledge of the government itself. You have got to have somebody that knows the ^{vast} machinery of a corporation that is spending pretty nearly three hundred million dollars a year of your money that you are a stockholder in. You can't just go and take somebody from an entirely different business and be sure that he is going to

make good. The fact of being a lawyer does not mean that my friend Col. Donovan would make a good Governor. The fact that Col. Donovan is an extraordinarily brave man, a splendid man with a great war record does not prove that he will make a good Governor.

Now, let's come down to him. You have got to have certain other qualities if you can find them and it is not every year you can, but in this State, my friends, you have got this year a pretty simple choice. You have got a man who is not only an experienced business executive, a man with great ability along business lines, and believe me in the next two years we ought to have a pretty good business man in Albany, I can tell you that, there are going to be business problems of the first magnitude, cutting budgets, collecting taxes, making both ends meet and from time to time borrowing money at the lowest possible rates of interest. That is one quality that this man has, excellent business judgment, excellent business training.

Above that he has got a thorough knowledge of an experience in the State government itself. He knows every nook and cranny of the State, every county, every institution and, believe me, we have got an awful lot of institutions

in the State of New York. You have got to know a thing, you have got to see a thing, you have got to be familiar with the administrative problems of every institution before you can really make a good governor. Well, let me give you an illustration. You cannot check up on everything at the same time.

Some things are bound to get past even the fellow with the best intentions and the hardest working man in the world, I found last year by pure luck. I happened to see a picture of a new cow barn down in Rockland County that the State Architect and the Department of Social Welfare had put up in connection with Litchworth Village which is the place that we take care of mentally deficient children in, and I looked at the plans, and I know something about a farm myself, and I said to myself "It is a beautiful barn but what is the estimate of its cost?" Now, they were going to put in there, they were going to put in forty cows and they were going to make the State pay \$160,000. for that barn. And when I heard that I say that is \$4,000. per cow (laughter). And yet the housing of these unfortunate children is being done by the State at less than \$3000. per child. Now, that is the kind of thing that comes up before a Governor and requires not only constant vigilance on his part but it requires also a pretty good knowledge of the State's institutions.

Finally, the third qualification is this: You know that there are two ways of approaching every angle. You can approach the thing that is before you, the problem in front of you, from the cold matter-of-fact point of view, to think only in terms of business, to think only in terms of the balance sheet, to think only in terms of making a financial record -- and let us be quite frank -- that is the kind of governor our old friend Governor Miller was, and that is not said in derogation of Governor Miller, because along those lines he was 100%. But there is the other type of governor that views things from the point of humanity, who thinks in terms of the greatest good for the greatest number, who is honestly shocked if patients of hospitals have to sleep out in the corridors, and does something about it, who is honestly shocked when he hears about prisoners who sleep in small cells, and does something about it.

Now, you have a man who has all three of those qualifications -- a business man, a man with a complete knowledge of the State government, inside and out, and a humanitarian, and that is why I am asking the people of this State, on this one short stop that I can spare in upstate New York, I am asking them to send down to Albany as my successor the present Lieutenant Governor of this State, Colonel Lehman. (Applause.)

Finally, my friends, there is just one more thing that affects this State, and it affects the nation -- believe me, I know -- and that is unemployment. (Applause)

Now, there are two sides to unemployment: one is almost 100% a national problem of changing and restoring -- changing our economics from what they are today on a national scale, restoring our economics to common sense and getting this country back on its feet sanely and naturally so that by attacking on a thousand fronts at the same time we will resume normal business. That is the national problem. But with that goes an immediate problem that applies to every community in the United States, and that is a three-fold problem: national, local and state. As I have said many times, the first responsibility is on the locality to do what they can for the relief work of those who are unemployed, and, incidentally, you people in Rochester are known all over the United States as having made one of the most intelligent and successful attacks on that local problem of any community in the country. That is the local end of it, and when that is insufficient, then it is the duty of the State to step in, and, when that is insufficient, then it is the duty of the Federal Government itself to step in and bring relief.

What happened in this State? Through that Winter of 1930-1931, the State kept in close touch and coordinated in the efforts of all of the communities, upstate and downstate.

It made suggestions, carried through its employment agency work and kept a close touch on the situation. So far as I know, the State of New York was the first state to recognize the state's responsibility towards its citizens, and a little over a year ago, the beginning of September, 1931, two people in Albany -- just two -- came to a conclusion that it was time for the State to act, and they were the first two people -- the first people connected with any state government in the United States that came to that conclusion and acted. And those two people were the Lieutenant Governor of the State and the Governor of the State. (Applause).

The result was that after some opposition on the part of the Republican leaders, we got through the Legislature two bills, one an appropriation of twenty million dollars of state bonds in order to take care of relief work and match the efforts of communities in every part of the State that needed help, and the second bill was the bill to raise money. And the Lieutenant Governor and the Governor said to the Legislature, "Double the income taxes and you will raise it," and we did. (Applause)

The result has been that this state, better than any other large state -- and, mind you, we have thirteen million people in the state -- we have been able to carry on in providing the pure necessities of life to those who are out of work. We have, I hope and think, prevented actual starva-

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tion in a great many cases.

The emergency is still before us -- certainly through this Winter. Now, my friends, what are you going to do? Are you going to have a man in Albany who remembers the people who need relief -- a man whose whole career has shown his understanding of humanity, his understanding of crucial needs, his understanding of the interests of the average citizen in this country and what he is up against, or are you going to turn over your State government to a man who may be entirely sincere but has neither practice nor record in regard to any of the work of the Government of the State of New York. (Applause)

Now, there is just one other thing, and then I am going to close -- just about two more sentences. I have seen a good deal ^{of} Presidents, going back to a certain administration in Washington, - about the year 1901 and 2. I won't mention any names lest that same question should rise again. - I have seen Presidents, and I have seen a good many of them, use their office with the help of Governors. In other words, there can be, and ought to be a pretty close association between the office of President, and the offices of the Governors of the several states of the Union. I am going to let you in on a secret. I have been Governor now for nearly four years. And during that time the Federal administration has never once sought conference with the Governor of the State of New York in the solution of any problem of social welfare, or of Government -- with one exception: About a year and a half ago one of the many commissions appointed in the National Capitol sent a third assistant to Albany to talk with a second assistant in one of the State Departments -- and I heard about it accidentally after he had left. But the point ~~is~~ I make is this: The National Government and State Governments should and ought to co-operate with each other far more than they have in the past.

And when I go down to Washington, I propose to start something new. (applause-prolonged). I don't want to

regard Governors of the 48 States as strange people who are carrying on some fully unconnected foreign system of Government with which I as President have no relation. I am going to ask them to come to Washington and sit around the table. (applause-prolonged)

Now, when I do it -- won't that be realistic? -- when I do it there is one thing I should like to know. I should like to know that I can call up Albany myself on the long distance telephone, and instead of getting a strange voice on the phone; -the voice of a man that I don't know. whether he is in sympathy with me or not -- I would like to say on that telephone:

"Hello, Herbert:-- (drowned out by applause-prolonged) -- I wish you would run on down to the White House and have supper. I have got a lot of problems that are common problems to the Federal Government and the State of New York. I want^{you}/to come down and talk it over with me, and see if we can't be of mutual help to each other." (applause)

And that is why; -very simply, but very much from the heart; -I hope that after the Fourth of March next I will be able to pick up the telephone just that way. (applause) And that you good people -- my neighbors back home -- will be carrying on in our State the same policies of social justice and of liberal government that we have been living under for the past 10 years. Give me that help when I leave you for a short time next March. (applause-prolonged)

E N D