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A Rhetorical Study of the Gubernatorial Speaking of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

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Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE GUBERNATORIAL SPEAKING
OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by

Paul Jordan Pennington
B. A., Henderson State Teachers College, 1948
M. A., Oklahoma University, 1950
August, 1957
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ABSTRACT

This study considers the gubernatorial speaking of Franklin D. Roosevelt. It analyzes the background of the speaker, the physical aspects of his delivery, the preparation of his speeches, the New York audience, and the occasions on which he spoke. It evaluates the 228 gubernatorial speeches in terms of the rhetorical concepts of invention and arrangement.

Governor Roosevelt had three main goals: he wanted to be re-elected Governor; he wanted enactment of welfare legislation; and he wanted to be elected President. To gain support for these objectives, he spoke to the people of New York in his campaigns, on special occasions, over the radio, and on official occasions. In these speeches he specifically called for depression relief, state development of hydro-electric power, laws regulating the hours of women and children in industry; aid to widows, aid to orphans, aid to the crippled, aid to the aged, reform of the state prison system, lowering of utility rates, tax reduction for farmers, and more regulation of the banking industry.

Roosevelt faced a state audience consisting of ten million urban dwellers and two million rural residents. In the depression years of 1929-1932, he met the problem
of a million and a half unemployed urban workers with a program of experimentation that culminated in creation of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration. The T.E.R.A. served as a pattern for later national relief measures.

In his campaigns Roosevelt spoke in all the large cities and towns in the state, campaigning in 1928 largely on the record of social welfare achieved by Alfred Smith, although he did promise the farmers more aid. In his 1930 campaign, public concern over the depression overshadowed the issue of corruption in the Democratic administration of New York City and he won by the unprecedented plurality of 750,000.

Since the majority in the legislature was hostile to his program, Roosevelt directed his official speeches to the people. He soon discovered that the radio was his most effective weapon in enlisting the popular support needed to overcome the recalcitrant legislature. When he spoke at banquets, dedications, conventions, commencements, and commemorative exercises, Roosevelt stressed the similarities between his goals and those of the special interest groups he addressed.

Roosevelt's speeches were skillfully adapted to the immediate audiences. Although his arguments and his evidence contained some weaknesses, when combined with the other appeals, they served to persuade the voters. His ethical appeals were designed to prove to his listeners that he was their champion.
and that the Republicans were blocking legislation the people wanted and needed. He appealed to his listeners' senses of fair play when he asked them to urge their legislators to enact his proposals; he appealed to their desires for security with his welfare program; he appealed to the legislators' desires to relieve distress in others when he asked for aid to the people. The speeches were usually organized on a logical pattern.

The most obvious measure of his effectiveness as a speaker was his success: he was twice elected Governor of New York, achieved most of his legislative goals, and finally, was elected President of the United States.
INTRODUCTION

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's election as Governor of New York in 1928 marked his return to public service after a seven-year struggle with poliomyelitis. The adjustments which he made to his physical handicap, the work habits which he evolved, and the philosophy of government which he developed before and during his years in Albany served as preparation for his years as President of the United States.

The speeches, then, of Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor are of special importance, for they are a prelude to his presidential utterances and reveal the emergence of many of his basic goals of later years. Roosevelt spoke of his years as Governor of New York as a period of education. In 1938, he wrote:

The 1929-1933 period was well fitted to serve as an education in social and economic needs for those who were willing to search out the underlying causes and not merely symptoms on the surface. . . . The. . . group to which I belonged, believed that . . . strong vital government action was, therefore, a prerequisite in any program for material recovery. During my four years in Albany this prerequisite became more and more apparent. . . .

Samuel Rosenman comments on the same point:

After Roosevelt became President, writers and commentators expressed surprise at the rapid succes-

---

sion of legislative proposals urged by him during the "first hundred days" of his presidency in 1933... Many have wondered where they all came from in such a short time. The fact is that the basic philosophy and social objectives of the New Deal proposals can all be found in Governor Roosevelt's speeches and messages during the four years before he became President.²

Problem and Procedure

This study has as its objective to report, to describe, and to evaluate the speaking of Franklin D. Roosevelt while he was Governor of New York from 1929 to 1932. Instead of attempting to concentrate on a small segment of his oratory, the study seeks to survey the principal types of speaking in which Roosevelt engaged, namely, campaign speaking, official speaking, occasional speaking, and radio speaking.

At the outset the investigator recognized that these types are not mutually exclusive in method or subject matter. It is doubtful that any classification of his speaking from 1928 until his death in 1945 could be completely discrete as to method and subject matter. But each type of speaking presented the speaker with a different set of problems in composition and adjustment.

Technically the study concentrates primarily upon two of the classical canons of rhetoric, invention, and organization. This investigation analyzes Roosevelt's invention

in terms of the Aristotelian concepts of argument, ethical appeals, and emotional appeals. The study considers the arrangement of the speeches in terms of the patterns of organization of each type. Included is a brief description of the elements of bodily delivery based upon available secondary reports. Style and delivery are not treated because the investigator was unable to discover enough recordings for precise analysis.

Plan

This study is organized as follows:

Chapter I traces the development of the basic philosophy of Franklin D. Roosevelt, his speech preparation and the sources of his ideas, and his methods of overcoming the psychological barriers (occasioned by his physical handicap) to his successful delivery of a speech.

Chapter II considers Roosevelt's audience from 1928 to 1932. It discusses the backgrounds, attitudes, religions, and

3 Classical tradition divides all rhetoric into five parts: invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory. According to Cicero, invention embraces the total investigation by the speaker of his subject matter in its relationship to the speech situation. Accordingly, "...every matter that can be the subject of inquiry and discussion involves...either the acquisition of knowledge or the performance of action;...of acquiring knowledge there are three modes, inference, definition and thirdly what I may designate deduction; for we employ inference to discover the essential content of a thing, definition explains the force possessed by a particular thing, ...while deduction is the procedure when we are investigating a particular thing's consequence." Cicero, De Oratore, Book III, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), pp.89-90.
political party affiliations, races, and nationalities of the people of New York during these critical years, and shows the problems which Roosevelt faced when he spoke to a heterogeneous audience.

Chapter III considers Roosevelt's speaking in the 1928 and 1930 gubernatorial campaigns. The traditional party division of New York into upstate Republican and New York City Democratic posed a special problem for a gubernatorial aspirant who wanted to win an election and to impress the delegates to the 1932 Democratic national convention.

Chapter IV discusses Roosevelt's speaking to the New York legislature. During his four years as chief executive of New York, Democrat Roosevelt had a legislature which was controlled by a Republican majority. One of the objectives of this Republican majority was to keep Roosevelt from becoming a challenge to their national administration before the meetings of the 1932 conventions. The general subject of this chapter is the way in which his speaking aided him in dealing with an often hostile legislature.

Chapter V discusses Roosevelt's occasional speaking. As Governor, Roosevelt was chief speaker at many banquets, conventions, commencements, holiday celebrations, reunions, dedications, and welcoming ceremonies.

Chapter VI analyzes the radio speaking of Roosevelt. Although Alfred Smith, as Governor of New York, had used the "radio" to talk to the people of the state, Roosevelt had the opportunity in New York to use the broadcast facilities
to reach all areas of the state in his efforts to achieve the goals of his gubernatorial administration. Restricted in the visual aspects of his delivery by his paralysis, Roosevelt could use the radio microphone without handicap.

Chapter VII summarizes the study.

Sources

The most fruitful source of materials for this investigation was the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. This library, which serves as a depository for manuscripts, documents, and books relating to Roosevelt, has several large groups of papers concerning his governorship. These groups are the following: the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York, 1929-1932 (Group 12), the papers of Louis McHenry Howe, 1913-1936 (Group 36), and the papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt relating to family, business and other Roosevelt affairs, 1882-1945, (Group 14).

The Group 12 papers contain drafts of many of the gubernatorial addresses, much of the correspondence related to his speaking, and documents and papers which served as a basis for the speeches.

The Louis Howe papers (Group 36) contain information relating to Roosevelt's governorship speaking, such as ideas for speeches, budgets for radio speeches, and itineraries for campaign tours.

The Group 14 papers are more personal in their content than the other groups but contain many references in the
correspondence to the plan and contents of speeches, the circumstances of their delivery, and the audience reactions to them.

This library also contains photographs of Roosevelt (Group 4) made during the delivery of some of his gubernatorial speeches. These photographs help in reconstructing the setting, since they show how he used a microphone and how he stood while speaking.

Personal interviews with Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Miss Frances Perkins were also revealing. Miss Perkins extended a fifteen-minute interview into one that lasted over three hours. She spoke of her observations on, associations with, and evaluations of the governorship of Roosevelt.

During an interview that lasted approximately three hours, Mrs. Roosevelt spoke at length of her husband, giving information regarding the backgrounds of some of his speeches.

A four volume set, Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, 1929-1932, includes many of his speeches, his messages to the legislature, official correspondence, records of important court proceedings, and matters of official and semi-official business. These volumes contain nearly three thousand pages of closely printed materials, which give a background for many of the speeches.

Contemporary newspapers aided in giving the background for the addresses, and in their reports helped to reconstruct the occasion. James Kieran, New York Times reporter, was assigned to travel with Roosevelt. He reported the details of delivery in a highly sympathetic manner. Ernest Lindley of the New York World was also highly sympathetic to Roosevelt in his treatment of the speech situations, although his newspaper maintained an independent editorial policy.

Scores of books and pamphlets by Roosevelt's close friends, associates, and opponents were valuable secondary sources of information.

Speech Texts

Verification of "what" Roosevelt said was a major task in this study. Texts of 225 different speeches were available for examination. In some cases several drafts of the same speech represented different stages in the preparation of the speech. In most of these cases there was nothing to indicate which draft was the final copy. The speeches in the Governorship files at the Roosevelt Library had not been as carefully identified and classified as those in the Presidential files and required careful checking to identify the dates and circumstances of their delivery.

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5Lindley's biography of Roosevelt written during the Governorship was the most complete one of that time. Ernest K. Lindley, Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Career in Progressive Democracy (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1931).
Stenographic reports of some of the speeches were available and were accepted in this study as representing what Roosevelt said. Stenographic reports of all 49 of the 1928 campaign speeches are in the Roosevelt Library and were used for this dissertation.

Where there was no stenographic report, the copy from which Roosevelt read (when such copy was identifiable) was compared to newspaper accounts and accepted for this study. Where there was no stenographic or reading copy of a speech, the press release copy was used. When no stenographic copy, reading copy, or press release was available, the speech as published in the gubernatorial papers was accepted. The speeches printed in these volumes are edited, and they omit many preliminary remarks which Roosevelt made. They correspond to the press release copy of the speeches.

One hundred twenty-nine of the speeches were checked in more than one source. Major variations in texts of the speeches were found in only eight cases.

Previous Studies

Previous studies of Roosevelt's speaking have been confined primarily to his presidential years. A series of doctoral dissertations completed at the State University of Iowa represent the most concentrated inquiry into Roosevelt's presidential speaking.

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6Public Papers of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.
The Iowa studies include Lowery L. Cowperthwaite's analysis of the 1932 presidential campaign speaking, the aspects of the occasion, Roosevelt's delivery, his audience, and the speeches as they were adapted to these factors.7 Laura Crowell analyzed the 1936 campaign with special regard to the persuasion of the audience.8 Robert F. Ray investigated the 1944 campaign speaking of both Roosevelt and his opponent, Thomas E. Dewey.9

Ernest Brandenburg, also at Iowa, analyzed seventeen foreign policy speeches that Roosevelt delivered between September 3, 1939, and December 7, 1941.10 Brandenburg considered the auditors to whom Roosevelt spoke, the preparation of the speeches, and the circumstances involved in the presentation of the speeches.

A large number of Master's theses have investigated limited aspects of Roosevelt's speaking. Typical of these


10Ernest S. Brandenburg, "An Analysis and Criticism of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Speeches in International Affairs Delivered between September 3, 1939, and December 7, 1941" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1948).
are (1) a study of the qualities which made Roosevelt's speaking effective,\textsuperscript{11} (2) a study of Roosevelt's speech style,\textsuperscript{12} an analysis of his neutrality speeches of the month of September, 1939,\textsuperscript{13} and (3) a comparison of Roosevelt's style in campaign and occasional speaking.\textsuperscript{14}

Although biographers have dealt with the gubernatorial period of Roosevelt's activities, no previous rhetorical study of his oratory in this period has been made. Since his governorship represented a significant period of Franklin D. Roosevelt's activity, it is believed that this study is justified as an addition to the knowledge of the oratory of this historically significant person.

\textsuperscript{11}Joanna Givan, "A Consideration of the Qualities Which Contribute to the Effectiveness of the Speeches of Franklin D. Roosevelt" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Marquette University, 1938).


\textsuperscript{14}Charlotte Schrier, "A Comparative Study of the Oral Style of Franklin Roosevelt in Representative Occasional and Campaign Speeches" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, State University of Iowa, 1939).
CHAPTER I

ROOSEVELT: THE MAN

Franklin D. Roosevelt was a man who left few people neutral toward his public actions. Prior to 1932, however, his opponents did not display the intense animosity that they later developed. For example, one of his most severe critics, John T. Flynn, offers little criticism of his activities prior to the 1932 presidential campaign.¹

By tracing his activities and citing the opinions of his biographers and associates, this chapter shows sources of Roosevelt's ideas and his adherence to progressive policies from 1910 to 1929. It also shows his lack of set policies in his stated goals and his actions. The chapter further considers his methods of preparing his gubernatorial addresses and it discusses the problems his physical handicaps posed to the delivery of a speech.

His Philosophy

Although Franklin D. Roosevelt was brought up in an

environment of wealth and privilege, his adult life was spent in advocating innovations and reforms that were considered antithetical to his patrician rearing. In the light of his early years, biographers have been at a loss to explain his liberalism. Samuel I. Rosenman, one of Roosevelt's closest friends and advisers, summarizes why it was unusual for him to become a liberal in the following:

"I have never been able to learn to my own satisfaction the original sources of Roosevelt's unwavering liberalism. . . . He was born into a rich and aristocratic family; he was educated by private tutors in the patrician environment of a Hudson River Valley estate. He attended the most exclusive of eastern preparatory schools, and was a member of the best clubs at Harvard. His friends and family nearly all belonged to the privileged and conservative class. . . . One would have expected him to be a reactionary in politics."  

In his book, The Wilson Era, Josephus Daniels further calls attention to the disparity between Roosevelt's background and his expressed political faith, but he concludes, "The handicap of the Groton and Harvard brand of education did not impair his fundamental democracy." 3

Ferdinand Lundberg expresses the opinion of many when he says that Roosevelt's environment kept him from evolving a basic philosophy in his early years. He writes:

F.D.R., the truth is, never got around much outside his own restricted social circle except as

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a tourist abroad, which enabled him to see no more than the surface of surfaces. Nor was he a student or bookworm, which forecloses solitary study as the source of his political knowledge. He was a golfer, yachtman, a stamp collector and a Navy romanticist—in brief an extrovert dilettante.4

Frank Freidel points out that F.D.R. came of age in a period that "...acclaimed success in building overseas empire, or in achieving humanitarian or political reform."5 He says that in keeping with the times, Roosevelt directed his ambitions toward achieving political and humanitarian reform, and that Roosevelt was more specifically motivated by "...Christian faith and a sense of noblesse oblige that he had inherited from his parents and learned from Endicott Peabody of Groton and Theodore Roosevelt." Freidel concludes, "His were the background and attitudes, and the aspiration to point him toward greatness."6

Although his parents and teachers served to influence his faith and sense of noblesse oblige, these qualities do not lead exclusively to progressive or liberal political philosophy. The only person of national prominence who might have influenced him to adopt progressive ideas was his cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. However, Franklin was associated with Theodore only on a few social occasions.

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6Ibid., p. 5.
There is evidence, however, that Theodore was one of Franklin's early heroes.\(^7\) In 1904 he stepped outside his Democratic party alignment to vote for Theodore, and he repeatedly praised his illustrious cousin in his letters and in his public statements.\(^8\)

Since his father was a Democrat, F.D.R. grew up considering himself to be one too. When he entered politics in 1910, Theodore's influence was not great enough to change his party allegiance, and he campaigned and was elected State Senator on the Democratic ticket. After his election Roosevelt revealed himself to be a progressive in his desire for political reform. He led a group of Democrats in the legislature in successfully opposing Tammany Hall's selection of William Sheehan for U. S. Senator. Subsequently, he continued his reform tendency by supporting legislation calling for direct primaries which he naively thought would destroy the influence of the Tammany leaders.\(^9\)

\(^7\)Letters from F.D.R. to "Mama" and "Papa" (Mr. and Mrs. James Roosevelt), June 4, 1897, November 13, 1898, January 23, 1900, quoted in Elliott Roosevelt, editor, F.D.R., His Personal Letters, Early Years (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1947), pp. 110, 230, 379.


The legislation he supported also indicated progressive tendencies. He worked for conservation of wildlife and of forests; he voted for laws limiting the hours of women in industry; he sought laws requiring more safety devices in mines; after evading the issue for two years, he supported woman suffrage; he avoided committing himself directly on the issue of prohibition, but he was soon classed as a dry, and he even received praise from the Anti-Saloon League.10

In 1911 Louis McHenry Howe, an Albany newspaper correspondent, attached his fortunes to those of Franklin Roosevelt. Edward Flynn wrote of Howe's devotion, "His loyalty to Roosevelt was a beautiful thing. I am sure he would willingly have given up his life to advance Roosevelt's political fortunes."11 Josephus Daniels adds to that, "His one and only ambition was...to see Franklin occupy the White House and to further that ambition he devoted every effort."12 Howe made it a point to see that Roosevelt never forgot this goal.13

In 1912 Roosevelt worked actively for the election of Woodrow Wilson, and the following year he was offered the

post of Assistant Secretary of Navy. He accepted, but he delayed taking office until after the New York Legislature adjourned, because he was engaged in a fight to prevent leasing of state-owned water power resources to private companies. During the year 1913-1920 Woodrow Wilson set the policy which Roosevelt supported publicly, and it would have been difficult for Wilson not to have had an influence on his Assistant Secretary of Navy. F.D.R.'s superior in this period, Josephus Daniels, noted that "although Wilson and Roosevelt were unlike in temperament, the similarity of their goals was obvious." 

Eleanor Roosevelt says that in this period Roosevelt's philosophy and thinking were broadened by his contacts with Justice Oliver Holmes and Woodrow Wilson. F.D.R. considered Justice Holmes, who made it a practice to lunch with the younger men of the Wilson Administration, a good friend.

In later years Roosevelt compared the main strengths of Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote, "Theodore Roosevelt...failed to stir, as Wilson did, the truly profound moral and social convictions. Wilson...failed where Theodore Roosevelt succeeded, in stirring people to enthusi-

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14 Daniels, op. cit., pp. 12 to 127; Daniels told Wilson that Roosevelt was "one of our kind of Liberal." Wilson was indebted to F.D.R. who had organized the Empire State Democracy, a group of Democrats favorable to Wilson's nomination.

15 Ibid., IV, p. 273.

asm over specific individual events, even though these specific events may have been superficial in comparison with the fundamentals.\textsuperscript{17} In light of this observation, it is interesting to note Henry Steele Commager's comparison of F.D.R. to Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson. He writes, "Franklin D. Roosevelt...had the magnetism of Theodore Roosevelt without his economic immaturity or his fatal tendency to compromise on essentials...the idealism of Wilson without his doctrinaire intellectualism.\textsuperscript{18}

In 1914, F.D.R. opposed the Tammany Hall candidate, James W. Gerard, for the U.S. Senate nomination and was beaten by a margin of two to one.\textsuperscript{19} When Gerard failed to win the seat in the regular election it became apparent that Tammany needed better vote-getters and that Roosevelt had to have the machine's support to get nominated. Consequently between 1914 and 1918, F.D.R. completely reversed his public policy toward political machines and began to cooperate with Tammany.\textsuperscript{20} Although, "He never campaigned again on the issue of antibossism," Eleanor Roosevelt wrote

\textsuperscript{17}Elliott Roosevelt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 467.


\textsuperscript{20}F.D.R.'s personal scrapbook in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library contains a program of a Tammany Hall celebration with Roosevelt listed as chief speaker, July 4, 1917; \textit{New York Times}, July 5, 1917.
that "Franklin never got over his dislike of Tammany Hall."21 From 1918 until 1932, he compromised with his ideals sufficiently to work with that machine and publicly to defend it.

As Assistant Secretary of Navy, Roosevelt was charged with directing the labor policies of the Department. He insisted that all Navy yards follow the same pay scale, and he repeatedly sympathized with the views of the workers and sought to adjust their grievances.22 This policy won him the support of the workers and gave a basis for appealing for labor's support in later years.23

In 1920 Roosevelt seconded the nomination of Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency of the United States. Although James M. Cox was nominated, Roosevelt was chosen as the vice-presidential candidate.24 In his campaign speeches Roosevelt supported Wilson's progressive record, and he strongly advocated that the United States join the League of Nations. Although the Republicans won, he established himself as the "Dauphin of the Wilson Administration," by his progressive statements, and, as Freidel has written, "He believed in


22Daniels, IV, op. cit., p. 365; Fusfield, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

23Address at Buffalo, October 20, 1928; address at Binghamton, October 17, 1928.

tides of public opinion. . ., and as surely as they were
ebbing for Wilsonians. . .they would subsequently flow back
again. Roosevelt maneuvered adroitly to place himself in
a position to ride that flood."25

In 1921, Roosevelt's attack of poliomyelitis removed
him from sustained participation in politics for seven years.
During this time Louis Howe moved into the Roosevelt home
and took over political correspondence. Howe refused to
relinquish his goal of the Presidency for Roosevelt, and
he opposed any suggestion that F.D.R. should retire. His
activities meant that Roosevelt needed only to sign his
name and to make infrequent speeches at political gather­
ings.26

Roosevelt's struggle to overcome his handicap played
a significant role in shaping his philosophy. Frances
Perkins believes that in this personal fight he developed
for the first time deep human sympathies and understandings.
She doubts that prior to his attack of polio he was sincere
in his stated desire to promote social welfare legislation.
She quoted Roosevelt as saying to her "You know I was
really a mean cuss back in those days."27

25Ibid., p. 52; Daniels, IV, op. cit., p. 273; Daniels
says that Howe and Roosevelt worked "...so that he could
take the tide at the flood."

26Flynn, op. cit., p. 20.

27Personal interview with Frances Perkins, Washington,
D. C., August 18, 1952.
Eleanor Roosevelt concluded that "Franklin's illness proved a blessing in disguise, for it gave him strength and courage he had not had before. He had to think out fundamentals of living and learn the greatest of all lessons—infinitesimal patience and never-ending persistence."  

Louis Howe expressed years later the following opinion:

I doubt if Franklin might ever have been President if he had not been stricken, tragic though it was. You see, he had a thousand interests. You couldn't pin him down... Then suddenly there he was flat on his back, with nothing to do but think... He dwelt on many things which had not bothered him much before. Lying there, he grew bigger day by day.

In the years during which Roosevelt fought to overcome polio, Alfred E. Smith expanded a program of governmental reform and humanitarian legislation in New York. Roosevelt publicly approved of these actions, and he aligned his views with those of the former governor. In 1922 he sent an open letter to Smith urging him to accept the gubernatorial nomination because he had "given to this State an honest, clean, and economical government, and had consistently opposed the privilege seekers and the reactionaries." He continued this support in his 1924 nominating speech in which he praised Smith's reforms in New York and

28 Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 25.
said, "He is the Happy Warrior of the political battlefield, this warrior whose record shows him to be invincible in defense of right and in attack against wrong; this man beloved by all, trusted by all." In 1928 he again nominated Smith and said, "His staunchest adversaries concede his record, in the enactment of a legislative program for the protection of men, women, and children engaged in industry, in public health, in the interest of humanity.  

Howe and Roosevelt planned to seek the governorship in 1932 and the presidency in 1936. However, Smith and the Democratic leaders insisted that Roosevelt run for Governor or New York in 1928 in order to help win the state for the Democrats. They obviously believed Roosevelt to be a vote getter, and if he were elected they naturally expected him to continue the policies of the Smith administration which he had so often praised and to which their political fortunes were tied.

Thus when F.D.R. began his period of gubernatorial activity, he was, on the record, a progressive supporter of Alfred E. Smith, with an early record of opposition to

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31 Speech nominating Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency, June 26, 1924.
32 Speech nominating Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency, June 27, 1928.
political bosses, marred by later cooperation with the same bosses.

In his 1928 campaign and in his early actions as Governor, Roosevelt indicated that he would continue the humanitarian programs initiated by Smith. This program was consistent with the progressive policies he had supported as a member of the New York Senate. For example, as State Senator and later as Governor, he supported reduction of the hours of women in industry, scientific research for the farmer, conservation of the forests and of wildlife, aid to rural schools, expansion of the social welfare agencies of the state, and state ownership and development of water power. His support of the moderate demands of labor was consistent with his support of labor when he was Assistant Secretary of Navy. He was especially concerned for the farmer which he felt were being left behind in the economic advance of industry. He believed that the farmers' purchasing power should be brought up to the level of skilled industrial workers. His ideas for helping the farmers seemed to be based on the following memorandum he wrote in 1928:

We have today side by side an old political order fashioned by pastoral civilization and a new social order fashioned by a technical civilization. The two are maladjusted. Their creative interrelation is one of the big tasks ahead of American leadership.34

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34Memorandum on leadership, July 6, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
However, the depression brought problems for which he had no precedent to serve as a guide for action. At first he took no action because he thought the depression would be short lived, but he soon demonstrated a willingness to experiment in the social and economic fields. In 1930 he called for private relief and for economy in operating the state government. Later that same year he appointed a committee on Stabilization of Industry for the Prevention of Unemployment and instructed it to prepare a plan for the next depression. In early 1931 he called a conference of the Governors of the northeastern states to discuss depression problems.

It was not until August, 1931, that Roosevelt openly advocated direct relief of the unemployed. At that time he asked a special session of the legislature to create the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration with power and money to prevent starvation of the unemployed. In his message he declared the philosophy on which he based his request. He wrote:

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35 Letter to Victor Watson, October 25, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

36 Radio Address, February 3, 1930.


38 Ibid., 1931, p. 410.
What is the State? It is the duly constituted representative of an organized society of human beings created by them for their mutual protection and well-being. "The State" or "The Government" is but the machinery through which such mutual aid and protection are achieved. . . . Our Government is not the master but the creature of the people. . . .

One of the duties of the State is that of caring for those of its citizens who find themselves the victims of such adverse circumstances as makes them unable to obtain even the necessities for mere existence without the aid of others. . . .

The Temporary Emergency Relief Administration was the culmination of a series of plans which Roosevelt tried in his efforts to alleviate the suffering caused by unemployment. At one of his earlier press conferences Roosevelt explained his method of meeting the depression crises by comparing himself to the quarterback in a football game, "The quarterback knows what the next play will be but beyond that he cannot predict or plan too rigidly because future plays will depend on how the next one works."40 He continued this idea in his 1932 speech at the Oglethorpe Commencement: "It is common sense to take a method and try it; if it fails, . . . try another."41 Frances Perkins said that when Roosevelt compared his administration to sailors drifting in a fog, he meant that he was listening carefully for the sounds that would indicate reefs ahead and he was ready to change

39 Message to the Legislature, August 28, 1931.
40 Hofstadter, op. cit., p. 86.
41 Speech at Oglethorpe Commencement, May 22, 1932.
his course in the event of danger.42

In all his gubernatorial activity Roosevelt kept the goal of the presidency before him.43 He needed an active program on the state level in order to get national attention. Once he had that national attention he had to hold it and keep from alienating the voters. The League of Nations was unpopular in 1932, so he reversed his 1920 stand and spoke against it.44 The eastern states seemed to favor repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment so he ended years of evading the issue and spoke openly for repeal throughout the 1930 campaign.

Other inconsistencies received less publicity. On July 4, 1929, he told a Tammany Hall celebration that "I want to preach a new doctrine; complete separation of business and government."45 This idea was in conflict with his advocacy of state ownership of water power resources and his demand for more stringent regulation of the utility companies.

Roosevelt made mistakes. Even his closest associates refuse to ascribe to him a totally altruistic philosophy.

42Personal interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D. C.


44Speech to New York State Grange, February 2, 1932.

45Speech at Tammany Hall Independence Day celebration, July 4, 1929.
Eleanor Roosevelt reveals the difficulty of pinpointing his specific motivation in her statement, "It is hard to disassociate his ambition and enjoyment of politics for its own sake from his desire to achieve through political action real gains for the people." Both his wife and Samuel Rosenman describe Roosevelt as a "practical politician" who was willing to compromise and work with political machines he disliked in order to win support for humanitarian legislation.

Some of his critics have expressed the view that he lacked a guiding philosophy and that he would seize on any idea that would gain popular support. John T. Flynn, who criticizes primarily his presidential acts, suggests that he was a vacuous country squire controlled by stronger persons. Westbrook Pegler repeatedly writes in his columns of Roosevelt's sinister and diabolical aims.

It is interesting to note the various explanations offered by Roosevelt's biographers for the inconsistencies in his plans of depression relief. Commager says they were based on an "empirical attitude" that led him to experiment. Frances Perkins says they sprang from an "unsystem-
atic insight." Freidel calls his program "eclectic." Freidel, The Triumph, op. cit., p. 5.

Eleanor Roosevelt says it was always a basic part of his philosophy that the states should experiment.

Most of his biographers have attempted brief characterizations of his personality. Harold Gosnell seems to synthesize the ideas of most in the following:

As a psychological type, Roosevelt was an incurable optimist with boundless confidence in himself and faith in the loyalty of those around him. He believed that he could perform any task presented to him, . . . that he could win any person to his point of view if given a chance, and that he was a man of destiny, an instrument of divine purpose.

Although he was sympathetic to Roosevelt, Edward Flynn wrote that "His two greatest weaknesses, . . . were the bitterness which he engendered within himself and the weakness which he displayed in his inability to be frank and open in many instances in dealing with people."

Preparation of the Speeches

To help in the task of preparing his addresses, Roosevelt called on his official family and friends. Together they translated his broad human sympathies into

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50 Personal Interview with Frances Perkins, August 16, 1952, Washington, D. C.
51 Freidel, The Triumph, op. cit., p. 5.
52 Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember, p. 8.
54 Flynn, op. cit., p. 218.
Regarding the preparation of his speeches, Roosevelt wrote the following:

In the preparation of campaign speeches as well as speeches on other occasions I have called on many different people for advice and assistance. This was also my custom during my term as Governor of New York. On various subjects I have received drafts and memoranda from different people, varying from short suggestions...to long memoranda of factual materials and...complete addresses.

In addition...I make it a practice to keep a "speech material file"...Whenever anything catches my eye...which I think will be of value in the preparation of a speech, I...put it away in the speech material file...

In preparing a speech I usually take the various drafts and suggestions...read them carefully, lay them aside and then dictate my own draft...

From 1928 until his death in 1945, Roosevelt used the assistance of Samuel I. Rosenman in the preparation of his speeches. This working relationship first started in the 1928 campaign when the State Committee sent Rosenman along to assist with his speeches. However, not until October 19 did he turn to Rosenman for assistance on a speech.

Arriving in Buffalo the night of October 19, Roosevelt asked Rosenman to prepare a speech on the subject of labor.\textsuperscript{56} Previously Rosenman had collected material on state issues,


\textsuperscript{56}Rosenman, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 18.
which he had catalogued and filed in red manila envelopes. Immediately he went to work on the speech, using Roosevelt's 1924 and 1928 nominating speeches as guides for style. The next morning Rosenman presented Roosevelt with a draft. After reading it Roosevelt commented:

You've got all the stuff in there we need, and it's pretty good but a little on the dull side. It makes a telling story and I can use most of it. All it needs is something to hold it together. Some of the statistics will have to come out we'll get in a stenographer right after breakfast.

Rosenman gained respect for Roosevelt's ability to "pep up" a dull recitation of Republican broken promises to labor. To introduce the part of the speech dealing with broken promises, Roosevelt dictated:

...and so tonight I am going to tell you all about it, tell you the facts, go back in my own mind and in your mind into the history of this state. Somewhere in a pigeonhole in a desk of the Republican leaders of New York State is a large envelope, soiled, worn, bearing a date that goes back twenty-five or thirty years. Printed in large letters on this old envelope are the words, "Promises to Labor." Inside this old envelope are a series of sheets dated two years apart and representing the best thoughts of the best minds of the Republican leaders over a succession of years. Each sheet of promises is practically the duplicate of every other sheet in the envelope. But nowhere in that envelope is a single page bearing the title "Promises Kept."

Rosenman reports that the speech went through several drafts with Roosevelt working on each one "carefully, word by

57Ibid.
58Ibid., p. 19.
59Ibid., p. 20.
word." He continues, "When the final reading copy was com-
pleted, many of my original sentences and even paragraphs, I
noted with pride and satisfaction, were still intact -
but many had fallen into the basket, and so much had been
added!" 60

Rosenman's role in the preparation of the remaining
major speeches of the campaign was similar to that of the
Buffalo speech. He prepared a draft on a previously agreed
upon subject which Roosevelt altered to fit his own style.
Rosenman remembers that the routine was as follows:

After breakfast, the cavalcade...would
start the journey to the next city. I would get into
the bus where the typewriters were, and, with Roose-
velt's corrections and suggestions, would work on the
draft. As each page was finished...the typists...would
knock out a clean copy while the bus was in
motion.... Every once in a while the procession
stopped at the center of some village, where Roosevelt
would make a short informal talk to the crowd. After-
ward...I would get into his car...and...we would
discuss...changes...which I had prepared or which
he had dictated during the breakfast that morning.
Sometimes he stopped his car at the roadside and did
some writing on the draft or sent for one of the
stenographers and dictated some new material. As
soon as he was finished with me, I would return to
the bus and get to work on the next draft.
Generally at noon we stopped an hour or so in
a village...After his impromptu speech following
...lunch, we usually had an opportunity to go into
a private room and turn out the final draft.
When we started off again, I would ride in the
working bus, where a reading copy was prepared for him
to use that night and also about a hundred mimeo-
graphed copies for the press. 61

60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
After the campaigners reached New York City for the final week of the campaign, Louis McHenry Howe joined in preparing the speeches, contributing mostly his knowledge of Roosevelt's style. Frances Perkins recalled that while many persons contributed to Roosevelt's speeches, next to the Governor himself, Howe had the final word. The Roosevelt and Howe correspondence reveals the major role Howe played in the preparation of the gubernatorial speeches, especially those that concerned major policies. For example, regarding prohibition Howe wrote F.D.R. the following:

I have at last reached the conclusion as to the general kind of proclamation on this subject which should be made... first, that you are and always have been an advocate of temperance... that modern conditions, including the automobile and the necessity for steady hands to carry on the more delicate manufacturing processes of today, together with the great increase in recreational amusement facilities will... gradually bring about the abandonment of artificial stimulants...

In a campaign speech in Rochester, October 21, 1930, Roosevelt said:

...it is increasingly apparent that intoxication has no place in this mechanized civilization of ours...

The hand that controls the machinery of our factories, that holds the steering wheels of our automobiles, the brain that decides the course of

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62 Personal interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D.C.

63 Elliott Roosevelt, editor, F.D.R. His Personal Letters, 1938-1945 (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), pp. 126-127; Roosevelt used almost the same words in his presidential campaign speech at Sea Girt, New Jersey, August 27, 1932.
our huge financial organization, should alike be free from the effects of drugs or alcohol.

Howe's letter also said, "...the restrictions against the sale of liquor...should come about gradually as the great mass of people become more willing to forego its use." F.D.R.'s speech said essentially the same thing, "...it has attempted to legislate into being a condition that cannot be attained by legislation, but only by slow and orderly process of education..."

Howe's letter stated "...the Volstead Act was...a hideous mistake...that has brought previously unheard of evils in its wake." Roosevelt said in his speech:

I need not point out to you the general encouragement to lawlessness and widespread disrespect of law itself which has resulted from this attempt. I need not point out to you that it has been a prolific source of corruption, hypocrisy, crime, and disorder. The situation has become impossible and intolerable.

Howe's letter continued, "My thought is to go on from this point on the theory that what is done will have to be done by the States as independent Sovereigns..."

Roosevelt in his speech said, "It is becoming obvious that each sovereign State in the Union should be given the right to determine for itself whether alcoholic beverages should be made, manufactured, sold or transported within its borders."

Howe's careful checking of F.D.R.'s speeches even after they had been completed is shown by the following telegrams which he sent to Roosevelt, who was in Chicago to deliver a speech to a meeting of Illinois Democrats, December
10, 1929. The first one reads:

On page six luncheon speech line eleven in typewritten copy sentence should start quote to the conservative party unquote not quote conservative party unquote same error in mimeograph copies stop on page four typewritten copy line fifteen you struck out of original copy reference to regulation of grain alone but have left in quote we do not live by bread alone unquote at beginning of next sentence stop this phrase meaningless as it now stands.64

The second telegram reads:

Sent you two messages to Albany one saying I will was not motto of Chicago and later message telling you it was stop I am not crazy but found old Chicago seal with different motto so sent first telegram stop checking up the editor of World Almanac assures me that I will has been used as Chicago's motto since the great fire so let page seven stand as it is written.65

Howe's responsibility in supplying information for F.D.R.'s speeches is further illustrated by the following letter from Thomas S. Rice, State Crime Commissioner, to Guernsey Cross, Roosevelt's secretary. The letter said:

...Enclosed you will find two documents that may be of use to Louis Howe in digging up material for the Governor's address at the New York Board of Trade luncheon on February 28. I happened to be there when you brought word from the Governor to Louis about getting the dope.66

Howe sent clippings to Roosevelt on June 16, 1930, with the comment "The Old Age Pension is merely sent you

64 Telegram from Louis Howe to Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 9, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

65 Telegram from Louis Howe to Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 7, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

66 Letter from Thomas S. Rice to Guernsey Cross, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
because you said that you were going to deal with that in
your speech to the Governors."^67

By 1930 F.D.R. had learned which of his assistants
could prepare effective speech materials for him. In his
1930 campaign for reelection, he again depended on Rosenman
who recalls the following:

...sometimes drafts of campaign speeches
were furnished by Louis Howe and Basil O'Connor, who
was a law partner, close friend and able and astute
associate of the Governor. O'Connor worked on speeches
very frequently with me especially when Roosevelt was
in New York City. He had a very effective and force­
ful manner of writing.

By this time [1930] I was pretty thoroughly
familiar with the Governor's style of writing. I
had worked on so many speeches and messages during
the last two years, I had seen so many of his cor­
rections and had heard so much of his dictation that
it was easier for me to imitate him. Consequently,
he had to make fewer corrections, and my drafts were
not so badly mutilated as they used to be.^68

Rosenman specifically identified O'Connor as the one
who wrote the part of F.D.R.'s speech of November 1, 1930,
in which he ridiculed the three cabinet members sent by
President Hoover into New York to campaign against Roosevelt.^69
He also wrote that he, Howe, and O'Connor worked with Roose­
velt in the preparation of the speech accepting the 1930
gubernatorial nomination.^70

^67 F.D.R., His Personal Letters, op. cit., p. 130.
^68 Rosenman, op. cit., p. 41.
^69 Ibid., p. 42.
^70 Ibid.
When Roosevelt prepared his annual message, he sought information from his department heads concerning specific departmental matters. The annual message was comparable in importance on the state level to the President's annual message to Congress. Prepared in secrecy, it was awaited with much anticipation. The contents of these speeches were withheld to keep the Republican leaders from preparing objections before the Governor was ready.  

In addition to the department heads, Roosevelt called upon the following for help on the annual messages: Maurice Bloch, Irwin Steingut, and Bernard Downing, all of whom were legislative leaders; Samuel I. Rosenman; William Crawford, of the Democratic News Bureau; and Louis Howe. Roosevelt, of course, had the last word. 

Frances Perkins remembers that the speech writers and contributors "often quarrelled violently over what was to go into a message." In one instance she disagreed with another member of the executive staff. Roosevelt heard both sides and commented, "I think Frances is right." It gives an insight into a part of Roosevelt's role in the preparation of the annual message: that of arbiter. 

Frequently Roosevelt would anticipate a speech, and when ideas for inclusion in the address occurred to him he 

71 Moscow, op. cit., p. 198. 
72 Personal Interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D. C.
would dictate them to his secretary to be included in his speech materials file. For example, the following memorandum was sent to Rosenman on May 3, 1931, with the comment, "Keep this for a later speech:"

There is no doubt that the proper enforcement of and respect for the law in any community depends in large part on the prosecuting attorney, for it is he who is primarily responsible for the enforcement of all laws. It is not alone necessary for a District Attorney to be an honorable cultured gentleman whose motives are beyond question; but he must also perform his duties promptly and so vigorously that the offenders against the law will realize that they face unhesitating prosecution and severe punishment for their crimes. We have needed for some years a reestablishing of greater respect for and fear of the law amongst offenders, and determined leadership toward such reestablishment is a duty of all District Attorneys. 73

F.D.R. apparently took a greater part in the preparation of the radio speeches than in most of the other types of addresses. Rosenman recalls "... I used to gather the material, but most of the talks were prepared by the Governor himself." 74 Mrs. Roosevelt remembers that F.D.R. did most of the final drafting of these speeches. 75 Frances Perkins comments that "Mark Graves and Joe Watson [Budget Directors] contributed enormously on the addresses." 76 Since a large percentage of the material for the radio speeches dealt with

73 Memorandum from F.D.R. to Samuel Rosenman, May 3, 1931, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

74 Rosenman, op. cit., p. 39.


76 Personal interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D. C.
budget matters, these two men were valuable aides.77

On March 11, 1932, Roosevelt sent the following memorandum to Mark Graves:

Here are some figures from the State Comptroller which I could use when I make my radio speech the week after next giving a picture of the state's finances and legislative results.78

In 1932, F.D.R. made a series of talks justifying the money spent in the operation of the executive branch of government. Within the texts he identified the sources of information. For example, he said in one speech, "... you can get copies of this talk and of Dr. Parran's report on which it is based."79 In other talks he revealed that "the figures [were] drawn from a report submitted by Miss Frances Perkins..." and from "Dr. Thayer of the Department of Correction and by Dr. Charles H. Johnson, Head of the department of Social Welfare..."80 In a speech, broadcast June 23, 1932, he told his audience that the materials for his talks came from "... short, clear understandable reports submitted... by the men in charge of their work."81

77Mark Graves was an excellent speaker himself. He substituted for the Governor in an address on the cost of the Department of Conservation delivered June 30, 1932.

78Memorandum from F.D.R. to Mark Graves, March 11, 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

79Radio Address, July 21, 1932.

80Radio Address, August 4, 1932; Radio Address, July 28, 1932.

81Radio Address, June 23, 1932.
Thus Roosevelt evolved a system for preparing his speeches that he continued for the rest of his life. The location of information was delegated to those who could most easily supply it, and the wording was placed in charge of those with the greatest facility in language; the ideas and final wording were Roosevelt's task and only a few of his detractors have suggested that he did not fully share in the task.

Delivery

Roosevelt was on crutches when he nominated Alfred Smith for President in 1924. Prior to the 1928 national convention, he worked out an approach to the speaking platform that made his handicap less obvious. He would balance with his cane in his right hand, putting most of his weight on the cane, then, holding firmly to another's arm, he would swing one leg forward and then the other. The person assisting Roosevelt had to match his stride to Roosevelt's pace and was cautioned to look at people rather than at F.D.R.82

Roosevelt used this technique in his approach to the platform in his gubernatorial addresses. His son, James, his secretary, Guernsey Cross, or almost any member of his official family supplied the arm to help him to the speakers' stand. Once he arrived at the lectern, he would hold on to

the stand with his left hand and start his speech. His leg braces held his legs straight and supported his weight.

Samuel Rosenman commented that after the initial difficulty of getting to the lectern was over the audience forgot his paralysis. He wrote,

He was such a fine, natural orator that he could make the commonplace sound important. No matter how badly you had written, when you heard him speak, the words seemed suddenly to be endowed with force, emphasis, and charm. His voice and his delivery more than made up for any deficiencies in the substance and style of the pages he was reading. 83

The inability to move around limited Roosevelt's gesturing because he had to hold to the stand, leaving only one hand, usually his right, free. He used head movement to emphasize specific points. Robert Allen wrote in January, 1933, "He would, of course, be a more stirring speaker if he had free use of his legs. As it is, he is limited in his gestures and movements, both important essentials for really powerful delivery." 84 Regarding his head movement Frances Perkins thought that his habit of throwing his head up gave him a supercilious air when he was a State Senator, but that after his attack of polio, this characteristic became a symbol of courage and hope. 85

83Rosenman, op. cit., p. 23.
For his campaigning and his summer tours of the state, Governor Roosevelt found that travelling by automobile was easier, especially if he could deliver his speech from the back seat. Turnley Walker describes the delivery of such speeches in the following:

When he arrived at a place, he reached his powerful hands forward and caught the reinforced rail set into the back of the front seat and pulled himself upright. Under the smooth business suit, the biceps bulged, the great deltoids of the shoulders ridged up to metal hardness, and the big muscles of the back plated out in trembling effort. He came up smiling, and clamping one hand on the rail for balance, he waved with the other and tossed his head and turned a buoyant smile into the spotlight, the rain, or the sunshine. . . . He tried to have someone beside him who had practiced the cane-and-arm trick, but he was not always that lucky.

For quick marches to the platform he substituted a ringing salutation. They did not understand, when he drove up and they did not learn of helplessness by watching him. . . . Reporters at the scene saw and understood more deeply than the others. . . . and their notes said nothing of the times he fell backward against the car, and their cameras focused on the shoulders and the face, never seeking to prod downward at the trouser legs held rigid by braces. Spontaneously, an act of sportsmanship took place which was to continue through twenty years of the era’s greatest pressure for publicity.86

When he spoke from the back seat of his open car, he supported himself on the reinforced bar on the back of the front seat. Speeches delivered in auditoriums were considerably more difficult. Frances Perkins relates seeing Roosevelt carried in the arms of strong men up a narrow fire escape for his speech at Yorkville Casino on October 31, 1928.

She recounts,

...He came up over that perilous, uncomfortable, and humiliating "entrance," and his manner was pleasant, courteous, enthusiastic. He got up on his braces, adjusted them, straightened himself, smoothed his hair, linked his arm in his son Jim's, and walked out on the platform as if this were nothing unusual.

His handicap resulted in a lengthy ovation at the 1928 Brooklyn rally, held in the public school auditorium at First Avenue and Fifty-first Street. F.D.R.'s companions had planned to carry him up the fire escape. But when the fire escape proved to be too narrow, Roosevelt grasped the rail with his right hand, pushed his left hand firmly against the wall and lifted himself step by step to the floor above. When he reached the top, his shirt wet with perspiration, his left hand rubbed raw by the stones of the wall, he adjusted his coat, took his cane and the arm of a helper, and started a difficult descent down an emergency ramp. It took him five minutes to get to the stage and the crowd cheered all the while.

"So he went on through this campaign [1928], being carried up back stairs, speaking from the back of an automobile, holding a general reception in a hotel lobby or railroad station, speaking to hundreds of people..." It was in this campaign that Roosevelt demonstrated to himself and to the people of New York that his paralysis was not an

89Perkins, op. cit., p. 45.
insurmountable handicap to his being an active speaker.

Although newspaper accounts seem to indicate that F.D.R.'s problems were less acute in the delivery of most of his special occasion speeches because he usually was seated at a table near the speakers' stand, Robert S. Allen, in the following, gives an account of Roosevelt falling during the delivery of a special occasion speech,

...one day, while he was making a speech in Georgia...he was hammering home a point and in his earnestness moved away from the speaker's table on which he always leans when talking. Suddenly he lost his balance, and to the horror of the audience toppled over. Several friends on the platform rushed forward and helped him to his feet. Without the loss of a word he resumed his address at the point where he had broken off when he fell. The audience was so stirred by this exhibition of will power that it broke into cheers.90

For his first speeches to the legislature, he depended on a wheel chair to get him to his seat on the platform. After 1929 he dispensed with the wheel chair for his public appearances, probably because of the psychological impact it might have on audiences.91

On the occasion of the reading of his first annual message to the legislature, Governor Roosevelt arrived early.92 As the session began, the Governor was presented to the legislators, he straightened his legs, snapped the locks on his braces, seized his cane and the arm of his

90Allen, op. cit., p. 20.
Secretary, Guernsey Cross, and pulled himself erect. As he slowly rocked his way to the speakers' rostrum, supported by his cane and Cross' arm, a spontaneous wave of applause greeted him.

At the speakers' rostrum, he took the manuscript from his Secretary, handed him his cane, seized the stand for support, addressed the legislature's presiding officers and the guests, and began reading the message.

Each of the annual messages took about twenty minutes to read. The Governor received his coldest reception from the legislators when he read his 1930 message, as is indicated in the following report by Ernest K. Lindley:

... there was an uncomfortable stirring among the Republican legislators when, in delivering his annual message, he came to the subject of New York City. With a smile somewhat broader than usual, he enunciated twice with emphasis on the word "duty" this sentence: "It is not alone your right but your duty if you determine that such course falls within your obligation to maintain the welfare of the state."

Roosevelt and the legislature were in sharp disagreement at that time as to who should probe into New York City government. The legislature was trying to push the Governor

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95 Ibid.
into investigating his political supporters, and the Governor
was insisting that it was the duty of the legislature to in­
vestigate.

Obviously Roosevelt's paralysis was a handicap in the
delivery of most of his speeches. The radio, however, freed
him from his physical handicap and gave him equal opportunity
with the other speakers. Instead of the slow rocking walk to
the platform, with the attendant insecurities of having to
hold to an arm, a cane, and the lectern, Roosevelt could sit
comfortably in his study and speak to millions of listeners
with none of his handicap observed.

Even in face-to-face speaking, his lack of physical
activity seemed more natural, because the microphone re­
stricts any speaker's area of activity. And in speaking into
the microphone, "The cues in Franklin D. Roosevelt's voice -
the voice alone - inspired confidence."97

This pleasing voice quality placed him in an advanta­
geous position because many of the politicians of that time
were handicapped, rather than helped, by the use of loud­
speakers.98 Alfred Smith, for example, disliked speaking
into the "pie plate" as he called it, and his east-side New
York City dialect seemed unpleasant to many of his listeners.99

97 Lew Sarrott and William T. Foster, Basic Principles of
201-202.

98 Ibid.

On the other hand, Roosevelt had found that his personality was easy to project over the air and that his voice quality was a definite asset. He said of his own speaking voice:

"I was offered a job in Hollywood for my voice. Out there they say there is nothing in systems of voice production. You either have a good speaking voice or you haven't. And it seems that I have a good voice. At least it does not tire."

Many writers agreed with Roosevelt that he had a voice that was especially suited to radio speaking. Ernest K. Lindley wrote:

"...Probably better than any public man in New York he has mastered the technique of speaking over the radio. When using it alone he seems to establish the same person-to-person status that he does with his smaller audiences. Perhaps a greater accomplishment is that he seems to be able to speak simultaneously to a large crowd and over the radio and yet preserve the full values of each type of approach."

Robert S. Allen said of Roosevelt's voice, "...he has a good, clear, resounding voice, somewhat high pitched, and his enunciation is excellent." In a paragraph describing Roosevelt, Claude M. Feuss said, "...He has an

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101 Lindley, op. cit., p. 308.

102 Allen, op. cit., p. 21.
excellent radio voice, and is a persuasive public speaker."\(^{103}\)

Frances Perkins believes that Roosevelt's ability to communicate effectively over the air grew out of his early background. She said of this characteristic,

F.D.R. liked to read aloud and read easily. He read poetry and prose to his family and friends. This was part of the cultivated man's training. His father was interested in reading and F.D.R. got much of his interest through association with him. He had to learn by heart Webster's reply to Hayne and other selections. His connection with his father made him at ease with the printed page.\(^{104}\)

A part of Roosevelt's training was his participation in amateur theatricals common at the time. In preparing a speech for delivery, Roosevelt would mentally hear himself saying the words or acting out his part.\(^{105}\)

In her book, *This I Remember*, Mrs. Roosevelt reports that her husband liked to read aloud and that this reading was of benefit in training him to read speeches. She wrote:

His voice lent itself remarkably to the radio. It was a natural gift, for in his whole life he never had a lesson in diction or public speaking. He had debated from the time he went to school and perhaps when he was young had singing lessons, because at college he liked to sing. But that was the extent of his training in the use of his voice...\(^{106}\)

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\(^{104}\)Personal Interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D. C.

\(^{105}\)Personal Interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D. C.

\(^{106}\)Eleanor Roosevelt, *This I Remember*, p. 73; Mrs. Roosevelt probably did not know that F.D.R. had courses in public speaking in his sophomore and junior years at Harvard.
Grace Tully recalls:

As far as I know, F.D.R. never took any radio coaching but he had a completely relaxed and effective presence before the microphone. Although he read his speeches his tone was more a conversational one and he looked up often. . . .

His timing was good and he kept margin notes on his reading copy to indicate where he should be at certain points in his radio time. On the average, he delivered about 100 words per minute but he had the knack of increasing or decreasing the pace gradually if he found the time running badly.107

In an analysis of F.D.R.'s voice and pronunciation, Brandenburg and Braden had the following to say about Roosevelt's dialect:

In spite of popular assertion that he had a "Groton-Harvard" accent, Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke like other members of the educated class of New York City and its environs. Technically, he used what phoneticians call eastern dialect. His articulation was characteristically distinct and clear.108

Even John T. Flynn, who developed a bitter dislike for Roosevelt, conceded that F.D.R. had a "fine radio voice."109

In summary, F.D.R.'s "calm and reasonable voice" was naturally suited to the informal style of delivery which is effective in radio speaking.110 His speaking even in 1929

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was "direct and downright" and he had "an ease and directness that... saved the driest subject from seeming heavy.\textsuperscript{111}

Summary

A study of the career of Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1910 to 1929 reveals that he generally supported progressive principles. Biographers have not satisfactorily explained his progressive tendencies, for his early background gives them few clues. Reared on a Hudson River Valley estate with no apparent reason for deviation from the conservativism of his family, Roosevelt nevertheless followed a consistent philosophy of liberalism or progressivism.

In 1910 he was elected to the State Senate and he served until the summer of 1913. In the New York Senate he won a reputation as an opponent of Tammany Hall when he blocked the election of Tammany's candidate for the United States Senate, William Sheehan. Roosevelt consistently supported social welfare legislation, opposed private development of the state's water power sources, favored direct primaries and direct election of U. S. Senators. While in Albany in 1911, he met Louis Howe, a newspaper correspondent who devoted the rest of his life to making Roosevelt President of the United States.

In 1913 Roosevelt accepted the position of Assistant Secretary of Navy and he spent the next eight years in that

Department. In Washington he came under the influence of Woodrow Wilson and the liberal policies of the Wilson Administration. Between 1914 and 1918 Roosevelt made peace with the leaders of Tammany Hall and he received support from that organization until 1932. He resigned from the Navy Department in 1920 to campaign for the vice-presidency of the United States.

Between 1921 and 1928 Roosevelt struggled to overcome an attack of poliomyelitis. His chief political activities in those years were his two speeches nominating Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency. In 1928, under pressure from Smith, Roosevelt accepted the New York gubernatorial nomination. He campaigned largely on Smith’s record in the state and was elected.

As Governor he continued Smith’s policies, but with the advent of the depression in 1929, he was faced with a crisis for which he had no precedent to serve as a guide. Ultimately his administration evolved a program of action to deal with the economic collapse, but he met the problem at first with experiments which he hoped would help solve the problem. The Temporary Emergency Relief Administration which he sponsored as Governor served as pattern for later Federal relief agencies.

Roosevelt depended chiefly on his two loyal supporters, Louis Howe and Samuel I. Rosenman, for help in writing his gubernatorial speeches and he called on his department heads for the specific information included in them. The speeches
were prepared through revising and amending a sequence of drafts on the proposed talks, with the Governor finally dictating his reading copy.

To compensate for his physical handicap, Roosevelt depended on his cane and the arm of a friend to assist him to the lectern for the delivery of his speeches. Once there he supported himself by holding to the stand. Even his worst enemies conceded that he had an excellent voice especially suited to radio.
CHAPTER II

THE NEW YORK AUDIENCE

The preceding chapter discusses the broad events and issues from which Franklin D. Roosevelt derived his speaking goals. This chapter describes the persons to whom he directed his speeches and from whom he sought responses.

Gray and Braden state, "The case of effective speaking may be put into a single sentence: you must speak in terms of peoples' wants..."\(^1\) Thonssen and Baird state, "Critics of oratory are generally agreed that the effectiveness of oratory is a function of audience adaptation; that it must be regarded in the light of what people do as a result of hearing the speech..."\(^2\) Brigance says, "Above all things, a speech implies a speaker-to-audience contact, and, if a speaker is to make that contact, he must adapt his subject to his audience."\(^3\)

As Governor, F.D.R. had as an official audience the New York legislature, with which he was required by the

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state constitution to communicate. In addition he had the
twelve million citizens of the state as a popular audience.
His success as a speaker depended upon how accurately he
analyzed the basic characteristics of his auditors.

Roosevelt recognized in the speeches of his gubernatorial period that the people to whom he spoke were naturally divided into the following classifications: rural or urban, political party affiliation, occupation or profession, sex, religion, national and racial background, age, and attitudes and beliefs. It should be noted that these classifications are not discrete, for a person might have one characteristic in common with several different groups. As Warren Moscow points out, "An Irish war veteran, enrolled as a Democrat, who is also a dues-paying member of a labor union is likely to be counted on the basis of each affiliation."

The following sections of this chapter consider specific characteristics of Governor Roosevelt's auditors.

The Rural and Urban Residents

During his two terms, Franklin D. Roosevelt had a
greater potential audience within his home state than any previous Governor. These auditors were about evenly divided

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4 This classification is from Gray and Braden, op. cit.
between New York City and the so-called "upstate" counties. Gerald Johnson made this division clear when he wrote the following:

...the Governor of New York is, in his official capacity, something of a split personality. To begin with, he is Governor of part of the largest city in the world - New Jersey and Connecticut sharing it - and of at least half a dozen other cities of more than 100,000 population. But that official is also Governor of an enormous domain, comprising 47,000 square miles. 6

In 1930 ten and a half million of the people of the state lived in cities, with New York City containing 56 percent or 6,930,446 of the total 12,588,066. 7 Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, and Yonkers had over 100,000 population each, while eight other cities had between 20,000 and 100,000. 8 Only about two million, or 17 percent, lived in the rural areas. 9

The urban places or residence of his auditors was of increasing significance to Governor Roosevelt during the depression years. Because they were removed from the sources of food supply, the city dwellers were at a distinct disadvantage in averting actual hunger. With 83 percent of the population living in urban areas, the state had an acute

8Ibid., IV, p. 1089.
9Ibid., II, p. 70.
problem in preventing actual starvation of the unemployed. This problem became most severe in Roosevelt's last year as Governor, when the number of unemployed exceeded 30 percent of the working force. Another problem was the necessity of persuading the city dwellers to approve aid for the rural areas, for, obviously, the city majority could outvote the rural citizens.

Another complicating factor involved in the places of residence was the fact that large urban areas had political machines, like Tammany, which could deliver the votes. The density of the population of the cities made it easier for the machine leaders to know the voters and to control their votes at election time.

The location of over half his state's population in New York City automatically placed the Governor in the role of mediator between the city administration and the upstate Republicans, who wanted to search out the wrong-doing of the Democrats of the City.

Political Party Affiliation: The Legislature

F.D.R.'s official audience consisted of 150 assembly-

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10Radio Address, May 27, 1932.
11Report of The Temporary Emergency Relief Administra-
tion, Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt Forty-Eighth
Governor of the State of New York, 1932 (Albany: J. B. Lyon
12Edward J. Flynn, You're The Boss (New York: The
men and 51 senators of the state legislature. The state constitution insured upstate dominance of the Assembly by guaranteeing one Assemblyman to each county, regardless of population or size, while it also gave control of the Senate to upstate New York by assigning a smaller representation to New York City. The constitution had been adopted in 1894, when the upstate area of New York had a clear majority of the population and the rural leaders at that time acted to keep control of the legislature for as long as possible. They were successful, as Edward Flynn indicates in the following:

...the Republicans have generally controlled the State Legislature. Democratic New York City has been held down for the profit of sparsely settled upstate Republican strongholds, some of which have come to be known as "rotten boroughs," after the notorious voting districts of nineteenth century England, which sent more than their share of Representatives to Parliament.

In 1929 there were 87 Republicans and 63 Democrats in the Assembly, and 27 Republicans to 24 Democrats in the Senate. After Roosevelt's 1930 landslide, these figures changed slightly to 80 Republicans and 70 Democrats in the lower house and 26 Republicans to 25 Democrats in the upper house.

13 Annual Message, January 6, 1922; Moscow, op. cit., p. 167.
14 Flynn, op. cit., p. 9.
15 Binghamton Press, November 8, 1928.
16 Ibid., November 5, 1930.
When he wanted action from the legislature, the Governor knew the futility of appealing to the 201 members, because the rank and file generally followed the directions of their leaders on controversial issues. Recalling his own term of office in the legislature, Edward J. Flynn wrote, "An individual member of the Assembly loomed mighty small. A freshman member was a complete nonentity. All the important measures passed were agreed upon between the leaders of the two parties. A member followed the lead of his party."^17

This situation meant that the most important persons in the legislature were the party leaders. If F.D.R. could win them, then he could expect that the rest of the legislature would go along. Although this situation simplified Roosevelt's relationship with the legislature because it reduced the number of persons with whom he actually had to deal, there were drawbacks which became evident when the leaders blocked the Governor on several popular issues.^18

The most important legislative leaders, who had full time jobs connected with their positions, were the majority and minority leaders of both houses, the Speaker

^17 Flynn, op. cit., p. 12.

^18 Letter from F.D.R. to William Bray, October 14, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; Roosevelt accused the Republicans of "acting like sheep" in their obedience to their leaders.
of the Assembly, the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, and the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the Assembly. These men were given authority to act with the Governor to keep the state operating when the legislature was not in session. With the Governor's consent, they could appropriate money by giving their pledge that the legislature would approve their appropriations. For these duties these officials received annual expenses of from $7,000 to $9,000 above their $2,500 base salary.\(^{19}\)

While Governor Roosevelt had cordial relations with many legislators, the Republican leaders developed an intense dislike for him.\(^{20}\) His characterization of them as "stupid" in 1930 did not improve the situation.\(^ {21}\) The majority party leaders naturally resented the influence that Roosevelt exerted in their home territories. Sometimes their actions consisted of opposing a measure for no reason other than the fact that F.D.R. supported it. Roosevelt characterized this type of opposition by asserting that there were legislators who would say, "I am with the Governor one hundred percent. He is dead right. But, of course, we cannot go along with him on this, because it would give

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\(^{19}\) Moscow, op. cit., p. 179.

\(^{20}\) Ernest Lindley, "Governor Roosevelt After Two Years," The Nation, XXI (September 17, 1930), pp. 220-223.

\(^{21}\) Letter from F.D.R. to Paul Block, January 24, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
him altogether too much political credit."\textsuperscript{22}

All but six of the Democratic legislators were from New York City, which meant that they were chosen and controlled by Tammany Hall leaders and that if they wanted to stay in the legislature they had to follow party dictates. Roosevelt was fortunate in the Democratic legislative leaders because they cooperated closely with him in virtually every aspect of his program. Irwin Steingut, Democratic leader in the Assembly, worked well with F.D.R., as did Bernard Downing, minority leader in the Senate. Steingut, Downing, and the Governor cooperated in training the freshmen Democratic legislators to meet the issues in the legislature.\textsuperscript{23} These training sessions often took place at luncheons where cold turkey sandwiches were served and the legislators in attendance were called F.D.R.'s "Turkey Cabinet."\textsuperscript{24}

\textbf{Political Party Affiliation: The Voters}

When he appealed to the people of New York, Roosevelt most frequently had to keep in mind their political affiliation. Although he counted on Democratic support for election, he never disparaged the rank and file Republican Party members. He analyzed the Republicans as follows:

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Radio Address, April 10, 1929.}

\textsuperscript{23}\textit{Personal Interview with Eleanor Roosevelt, Hyde Park, New York, August 23, 1952.}

\textsuperscript{24}\textit{Ibid.}
There are thousands of people who call themselves Republican who think as . . .I do about government. They are enrolled as Republicans because their families have been Republican for generations . . . . So never attack the Republicans. . .only the Republican leaders. Then any voter who hears it will say to himself: "Well, he doesn't mean me, I don't believe in the things that Machold and McGinnies and Knight and the other reactionaries up in Albany believe in either."  

In 1928 there were approximately four and a half million eligible voters in the state. For the non-presidential years fewer voters registered, but no accurate count of the eligible voters is possible because registration was not required in places with fewer than 5,000 persons.

In towns and cities with populations in excess of 5,000, registration made the voters eligible to vote the following year in the primaries of the party they selected. In order to register, one had only to be able to read and write simple English, be a resident of New York State for one year, the county or city for four months, and the precinct for 30 days prior to election day.

Those who were eligible could cast their vote in one of the approximately 8,000 election districts. The

26Binghamton Press, October 22, 1928.
27Ibid.
29Binghamton Press, November 7, 1928.
number of voters in each election district varied from ten

to nine hundred voters.30 The next unit of political im-
portance was the Assembly district, which was made up of a

number of election districts. Many of the upstate Assembly
districts consisted of a small number of underpopulated
election districts, yet a legislator was elected from each
Assembly district.31

Generally speaking, the fifty-seven counties outside
New York City tended to vote Republican, while New York
City traditionally voted Democratic. The legislature was
chosen from districts of the state, while the Governor was
elected by the total popular vote. Consequently, a Gover-
nor could win by a landslide vote and the opposition could
gain control of the legislature at the same time. For
example, in the landslide victory of 1930, Roosevelt carried
the state by a 725,000 vote plurality, but the Republicans
continued to control the legislature.32

The voting tendencies of the New York citizens un-
doubtedly were affected by the depression in 1930; but
even without a major crisis, there were enough independent
voters in any given year to keep any candidate for state
office from becoming complacent about his chances for win-
ing elections. Even the party leadership of both major

30 James A. Farley, Behind the Ballots (New York:
31 Ibid.
32 Binghamton Press, November 5, 1930.
parties consisted of "small but shifting coalitions of state officials and city and rural bosses."\textsuperscript{33}

Occupation or Profession

In 1929 New York State had 10 percent of the nation's population and over 12 percent of the nation's wage earners.\textsuperscript{34} In the depression years Roosevelt's audience shifted from a higher to a lower income bracket.\textsuperscript{35}

Many of his close friends who were wealthy and more conservative than he tried to pressure Roosevelt into reducing taxes and state spending. These persons were a significant part of his audience and are included in this section dealing with occupation because they were financiers. Among them were Henry Morgenthau, Sr., Owen D. Young, Bernard Baruch, and Merwin K. Hart.

Hart, a classmate of F.D.R.'s at Harvard, was head of the New York State Economic Council, and he typified conservative groups opposing the Governor. Believing Roosevelt to be a traitor to his own class, Hart criticized him repeatedly in letters and telegrams.\textsuperscript{36} This opposition


\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{36} These letters and telegrams are in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
irritated Roosevelt, who had analyzed businessmen of Hart's type as

...not much interested in good government. They want the present Republican control to continue just so long as the stock market soars and the new combinations of capital are left undisturbed. The trouble...is that prevailing conditions are bound to come to an end some time. When that time comes, I want to see the Democratic Party sanely radical enough to have most of the disgruntled ones turn to it...37

The "disgruntled ones" unquestionably outnumbered the complacently wealthy in January, 1932, when 1,750,000 of New York's former wage earners were unemployed.38 The need for sympathetic treatment of these people was obvious. But the attitudes of many of Roosevelt's friends were opposed to doing anything for those who were in distress. Correspondence in the files of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library indicate that the Governor was subjected to criticism from close relatives for his economic proposals, although this criticism was not as unreasonable as that of Hart. Roosevelt's mother apparently did not seek to influence him in any of his economic plans, and there is no evidence that he let his own finances influence any of his gubernatorial policies. He saw that many of the citizens were in distress and moved to aid them.

37 Letter from F.D.R. to Herbert Pell, January 28, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

The following chart shows the job classifications of the workers in New York and the number of workers in each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State total</td>
<td>5,523,337</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>267,373</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry and Fishing</td>
<td>5,202</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>9,227</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing and Mechanical Industry</td>
<td>1,866,374</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and Communication</td>
<td>507,031</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>860,123</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service</td>
<td>117,727</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Service</td>
<td>446,071</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and Personal</td>
<td>691,047</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Occupation</td>
<td>753,160</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laborers in the factories, comprising approximately one-third of the state's working population, were the largest occupational group. A politician who ignored this fact in his speeches would be unlikely to win election. Roosevelt did not ignore this fact.

\[39\text{Fifteenth Census of the United States, II, op cit.}\]
Table 6, p. 1111.
The plight of the unemployed industrial worker was obvious to almost any observer, but the farmers and farm laborers also had serious problems. A. N. Morrier wrote to the Governor about the farm conditions and in the following somewhat incoherent letter depicted the conditions of a neighbor:

I would like to cite one case which explains the whole situation. . . . Near the little town of Denuyter a widow woman owns a farm on which she owes a mortgage of $700. . . . She has leased the farm on halves. That is she gives the man on the farm one half of the proceeds of the farm her interest to pay is $282.00 per year. Her sales total tax is $37, her insurance is $60.00 per year. You see she has to pay $689.00 per year anyhow she can't get away from these 3 items her milk checks from 25 cows has averaged $100 per month for the last 11 months she has to give the man on the farm half of that--that leaves her $50 per month or $600 per year to pay $669 and she has to buy half the feed, half the seed and other needs of the farm and live besides. If she was getting 5 cents a quart for her milk and she and thousands and thousands of farmers would be alright.40

As early as his 1928 campaign, F.D.R. argued that there was a need "for the farmer to receive at the end of each year as much for . . . his labor as if he had been a . . . skilled worker under the best conditions in any one of our great industries."41

The State Federation of Labor gave Roosevelt its endorsement in both the 1928 and 1930 campaigns, but the unions were not politically organized to deliver the vote

40 Letter from A. N. Morrier to F.D.R., December 8, 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

41 Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.
of their memberships to a particular candidate.\(^2\)

**Women**

New York had over six million women in 1930.\(^3\)

Having voted in three national elections, women were by that time recognized as a political power. William H. Hill, State campaign manager for Herbert Hoover, credited the women for Hoover's victory. He said, "The women voter has come into her own for the first time this year. Hereafter she will be a factor to be reckoned with at every stage of a...campaign."\(^4\)

Women voters could be appealed to on the basis of their activities in the ranks of labor as well as in the home. Twenty-six percent of the total work force in the state were women.\(^5\) The housewives who lacked modern electrical conveniences were sources of support for the advocates of lower priced state developed electricity.

Both major political parties wooed the women voters, and both enlisted women as workers in their campaigns. A candidate had to be aware of the fact that women comprised half his potential supporters, although the effectiveness

\(^2\)Bellush, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

\(^3\)Fifteenth Census of the United States, IV, *op. cit.*, Table I, p. 1083.

\(^4\)Binghamton Press, November 12, 1928.

\(^5\)Fifteenth Census of the United States, IV, *op. cit.*, Table I, p. 1083.
of appeals to women on the basis of their femininity would be impossible to determine in a political campaign.

Religion

At the beginning of his governorship, Roosevelt recognized that a considerable number of his auditors had let religious prejudice influence their voting. He wrote the following to Nicholas Roosevelt:

At Hyde Park I was personally asked by two or three perfectly respectable farmers whether there was anything in the story that the new building at Georgetown University had been erected to serve as the American Vatican for the Pope's occupancy when he came over. . . .

My subsequent trip through up-state New York proved these conditions in Dutchess County were duplicated in every rural county in this state.46

Religion played a major part in the selection of candidates for office in New York.47 There were large numbers of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in the state, but no group was sufficiently large in size to be dominant. The Catholic Church had 3,115,424 members, or 26 percent of the population, and 44 percent of the total number of New Yorkers who had joined churches.48 The Protestants numbered 2,172,000 or 17 percent of the state population, and 30 percent of those who were affiliated with some church.49

46 Letter from F.D.R. to Nicholas Roosevelt, January 28, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
47 Flynn, op. cit., p. 222.
49 Ibid., p. 128.
The Jews numbered 1,890,000, or 16 percent of the people of New York, and 26 percent of those formally affiliated with a religious denomination.\textsuperscript{50} New York City had 1,755,000 or 92 percent of the Jews of the state; 1,722,594 or 56 percent of the Catholics; and 1,486,000 or 22 percent of the Protestants.\textsuperscript{51}

Edward J. Flynn, Roosevelt's Secretary of State and boss of the Democratic machine in the Bronx, writes that great care was always taken to be sure that all major religions were represented in a list of candidates.\textsuperscript{52} This consideration was responsible for placing on the Democratic ticket Roosevelt (Protestant) and Lehman (Jew) to supplement Smith (Catholic).\textsuperscript{53} The voters failed to vote strictly on the basis of religious affiliation, but the politicians believed religion to be an important enough reason for the addition or exclusion of candidates for office.\textsuperscript{54}

Racial and National Groupings

During Roosevelt's governorship, the national and racial groups were heavily concentrated in New York City.

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{51}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{52}Flynn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 222.
\textsuperscript{54}Burns, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 104.
and in upstate urban areas. Although the Italians were not anchored permanently in either the Democratic or Republican party, they were Republican "in their voting tendencies up to the Roosevelt era, when they switched to the Democratic side."\(^{55}\) Most of the Italians remained in New York City, which had 1,000,000 of Italian stock in 1930. Upstate Italians settled mainly along the canals and rivers from New York City to Buffalo. Buffalo had 80,000 Italians, constituting 16 per cent of its population; Rochester had 55,000 Italians, constituting 17 per cent of its population.\(^{56}\)

In Rome the Italians tended to secure employment in the brass and copper plants and in wholesale production of tomatoes, celery, and onions; in Utica they were primarily knitting mill workers; in Syracuse they worked in the steel mills and in the clothing and chemical industries.\(^{57}\) There was a tendency for them to group together for economic purposes, but the type of endeavor varied from community to community.

The Irish, who first came to New York in the middle of the 1800's because of the potato famine in Ireland, became Democrats both in New York City and in the upstate counties. This anchoring of the Irish vote in the Democratic

\(^{55}\) Moscow, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 47.


party is noted by Moscow in the following:

The Irish vote was nearly always so "safe" that Charles Francis Murphy of Tammany Hall was constantly on the lookout for some good Protestant to run for public office to pick up some additional support. The Irish were his regardless. The O'Connell organization in Albany has always operated on the same theory, selecting its mayors from the families of the original Dutch settlers, all Protestants.58

Numbered among the inhabitants of New York City were 1,000,000 Russians (most were Russian Jews), about one-half million each of Germans, Poles, and Irish. Three hundred twenty-seven thousand of the state's 437,000 Negroes were New York City residents, 250,000 of whom lived in Harlem.59

Binghamton had 26 different ethnic groups; sixty percent of the population of Jamestown were of Swedish descent; French Canadians (83,057) comprised sixty percent of the population of Malone and half the populations of Plattsburg and Cohoes; thirty-three percent of Buffalo's population were Polish people, who tended to be more clannish than other national groups.60

When F.D.R. spoke to the people of his state, he had to consider the 3,262,278 persons who were foreign born and represented 26 percent of the population.61 He had to

58Moscow, op. cit., p. 45. This conclusion was also reached by Flynn, op. cit., pp. 221-223, and Burns, op. cit., p. 104.

59Fifteenth Census of the United States, II, op. cit., Table 23, p. 71.


61Fifteenth Census of the United States, II, op. cit., Table 16, p. 35.
remember that only 35 percent of the state's population were of native parentage.\footnote{Ibid., Table 12, p. 36.} The many customs and beliefs peculiar to the different national groups could not be ignored if he wanted to avoid offending the minority groups.

Roosevelt could take pride in the fact that only 47,538 of the state's 388,883 illiterates were native Americans.\footnote{Ibid., Table 10, p. 1229.}

**Age**

During Roosevelt's governorship, thirty-one percent of the people of New York were over forty.\footnote{Ibid., Table 21, p. 617.} The tendency of employers not to hire older workers naturally increased the insecurity of the persons who were temporarily unemployed. Likewise, the older rural people were hard hit by the economic collapse and declining farm prices. These factors constituted a real problem for the Governor.\footnote{Speech to State Federation of Labor, Buffalo, August 27, 1929.}

**Summary**

Eighty-three percent of New York's population lived in urban centers in 1930. This was especially significant, for when the depression became severe and when the people...
of New York were faced with the problem of locating food, the urban residents were in greater distress than the food producing rural citizens. The large urban areas also had the disadvantage of attracting political bosses who controlled the votes through their machines and who represented a force in state as well as local politics. The most notorious machine, New York City's Tammany Hall, was feared and disliked by the upstate citizens. This posed a problem for a Democratic Governor, needing votes from both New York City and from upstate New York in order to win an election.

During both his gubernatorial terms Roosevelt was opposed by a Republican legislature, controlled by a leadership that fought him on every issue except that of depression relief.

The fact that a Democrat was elected Governor at the same time a Republican legislature was chosen, indicates that the voters of the state were sufficiently independent of political control to vote a split ticket when they desired. Both Roosevelt and his predecessor, Alfred Smith, had to receive votes from upstate Republicans to add to the normal Democratic majority in New York City or they would not have won the governorship.

Although Roosevelt's wealthy associates attempted to bring his ideas in line with their own, he tended to side with the upstate farmer, and he favored the industrial workers who represented the largest occupational classification in the state. The farmers, who were in economic dis-
tress throughout the 1920's and the industrial workers, who were soon faced with the probability of unemployment, looked to the Governor for leadership in the crisis.

Women played an increasingly important role in the political life of the state. They were active in trade unions and thereby interested in legislation affecting industrial workers. As housewives they were interested in the political aspects of public power development and the possibility of lower priced electricity.

No one religious group was large enough to dominate the state. Since the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish churches were the largest denominations, the political leaders chose candidates from them in order to appeal to as large a group of voters as possible.

Over half the population was either foreign-born or had parents who were foreign born. The large racial and national minority groups included Russian, Italian, Irish, Polish, German, and Negro residents of New York.

The fact that nearly a third of the state's population was over forty years of age was a complicating factor in the depression since some employers did not hire men over forty.
CHAPTER III

CAMPAIGN SPEAKING

This chapter and the three chapters that follow are concerned with how Franklin D. Roosevelt used his speaking in meeting the problems posed by his gubernatorial responsibilities.

This chapter analyzes specifically the speeches which F.D.R. delivered in the New York campaigns of 1928 and 1930. It considers first the 1928 campaign, nomination, campaign tour, and then cites the issues of the campaign; the chapter then discusses the 1930 race, considering the same aspects; the last sections evaluate the speeches of both campaigns in terms of their supporting materials and their organization.

The Nomination

Prior to 1931 Franklin Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith were good friends. In 1924 Roosevelt had worked diligently to win the Democratic nomination for Smith. Although he had failed that year, four years later he succeeded when he again nominated Smith. Following the 1928 convention, Smith began preparation for his campaign,
while Roosevelt went to Warm Springs, Georgia, to con­tinue the therapy which he hoped would overcome the paralysis of his legs.

Since Smith had seen his state vote Republican in the presidential elections of 1916, 1920, and 1924, he dared not gamble on losing New York in 1928 by having a weak candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket. Consequently, he decided that he had to have Roosevelt as a candidate for Governor even though Roosevelt at first emphatically rejected the nomination. Roosevelt refused for three reasons: health, finances, and politics. Since he was making improvement in overcoming paralysis of the legs at Warm Springs, he did not want to leave. The sum of $201,677 which he had loaned to the Warm Springs Foundation represented such a large part of his fortune that he felt he should stay in Georgia to protect this investment. If he were defeated as a result of the national Republican landslide which Louis Howe, his chief advisor, predicted, he further feared that his own chances for winning the presidency at a later date might be ruined.

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1New York World, September 14, 1928.

2Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 44.

Frances Perkins summarized reasons for Howe's advice to Roosevelt in 1928 as follows:

Howe didn't think that Smith could be elected and thought F.D.R. would be defeated too. Roosevelt's reluctance was probably due to a conviction that he couldn't do it. He was operating under a sick man's insecurity and thought that he was regaining the use of his legs. Doctors tell us now that this was a vain rope, but F.D.R. did not know this.

Smith felt, however, that he had to pressure Roosevelt to run for the Governorship. "Over the telephone, the voice of the Happy Warrior pleaded again and again. Finally the Happy Warrior's great and good friend consented to run. . . . New York Democracy was jubilant."5

While "New York Democracy was jubilant," Roosevelt's family and friends were not all happy over the situation. Roosevelt told them cheerfully, "Well, if I've got to run for Governor there's no use all of us getting sick about it."6 The next day he sent the following telegram to Oliver Cabana, Chairman of the Democratic State Convention: "Please give the convention this message; every personal and family consideration has been and is against

4 Personal Interview with Frances Perkins, August 18, 1952, Washington, D.C.


my becoming the candidate of the convention, but if by accepting I can help the splendid cause of our beloved Governor, I will yield to your judgment."? 7

For his 1928 opponent, Roosevelt had conservative Republican Albert Cttinger, Attorney General of the state, who had been the only Republican elected on the state ticket in 1926. 8

1928

New York state newspapers on October 2, 1928, generally favored Roosevelt's candidacy. The New York Times called him "the best that could be put forward"; the Poughkeepsie Eagle News stated, "there can be no doubt that he will be a strong candidate"; the New York Evening Telegram referred to him as "one in a million"; the New York World said he was the "ideal candidate."

Some writers have pictured Franklin Roosevelt in the 1928 campaign as an assured campaigner who easily and swiftly toured the State, receiving great support and acclaim on all sides. 9 Roosevelt did go through the campaign at a fast pace, averaging 175 miles a day and

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7 Telegram from F.D.R. to Oliver Cabana, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.


delivering many speeches. But he did not accomplish this feat easily.

Originally he had planned several speeches in behalf of Alfred Smith for the presidency. After his own nomination for the governorship, he announced, "I plan to carry out my schedule of speaking engagements in behalf of the national ticket, which already has been announced";\(^\text{10}\) consequently he spoke in Cleveland and Boston on October 8, but the same day the \textit{New York Times} published a limiting announcement:

Other speaking dates outside the state . . . will be canceled to enable him to devote his entire time and energy to his own campaign.

It is not proposed that Mr. Roosevelt shall make a large number of speeches in this state, probably not many more than he would have made for the national ticket elsewhere had he not been nominated for Governor.\(^\text{11}\)

In the 1928 campaign F.D.R. actually made nearly fifty speeches in contrast to the following eighteen speeches announced in the middle of October:\(^\text{12}\)

\begin{itemize}
  \item Wednesday, October 17, Binghamton, night meeting.
  \item Thursday, October 18, Elmira, afternoon.
  \item Friday, October 19, Jamestown, night.
\end{itemize}

\(^{10}\)\textit{New York Herald Tribune}, October 4, 1928.


\(^{12}\)\textit{Binghamton Press}, October 13, 1928.
Saturday, October 20, Buffalo, night.
Monday, October 22, Rochester, night.
Tuesday, October 23, Syracuse, night.
Wednesday, October 24, Oswego, Luncheon.
Thursday, October 25, Utica, night.
Friday, October 26, Schenectady, 7:45; Troy, 9:15.
Saturday, October 27, Albany, night.
Sunday, Hyde Park at home.
Monday, October 29, Queens, night.
Tuesday, October 30, Bronx, night.
Wednesday, October 31, Manhattan, night.
Thursday, November 1, Westchester County, night.
Friday, November 2, Brooklyn, night.
Saturday, November 3, Madison Square Garden.
Sunday, November 4, Home, Hyde Park.
Monday, November 5, Poughkeepsie, night.

In addition to these speeches, Roosevelt made brief appearances in the following cities and towns:
Middletown, Port Jervis, Callicoon, Neponsit, Hancock,
Susquehanna, Oswego, Corning, Hornell, Wellesville, Olean,
Salamanca, Dunkirk, Batavia, Canandaigua, Seneca Falls,
Watertown, Booneville, Rome, Herkimer, Yorkville, Beacon,
Kingston, Newburgh, Auburn, Geneva, Fonda, Gloversville,
Amsterdam, and Lewisville.

The newspapers announced that Roosevelt's tour would

.. .start through the Southern tier counties opening his campaign at Binghamton on Wednesday evening following the notification, . . proceed by easy stages through the Southern tier counties, principally to get acquainted and to show the voters that he is not the invalid some have pictured him. He will wind up his first week with a big rally at Buffalo on Saturday night. At this meeting it is the intention to have all the candidates on the Democratic State ticket join forces to scatter again for another week of campaigning in different sections of the state.
The following week Mr. Roosevelt will make his way East, campaigning across the State from Buffalo to Albany—with night meetings in some of the large cities along the New York Central main line. . . . Aside from one day of campaigning in Westchester County, during the closing week of the campaign, Mr. Roosevelt will spend all his time that week in this city (New York City). Together with the other candidates, F.D.R. was formally notified of his nomination on October 16. He made a fifteen minute speech of acceptance, which was the real start of his campaign.

In order to be elected, Roosevelt had to win the votes of thousands of upstate New Yorkers. Consequently, on the day following his acceptance address he set out on a speaking tour of the upstate counties that covered over 1,000 miles in two weeks. He made nearly fifty speeches, delivering major addresses at night rallies in the cities and larger towns and making brief speeches to crowds gathered in the town and village squares along the campaign route.

For the night rallies he consistently spoke to capacity crowds, numbering from 1500 to 12,000 in theatres.

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14 The other Democratic nominees for state office included Herbert Lehman for Lieutenant Governor, Morris Tremaine for Controller, Edward Conway for Attorney General, and Leonard Crouch for Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals.
and high school auditoriums. Amplifiers frequently had to be set outside to enable those who could not find room in the auditoriums to hear the speeches.

The rally held in Binghamton, October 17, 1928, was typical of these night occasions. The Binghamton Press reported that the "City was carried back to 1896 by the redfire welcome given Roosevelt." The paper described the evening parade, "...with red light throwing a glow over the buildings and bystanders, the paraders gathered in front of the Arlington Hotel at 7:30 o'clock and waited for Roosevelt." The elevator door opened and Roosevelt, with a supporter, walked slowly through the crowd in the lobby to his car. As he entered the car, cheers greeted him and several men jumped on the running board to shake hands. He then led the parade to Central High School, through streets lined with hundreds of supporters. A thousand persons outside the auditorium cheered his arrival. The three thousand, jammed inside, increased the clamor when he appeared on the platform.

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15 Newspapers reported that he drew crowds of 1,500 at Jamestown, Poughkeepsie, and Kingston; crowds of 2,000 at Elmira, Beacon, Yonkers, Newburgh, and Albany; crowds of 3,000 at Binghamton, Syracuse, Watertown, and Schenectady; and crowds of 3,500 in the Bronx and 12,000 in Buffalo.

16 Binghamton Press, October 18, 1928.
After speeches by Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman, and Morris Tremaine, hundreds followed Roosevelt's car back to the hotel. 17

For the Binghamton, Buffalo, and Albany rallies, all the Democratic candidates for state offices got together, but, aside from these occasions, they campaigned independently. However, Roosevelt always had the local Democratic leaders and candidates on the platform with him when he spoke. 18

For his daytime speeches along the way he spoke from his automobile. Newspapers carried pictures of him in the backseat of an open touring car smiling and waving his shapeless felt campaign hat. 19 At each stop he shook hands with as many as possible, encouraged the local Democratic leaders, and waved cheerfully as he departed for the next town.

As he ended his upstate tour and prepared to move his campaign into New York City, Roosevelt predicted that he would run about even upstate, and that he would

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17 Ibid.


19 Buffalo News, October 21, 1928; Binghamton Press, October 21, 1928.
win by a 500,000 to 600,000 vote majority in New York City.\textsuperscript{20} He had reason to be optimistic, for as his campaign progressed, his crowds showed increasing enthusiasm. Newspapers reported that he received "cheers," "clamor," and "enthusiasm" at Binghamton;\textsuperscript{21} "applause and appreciation" at Elmira;\textsuperscript{22} "the most enthusiastic response of his upstate campaign" in Buffalo;\textsuperscript{23} "the greatest ovation thus far" in Rochester;\textsuperscript{24} "thunderous applause" in Syracuse;\textsuperscript{25} "a deafening response" in Utica;\textsuperscript{26} "enthusiasm" in Schenectady;\textsuperscript{27} "prolonged applause" in Albany;\textsuperscript{28} "the most enthusiastic response" in Kingston.\textsuperscript{29} He told an audience in Troy of being kidnapped:

\textsuperscript{20}Binghamton Press, October 28, 1928. This prediction was misquoted by Otlinger who said that F.D.R. expected to win upstate by 600,000 in addition to his expected New York City plurality.
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., October 18, 1928.
\textsuperscript{22}New York Times, October 19, 1928; Binghamton Press, October 19, 1928.
\textsuperscript{23}Buffalo News, October 22, 1928.
\textsuperscript{24}New York Times, October 23, 1928.
\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., October 24, 1928.
\textsuperscript{26}Poughkeepsie Eagle News, October 25, 1928.
\textsuperscript{27}New York Times, October 26, 1928.
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., October 27, 1928.
\textsuperscript{29}New York Herald Tribune, November 6, 1928.
We left Utica this morning, intending to have an easy day of it. We got to Herkimer, where we all made speeches; then we expected to come through to Schenectady, but when we got to Fonda, there were forty or fifty automobiles in line blocking the road, and we were literally kidnapped. It threw the whole schedule out. We were told that up in that neck of the woods, Gloversville, where in the past there had been occasionally two Democrats, and sometimes three that had gone to the polls, there were two thousand people waiting for us on the street and that all the talk of the owners of the glove factories there could not keep them off the streets. So we changed our plans and went up to Gloversville. There they were, all of them going to vote the Democratic ticket. When we came on down we were kidnapped again. We got to Amsterdam. We expected to go through Amsterdam just as fast as the traffic cops would let us, but there were sixteen hundred people in the theatre in Amsterdam waiting. They had been waiting there for two hours. . . .

After his first few days on the stump, Roosevelt began receiving better headlines than his opponent, Ottinger. At first, however, the following report of the New York Times of the Binghamton speech brought him sharp criticism from Republican newspapers:

In this Republican city tonight Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for office, told a large and enthusiastic audience in the Central High School here that persons responsible for the literature against Governor Smith on religious grounds should be put on ships and sent out of the country.  

30Campaign Address, Troy, October 26, 1928.  
31New York Times, October 18, 1928.
When this report was used against Roosevelt, Louis Howe sent him the following wire:

Your Binghamton speech as reported in *Times* being twisted by Republicans as meaning that those who do not vote for Smith because of religious scruples should be deported stop We have had several violent comebacks on this today including Congressman Jacob Stein who is much disturbed Belle [Moskowitz] suggests that religion be now dropped from campaign and that you take up one weak point at a time in Ottinger's speech. . . .

What Roosevelt said in the Binghamton speech was not as inflammatory as was suggested by the reports. He said:

...I have seen circulars down there in the Southern States that any man or woman in this audience would be ashamed to have in his home. I have seen circulars that were so unfit for publication that the people who wrote and printed and paid for them ought not to be put in jail, but ought to be put on the first boat and sent away from the United States.

After this experience, Roosevelt concentrated on state issues and the newspapers aided his candidacy through their favorable reports of his speeches.

In the Democratic stronghold, New York City, Roosevelt naturally received great acclaim in his final week of campaigning. His good friend, Edward J. Flynn, political boss of the Bronx, arranged a typical New York City reception for him. The *New York World* reported:

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32 Telegram from Louis Howe to Franklin D. Roosevelt, October 18, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

33 Campaign Address, Binghamton, October 17, 1928.
The largest crowd to greet Mr. Roosevelt thus far in the campaign lined the two miles of Bronx streets from the Willis Avenue Bridge to Hunts Point Palace. There were horns and red fire and behind the candidate's automobile there was a truck bearing a dignified donkey as the symbol of the party. Inside the hall a crowd estimated at 3,500 gave Roosevelt an enthusiastic reception.34

The pattern for the campaign was set by the end of the first week. Instead of entraining again as he had originally planned, Roosevelt continued his tour by automobile, and he carried to the people first hand evidence of his physical fitness.

Roosevelt's prediction that he would win by 500,000 to 600,000 vote plurality in New York City was far from accurate. Although he ran far ahead of Alfred Smith in upstate New York, he trailed Oettinger in the upstate vote by about 375,000. However, Roosevelt ran ahead of Oettinger by about 400,000 votes in New York City. His overall plurality after an official recount was set at 25,564, with his opponent getting 2,104,629 votes to his 2,130,193 votes. Of the 4,885,276 who qualified to vote in the state, 4,234,822 voted.

The writer made a statistical analysis of the vote in the 57 upstate counties of New York. The differences between Roosevelt's and Oettinger's votes in the counties in which Roosevelt campaigned personally were compared to

34 New York World, October 31, 1928.
TABLE 1

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VOTES FOR ROOSEVELT AND THE VOTES FOR HIS OPPONENTS IN THE UPSTATE COUNTIES OF NEW YORK IN WHICH HE PERSONALLY CAMPAIGNED AND THE VOTE IN THE UPSTATE COUNTIES IN WHICH HE DID NOT PERSONALLY CAMPAIGN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Roosevelt</th>
<th>Roosevelt</th>
<th>Smith</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>23.16</td>
<td>14.94</td>
<td>22.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>29.10</td>
<td>7.99</td>
<td>31.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>27.26</td>
<td>21.19</td>
<td>22.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean percentage of the vote differences in counties in which Roosevelt campaigned.

Mean percentage of the vote differences in counties in which Roosevelt did not campaign.

Standard deviation of the vote differences in counties in which Roosevelt campaigned.

Standard deviation of the vote differences in counties in which Roosevelt did not campaign.

Critical ratio of the differences between the votes in counties in which Roosevelt campaigned and counties in which he did not campaign.* (For significance at the 5% level should be at least 2.756).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Critical Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1.1489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1.4717</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Computed from the following formula: $t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{S_1^2}{n_1} + \frac{S_2^2}{n_2}}}$ where $\bar{X}_1$ and $\bar{X}_2$ are means and $S_1$ and $S_2$ are standard deviations.

the votes in the counties in which Roosevelt did not campaign personally. The critical ratio of the difference between the votes in these counties indicated that Roosevelt's personal appearance had no greater effect on the vote differences than could have occurred by chance. To determine if there was a normally significant difference in the votes of these counties, the writer compared the 1926 gubernatorial vote differences in the same counties and found no significant variation. Table 1 summarizes the results of this analysis. It should be noted, however, that Roosevelt conducted a part of his campaign via the radio.35 Herbert Lehman and Morris Tremaine won by closer margins: 13,800 and 11,000 respectively. Republican Hamilton Ward won the office of Attorney General.36

35 In his book, *Champion Campaigner*, Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), p. 90, Harold Gosnell writes, "In the medium-sized upstate counties his superiority...in percentage points over Smith was greater in the counties where he made speeches than in counties where he made no speeches." Although it is true that Roosevelt's advantage over Smith was obvious in specific counties, it requires an arbitrary classification to generalize on the basis of large, small, or "medium-sized" counties.

The 1930 Campaign

Although Roosevelt's supporters controlled most of the actions of the 1930 Democratic State Convention, the beginning of a serious conflict between Tammany Hall and the Governor was apparent. Tammany leaders wanted to demonstrate their displeasure in the lack of consideration which Roosevelt had shown them in his support of committees investigating corruption in New York City's administration.

The Republicans unified the Democrats by nominating Charles H. Tuttle, U.S. District Attorney for Southern New York, who had won his prominence by disclosing irregularities in Tammany Hall's operation of the New York City government. Tammany leaders feared Roosevelt, but they feared more the election of a crusading Republican Attorney General. For this reason Roosevelt could count on their support.

Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York City nominated Roosevelt in 1928. But when F.D.R. insisted that the 1930 delegates go on record as favoring legislation requiring public officials to waive immunity in testimony regarding their public actions, Walker stayed home, and Alfred Smith nominated F.D.R. All the Democratic candi-

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dates were nominated on the first ballot, which showed that the Roosevelt forces had prepared carefully for the convention.38

The day Roosevelt was nominated Charles H. Tuttle opened his campaign with a speech in Brooklyn.39

The 1930 Campaign Tour

The 1930 campaign was carefully laid out in advance of the convention by Louis Howe and James Farley, who had worked to strengthen upstate New York's Democratic party. For the campaign Howe set up a schedule of 20 broadcasts for Lehman and Roosevelt. He also proposed the following sketchy and incomplete itinerary that was adopted with some additions:

Sunday, October 19
Leave Binghamton, 2:00 p.m. for Elmira—62 miles
Arrive Elmira 4:15, Reception 5:00
Hotel Mark Twain

Monday, October 20
Leave Elmira, 9:00 for Buffalo, 194 miles
Buffalo, Hotel Lafayette.

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38 New York World, October 1, 1930.
39 New York Herald Tribune, October 1, 1930.
Tuesday, October 21
Leave Buffalo, 10:00 for Batavia, 37 miles
Arrive Batavia 12:00
Batavia to Geneseo 26 miles. Arrive Geneseo 3:00
Geneseo to Rochester 30 miles
Arrive Rochester 5:00

Wednesday, October 22
Leave Rochester 10:00 for Geneva 46 miles
Arrive Geneva 12:00
Geneva to Auburn 27 miles
Arrive Auburn 3:00
Auburn to Syracuse 27 miles
Arrive Syracuse 5:00

Thursday, October 23, Utica

Friday, October 24, Albany

Saturday, October 25, Capitol district

Monday, October 27, Bronx

Tuesday, October 28, Yonkers

Wednesday, October 29, Jamaica, L. I.

Thursday, October 30, Staten Island

Friday, October 31, Brooklyn Academy of Music

Saturday, November 1, Carnegie Hall

Monday, November 3, Radio 8:30

Tuesday, November 4, Election Day

After the convention, the Democrats sent Herbert Lehman into the field to campaign, and Roosevelt returned to Albany to wage the first part of his campaign via radio.

On October 3 Roosevelt officially accepted the nomination and made radio addresses on October 9, October 13, and October 16. The Republicans were bothered by his slowness in getting into the field and his outwardly calm
disregard for their issue of Tammany Hall corruption.\textsuperscript{41} On October 18, however, he began his campaign tour with a rally at Binghamton.

The routine of the 1930 campaign tour did not vary significantly from that of 1928. Although he followed the same general route, Roosevelt campaigned only one week in upstate New York in contrast to the two weeks spent there in his first campaign. He travelled by automobile exclusively in 1930, but made fewer speeches in the smaller communities.

The 1930 crowds, generally, were smaller than those of 1928, and they evidenced less enthusiasm. The Binghamton Press observed, "Comparatively little enthusiasm was shown during the appearance and speech of either candidate. This was particularly noticeable in the case of the Republican nominee. . . ."\textsuperscript{42} Instead of the ovation he received at Buffalo in 1928, Roosevelt drew "warm applause." Reports indicated minimum overt response to either candidate. In New York City, Roosevelt drew larger crowds, but he did not evoke the frenzy that was apparent in 1928. Partly because of the lethargic

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Binghamton Press}, October 17, 1930.

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{Ibid.}, October 20, 1928; \textit{New York Times}, October 20, 1928.
attitude of the upstate voters, even the Republican newspapers conceded that Roosevelt would win by a solid majority. But in the final vote, he won by an unprecedented 725,000 carrying upstate New York by 167,784 votes and New York City by 557,217. This plurality was the largest ever given a Governor of New York up to that time. It was the first time in the twentieth century that a Democrat had carried upstate New York. All of Roosevelt's close associates had underestimated the vote.

The writer made a statistical analysis of the votes in the 57 upstate counties of New York in which the differences between Roosevelt's and Ottinger's votes in the counties in which Roosevelt campaigned were compared to the differences in votes in the counties in which Roosevelt did not personally campaign. The critical ratio of the difference between the votes in these counties indicated that Roosevelt's personal appearance, as in the 1928 campaign, had no greater effect on the vote differences

43 In 1934, Herbert Lehman won over Robert Moses by 808,000 votes; New York Daily News, October 31, 1930.

44 Gosnell, op. cit., pp. 105-106. Robert Paris Carroll, a professor at Syracuse University, was nominated for Governor by the Drys. Although he was never a significant challenge to either Roosevelt or Tuttle, he did poll 181,000 upstate votes, which, when added to Tuttle's upstate total, kept Roosevelt from winning a clear majority of the vote outside New York City.
than could have occurred by chance. The writer used the vote differences in 1926 in the same counties to serve as a control factor. Table 1, page , summarizes the 1930, 1928, and 1926 gubernatorial vote differences. It should be pointed out that Roosevelt specifically spent a week of the campaign delivering radio speeches and that these radio speeches could have been a major factor in eliminating significant vote differences between the counties. James Kieran of the New York Times guessed closest to the 1930 total and took the following letter from F.D.R. to his former Harvard classmate, Owen Winston of Brooks Brothers:

Dear Owen:
This will introduce Mr. James Kieran of the New York Times, to whom I lost an election bet. Will you please see that your tailor does a very good job on a suit for him?45

THE SPEECHES

This section of Chapter III considers the speeches of the 1928 and 1930 gubernatorial campaigns. The issues of each campaign are first cited followed by a general treatment of the ethical appeals, the emotional appeals, and the argument and evidence used to further Roosevelt's side of these questions.

45 Letter from F.D.R. to Owen Winston, November 15, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
1928 Issues

In 1928 Roosevelt had been absent from the New York political scene for many months, and of the four issues he listed in his acceptance address, only the question of water power brought a direct clash. On the other three there was little real disagreement between Roosevelt and his opponent, Albert Ottinger.

In the following statements, Roosevelt brought out the issues as he conceived them; first, he called for **state-owned waterpower:**

> The time has come for the definite establishment of the principle as a part of our fundamental law that the physical possession and development of state-owned water-power sites shall not pass from the hands of the people.  

Second, he wanted to **modernize the administration of justice:**

> I am confident that the procedure of both civil and criminal law has failed to keep pace with the advancement of business methods, and with the needs of a practical age; that this procedure is too costly; too slow; too complex; and that the present methods are at least in part responsible for disregard of the law and many miscarriages of justice.

Third, he called for study of the **farm problem:**

> While there have been prosperity and growth in the cities, their measure has not extended into the rural communities. This is in part a national

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46 Speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, New York City, October 16, 1928.

47 Ibid.
problem, but it calls for immediate and disinterested study in our state. 48

Fourth, he wanted reorganization of local government:

"... the splendid reorganization of our State Government calls for extension of it to the lower units of county and town government." 49

F.D.R.'s acceptance speech brought in a fifth "catch-all" issue: "Do we as citizens want to undertake new improvements in our governing methods to keep pace with changing times?" 50 The stand implied by this last issue left room for Roosevelt to bring in proposals not stressed in the acceptance speech, viz., labor legislation; improvement of education; aid to crippled children; aid to widows with children; old age assistance; unemployment insurance; prohibition; and the national issues of the tariff, prosperity, and economy in the national administration. Albert Ottinger's initial attempt to conduct the campaign on the issue of Tammany Hall corruption fell flat when the Democrats nominated up-state Roosevelt.

Since the only real issue not settled by the administration was the question of public ownership of the water power sites, Roosevelt was hard pressed to find

48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
basic disagreements with his opponent. In his acceptance speech he was reduced to stressing the changing nature of government.

A perfect system of 1918 may be outworn ten years later. The strides of science and invention, the shifting of economic balance, and the growing feeling of responsibility toward those who need the protection of the state, call for ceaseless improvement to keep up to date those personal relationships of the individual to other individuals and to the whole body politic which we call government.51

Two other issues of the 1928 campaign were prohibition and Roosevelt's paralysis. Prohibition was of minor concern in the state race, but some newspapers raised the issue of his physical fitness for the job. Frank Friedel points out, "They portrayed him as a dangerously ill man, warned by his physicians not to run, forced by Smith's ambitions to risk perhaps his life."52

On October 5, Roosevelt issued a statement to the press which said in part,

I was not dragooned into running by the Governor. . . . I was drafted because all the party leaders, when they assembled, insisted that my often expressed belief in the policies of Governor Smith made my nomination the best assurance to the voters that these policies would be continued. . . . I trust this statement will eliminate this particular bit of nonsense from the campaign from the beginning.53

51Ibid.


53Statement to the press, October 5, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
The following statement, found in the speech file at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park with the penciled notation, "not used—1928," indicates some of the bitterness which Roosevelt felt on the issue of his paralysis:

I am deeply touched at the tender solicitude displayed by my Republican adversaries, first as to my anguish of mind, and now as to my feebleness of body. I trust I have convinced them that the martyr's crown was not being pressed upon my head and I would like at this early date, in order to clear the way for the discussion of good government and vital state issues, to reassure them as to my physical condition. Let me soothe their fears by explaining that the impossibility of indulging in excessive physical exercise has enabled me to take far better care of my health than is the case of most men as actively engaged in business as I have been for the last four years.

My family physician has found me a very poor customer. Let me assure them again that my only physical disability which is a certain clumsiness in locomotion and which I trust will eventually disappear, has interfered in no way with my power to think. Possibly because I find it more convenient to sit at my desk than to move around, I pride myself that, during the past four years, I have done rather more than the average man's daily stint.

I am one who hates to feel himself a cause of worry to others and if it would really ease their minds, I will gladly furnish any of the Republican campaign managers with proper weekly bulletins containing respiration, temperature, and general physical condition. There is one disability I have which I imagine particularly impresses the Republican leaders of the legislature as being very serious. I must admit that no man, compelled to move somewhat slowly, is a very good dodger. For the last four years these gentlemen have spent most of their time dodging issues, dodging responsibility, dodging, rather poorly, the verbal missiles of Governor Smith; and I have been grieved to note, quite
frequently dodging brickbats thrown in brotherly strife at each other.  

1930 Campaign Issues

The 1930 campaign was as dramatic as that of 1928. Because of the depression, the result was almost a foregone conclusion, but the Republican leaders were anxious to hold down the size of the Roosevelt vote in order to reduce his stature on the national scene. To accomplish this objective they chose to emphasize the only real issue they had, Tammany Hall corruption, and they chose as their gubernatorial candidate the U.S. District Attorney for Southern New York who had been fighting Tammany, Charles H. Tuttle.

In 1928 Ottinger had wanted to use Tammany as his main issue, but Roosevelt had not been directly associated with Tammany, and the issue fell flat. The story in 1930 was altered, for Tuttle had a stronger case. Before the 1930 campaign began, a series of scandals broke involving prominent Tammany-selected magistrates. When the Republican legislature voted Governor Roosevelt the authority to institute an investigation, he promptly vetoed this action and was charged by the Republicans with shielding...
the evil doers. When the twenty-three Democratic leaders of New York County's Assembly districts were subpoenaed to testify before an extraordinary Grand Jury, seventeen of them invoked the Fifth Amendment. John F. Curry, Tammany Hall leader, left the witness chair in a huff, claiming that he had been insulted by the special prosecutor.

Rosenman recalls that prohibition was a real issue which, when coupled with the Tammany scandals, "cast doubt on Roosevelt's re-election." Both party platforms called for an end of prohibition, the Democrats calling for outright repeal, the Republicans calling for revision of the Eighteenth Amendment. Roosevelt used the advantage of the clear-cut statement in his platform and forced Tuttle into suspicious sounding explanations of the Republican's views. Caleb Baumes, the Republican nominee for Lieutenant Governor, was of little help to his party in the 1930 race on this issue because he was dry and his platform was not. Differences between Tuttle and Baumes over prohibition reduced the effectiveness of anything either said on the issue.

56 Rosenman, op. cit., pp. 40-41. The major newspapers, including Republican newspapers, indicated no such doubts in their editorial columns.

While the Republican candidates were criticizing Tammany Hall's corruption, an issue which never was tied directly to the record of Roosevelt or Lehman, Roosevelt decried the obstructionism of the Republican controlled legislature in opposing his progressive program. He said:

...the ground of progress had to be fought for inch by inch. ...most often the barrier has been day in and day out, now in the open, now under cover, the opposition of a Republican leadership which seems to be based primarily on the high-minded, idealistic purpose of discrediting through me, any and every proposal of the party which I represent, regardless of merit or reason. 58

In his previous gubernatorial race Roosevelt had to face an opponent who based his campaign in large measure on Republican prosperity. In 1930 he was able to read Ottinger's statements back to the people when he brought out the issue on which he had the strongest appeal: the depression. In addition Roosevelt revived the following issues of the 1928 campaign: public ownership of water-power resources, administration of justice, aid to farmers, reorganization of local government, and social legislation.

Use of Argument and Evidence

Roosevelt's main arguments in both the 1928 and 1930 campaigns were designed to prove that his adminis-

58 Speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, New York City, October 3, 1930.
tration would continue and expand the program of social and economic legislation, for the handicapped, the farmer, and the factory worker, initiated under the Smith administration; that State ownership of water-power resources was preferable to private ownership, and that the Republicans were thwarting the will of the people by insisting on private ownership; that the Republicans were evading the issue of prohibition. In 1930 he sought to associate the Republican leaders with the depression; and he refuted charges that he was abetting corruption.

Roosevelt's problem in both 1928 and 1930 was to win enough votes from upstate Republican farmers and industrial workers so that his expected New York City majority would overcome the normal Republican majority outside the city. So long as he did not alienate the voters, he could, with Tammany Hall support, count on a solid majority in New York City.

Following Smith's example, Roosevelt tried to emphasize one campaign issue in each of his major addresses. He argued for state water power development in speeches at Syracuse and Albany in 1928, and at Rochester in 1930. In his three main arguments on this issue of water power, he sought to prove that election of his 1928 opponent, Albert Ottinger, would mean loss of state owned water power sources; that long-term leases of power sources to private utility companies would be, in effect, grants in
perpetuity; and that power developed by the government cost the consumer less than power developed by the private companies. Cast in syllogistic form these arguments were:

(1) Major premise: Election of a man who actively supports private as opposed to public development would mean loss of the public's power sources.

Minor premise: Albert Ottinger actively supports private as opposed to public power development.

Conclusion: Election of Albert Ottinger would mean loss of the public's power sources.

(2) Major premise: Long term leases of power sources to private companies would be, in effect, grants in perpetuity.

Minor premise: The proposed 50 year leases of state water power sources are long term leases.

Conclusion: The proposed 50 year leases would be, in effect, grants in perpetuity.

(3) Major premise: If state development of water power sources would reduce the cost of electricity to the consumer, the state should develop the power sources.

Minor premise: State development of the power sources would reduce the cost of electricity to the consumer.

Conclusion: The state should develop the power sources.

Analysis of these arguments reveals their syllogistic forms to be valid: that is, if the premises are true,
the conclusion must also be true. However, each of
the syllogisms required proof of at least one of the
premises. In his argument that Albert Ottinger, if
elected, would give the state's power sources to pri­
vate companies, Roosevelt attempted to prove his major
premise, that election of a man who favored private devel­
opment would mean loss of the state's power sources. He
offered as evidence to a Syracuse audience, a history of
the power question in which he cited the following:

(1) That in 1907 a Republican legislature and Gov­
ernor gave to a private company a charter in
perpetuity to the St. Lawrence water power.

(2) That after a Democratic Governor and legisla­
ture revoked the charter in 1913, the 1923
Republican legislature and the newly created
Water Power Commission had proposed 50 year
leases of the public power sources to pri­
vate companies.

(3) That the 1926 Republican platform had called
for private development.

(4) That in 1926 the Water Power Commission had
planned to lease the power sources to private
companies, even in face of public opposition
to their plan.59

From this evidence it did not inevitably follow
that election of an active supporter of private power
development would mean loss of state development. Although
the history of the Republican Party's stand on the issue
made private development possible, the Republicans had

59Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 23, 1928.
controlled both the legislature and the Governor in six of the preceding 14 years and no such event had occurred despite the repeated efforts of the Frontier Power Company to obtain such a lease. However, the election of a Governor who favored leases to private companies and a legislature that favored leases to private companies obviously increased the probability of such leases if there were no determined opponents. In this sense Roosevelt's premise had some validity.

To support his premise that Ottinger actively supported private development, Roosevelt employed as evidence the following hypothetical example:

I see a picture of a table: four men, among them the Attorney General of the State, the lawyer elected by the people, to defend the interests of the people, the lawyer of the State whom the Governor in this crisis was so unable to trust to work for the interests of the people of the State, that he felt obliged to retain the services of Samuel Untermyer to represent the people.

There stood these four men, their pens poised in hand ready to consummate the final steal. Telegrams poured in, protests from public meetings and editorials in the newspapers of all parties flooded Albany. And in that crisis came the decisive move, the open dare of the Governor of the State of New York, challenging the Water Power Commission to affix their names. For a few minutes it looked as if the steal would be consummated. But in the nick of time the face of the Water Power Commission was saved. The power companies themselves lost their nerve. They did not dare accept the challenge.

of the Governor and of the people of the State of New York. No; they decided that rather than arouse public opinion any further, they would wait until they could control, at some future date, not only the Attorney General, but also the Governor of the State. They were waiting for the election of the year 1928.

Yes, the Water-power Commission put down their pens. Attorney General Ottinger and his colleagues had also lost their nerve. It was a drama that had a happy ending in the first act; the curtain is about to ring up on the second act. . . .61

Roosevelt's contention that his opponent supported private development of the water power resources was freely admitted by Ottinger in his speech accepting the Republican gubernatorial nomination.62 There was no real evidence to support Roosevelt's charge that Ottinger wanted to help "steal" the water power.

Therefore, after analysis, the first argument on water power was based on premises that, although not conclusively proved, were nevertheless given validity by the Republican Party record, and by the public statements of the Republican gubernatorial nominee.

In his second argument, Roosevelt supported his premise that long term leases of power sources to private companies would be, in effect, grants in perpetuity, with the following statements:

61 Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 23, 1928.
62 New York Times, October 16, 1928
I state, and I make this statement on a fairly wide reading of history and a certain amount of common sense, that a fifty-year lease of water-power resources to a private corporation is, in effect, a grant in perpetuity. Let that sink in in this state. Does any human being suppose that when one of the great water-power companies, if it should by any mischance get the legal right to develop the Long Saulte Rapids in the St. Lawrence River, puts in its dams, its power plants, and its transmission lines, at the end of fifty years it would walk out, comfortably and quietly and turn it over to somebody else? That is not credible. That is asking us plain people to swallow something big.63

Although Roosevelt undoubtedly was trying to convey the idea that the power companies 50 years later would use political pressures to keep their leases, his evidence did not prove his premise. Obviously a contract with the state could not be abrogated without state permission, and to argue without support that the power companies could extend their leases at will was not sound reasoning. Therefore, Roosevelt's second argument contained an unproved premise and was not valid.

At Syracuse in the 1930 campaign Roosevelt stressed the lower cost of state-owned electric power as he tried to prove his premise that state development of hydro-electric power would reduce the cost of electricity to the consumer. His evidence consisted of comparisons of the costs of the privately developed power in New York to the state developed power in Canada. He said:

63Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 23, 1928.
We can observe at close hand the benefits of cheap electricity in the home. Across the St. Lawrence River is the Province of Ontario, Canada. There electricity is developed from water power, and is rendered to each class of customer on a strictly cost of service basis. It has been estimated by experts that for an average family of four people occupying six rooms, and about 1,000 square feet of space, it would require about 285 kilowatt hours to run a completely electrified household. This means the use of electricity for light, cooking, refrigeration, ironing, toasting, vacuum cleaning, radio operation, washing machine, fans, waffle irons, chafing dish, and other kitchen appliances. In Toronto and in other large cities of Canada, it would surprise you to know that all of these appliances can be operated for as little as $3.40 per month.

...you in Syracuse would pay almost three times as much. In New York City, for example, the housewife, for the same appliances, would pay almost six times as much per month, or $19.95. Down in Westchester, which pays almost the highest electricity rates of this state, Mt. Vernon or White Plains, for example, the rates would be almost eight times as much, or $25.63. Close by here in Auburn, and in Rochester, the rate would be $13.40.

Roosevelt did not use his most valid example: that of the Canadian family paying $2.79 for 285 kilowatt hours while directly across the river the New Yorkers paid $5.53 for the same amount of electricity. However, his

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64 Campaign Address, Syracuse, 1930. This information was gathered by Louis Howe, whom Roosevelt had directed to secure photostats of the various bills in Canada and New York. (Letter from F.D.R. to Louis Howe, October 7, 1929). Other differences in rates included costs of $19.50 for 285 kilowatt hours in Albany, $9.30 in Schenectady, $7.80 in Buffalo, Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1930, op. cit., p. 738.

65 Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1930, op. cit., p. 738.
evidence was clear; Canadians did pay less than New Yorkers. Of course, elimination of taxes and lack of necessity to show a profit could help to reduce the cost of state electricity, but Roosevelt's argument of lower priced state electricity was supported.

In summary, Roosevelt's arguments on the waterpower issue were only partially supported. He established the desire of his opponent for private development, and he showed that the publicly developed power in Canada was distributed to the consumer for a lower price.

When he spoke on rural problems, Roosevelt's arguments cast as syllogisms were:

(1) **Major Premise:** A political party in power that does not aid the farmers does not deserve rural support.

**Minor Premise:** The Republican Party in power has not aided the farmer.

**Conclusion:** The Republican Party does not deserve rural support.

(2) **Major Premise:** Citizens in economic distress need state aid.

**Minor Premise:** The farmers are in distress.

**Conclusion:** The farmers need state aid.

(3) **Major Premise:** An administration that helps agriculture should receive rural votes.

**Minor Premise:** My administration has helped agriculture.

**Conclusion:** My administration should receive rural votes.
In his first argument he did not attempt to prove his first premise that political parties in power that do not aid farmers should not receive rural support. Further, he did not make clear what constituted aid to the farmer, thereby making his argument ambiguous. He attempted to prove his minor premise that the Republican Party had not aided the farmer in the following:

...in 1929...the Republicans and Democrats...promised...relief to the farmer...the Republicans came into power...During the first four years, although the agricultural situation was growing worse, nothing was accomplished. In 1924, both parties again promised relief...

The Congress passed the first agricultural relief plan over a year ago, and it was vetoed by the Republican President.

His minor premise was well supported, for there were no laws to ease the lot of the farmers sponsored by the Coolidge Administration.

In his second argument, Roosevelt's major premise, that citizens in distress needed state aid, was supported with references to the need of the state as a whole for the products of the farmer. He supported his contention that the farmers were in economic distress by refer-

66 Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.


68 Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.
ring to the immediate conditions of the rural counties which he had recently observed. He said:

In the early days of this republic, at the time of the Revolution, 95% of the population of the thirteen states lived on farms; only 5% in the cities. Gradually that farm ratio has decreased, very slowly during our first one hundred years, more rapidly during the next twenty-five; and during the past twenty-five a situation has been brought about that is serious to our future...today fewer than forty million people out of our one hundred and ten or one hundred and fifteen million live on farms; and every single day that passes more and more of them are moving to the cities.

There are two causes for it, both are essentially economic. The first is the attraction of the cities. It is mighty slow in these modern times to live on a farm...

But there is another reason...the practical question of how you best make both ends meet; how you can best feed yourself and your family and put a little money in the bank. 69

He brought his talk down to the local community to further emphasize the depressed state of the New York farmers:

...thousands and thousands of tons of grapes have been allowed to rot on the vines...potatoes...only thirty-five cents a bushel. Potato growers will find it difficult to pay their fertilizer bills...In this county of Chautauqua...389 farms totaling over 31,000 acres...advertised for sale for unpaid taxes.

I could go on and give you similar statistics for every single one of the rural counties of New York State. 70

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
Roosevelt's observations indicated a serious problem for New York was second in the nation in the production of both grapes and potatoes in 1928.\textsuperscript{71} As further proof of the farmers' distress, Roosevelt cited the tax load of the rural citizens:

If you are in business, your taxes fluctuate largely on the success or the failure of your business; in poor years you pay less taxes, and in good years you pay more taxes; but the poor fellow out on the land—well, he never pays less and in almost every case...in the State of New York, he pays just a little bit more, year in and year out, whether he makes more or less.\textsuperscript{72}

The tax load of the farmer was in some counties twenty to forty times heavier than that of the metropolitan citizen. The counties had to pay 35 percent of the cost of the highways regardless of population and in the thinly populated rural counties, this obviously could be a major hardship.\textsuperscript{73}

Roosevelt's evidence established the economic plight of the farmer, but his major premise could only be established if the people were willing to accept the state in the role of relief agent. Since the aid that ultimately was given was in the form of tax relief, there was little

\textsuperscript{71}American Agricultualist, October 13, 1928. This magazine was published by his neighbor and good friend, Henry Morgenthau, Jr. Morgenthau accompanied Roosevelt on this trip and undoubtedly had agricultural figures available for the candidate's use.

\textsuperscript{72}Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.

\textsuperscript{73}Letter from Henry Morgenthau, Jr. to F.D.R., November 25, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
question but that this type of aid was acceptable to the majority of the state's citizens.

In the 1930 campaign, Roosevelt set out to prove the premise that he had aided the farmers. To do this, he cited the tax reductions in the various counties. He told an audience in Buffalo:

> I need not point out to you who initiated and started these reforms. . . although the Republican Party has been in control of the Legislature absolutely for twenty years, nothing was done until I. . . . became Governor. . . .

> This plan of rural tax relief has saved the counties of all the State over $24,000,000 each year. Here in Erie County, the amount which has been saved, $1,400,000, should come off your local tax bills. 

Roosevelt was right that this administration had sponsored tax relief, but he had not supported the major tax relief that was achieved. He had supported instead a reduction in the income tax of the higher income brackets. When the legislature had refused to adopt his plan, he went along with the elimination of the direct tax on real estate, but he contended, "Counties would benefit more from an income tax reduction that from removal of

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74 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1933. These figures could easily be obtained by taking the assessed value of the property in the county and computing the amount that would have been paid if the state tax on real estate had not been repealed.
However, he had taken the lead in sponsoring some type of tax relief for the farmer, and he had accepted the proposal of the legislature when he could have vetoed it. Further, his proposals for state assumption of all the costs of state highway construction had been accepted, and he had been successful in securing state aid for the rural school districts. Therefore, his minor premise was established, and if the citizens would accept his major premise, that an administration that helped the farmer deserved farmers' support, he did deserve their votes.

To summarize his farm arguments: he based part of his arguments on major premises that depended for acceptance on beliefs of the people. Since he generally established his minor premises, his arguments had as much validity as could ensue from a major premise only partially supported or accepted.

Roosevelt's appeals for support of labor were based on the records of the Democrats and the Republicans in New York. His arguments were based on the following syllogism:

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75 Radio Address, March 7, 1929. Roosevelt's figures dealt with total amounts saved in counties and did not take into consideration the fact that the individuals who did not pay an income tax needed the relief more than those whose income was large enough to compel them to pay such a tax.

76 American Agriculturist, April 20, 1929.
Major Premise: A party that violates its campaign pledges to labor should not receive support from labor.

Minor Premise: The Republicans have violated their campaign pledges to labor.

Conclusion: The Republicans should not receive support from labor.

Roosevelt sought to establish only the minor premise of this syllogism in both the 1928 and 1930 campaigns. In 1928 in Buffalo he supported his premise, that the Republicans had violated their campaign pledges to labor by citing the following: (1) In 1911 the Republicans opposed reduction of working hours for women in industry. (2) In 1924 the Republican platform called for a forty-eight hour week, but it took them until 1927 to pass even a forty-nine and one-half hour week for women and children. 77

Although these arguments are far from conclusive, the record of the Republican lawmakers did reveal that they had opposed liberal measures designed to meet labor's requests. 78 In view of the strong endorsement of Roosevelt's candidacy by the American Federation of Labor in

77 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1928.
both 1928 and 1930, it is probable that he established his point at least in the minds of labor leaders.\textsuperscript{79}

In 1930 Roosevelt continued the same arguments and sought to prove that the Republicans did not keep their 1928 promise of prosperity for the working men. He said:

\begin{quote}
I want to read to you some extracts from Republican\footnote{\textit{Republican} speeches during the 1928 campaign and from the Republican platform in that year:

\begin{quote}
the foundations of the high American standard of wage and living have been laid. . . .
No better guarantee of prosperity. . . .can be given than. . . .to continue the Coolidge policies.

The poor man is vanishing from among us.

. . .Wages have grown steadily. . . .Our workers, with their wages, can buy two and even three times more bread and butter than any wage earner in Europe.

Then came October, 1929. . . .month after month conditions of unemployment became worse. . . .\footnote{\textit{Republican} speeches during the 1928 campaign and from the Republican platform in that year:}
\end{quote}

In view of the depression, the Republicans could not be expected to maintain prosperity for the laborers, but Roosevelt's premise, that they did not keep this pledge, was generally established.

At Utica and at Yonkers in 1928, and at Rochester in 1930, when Roosevelt spoke on the issue of prohibition, his arguments were not adequately supported. His basic arguments were:
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{79}Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1928. Roosevelt quoted a bulletin from the State Federation that said, "The Republican platform ignores organized labor's requests"; letter to F.D.R. from William Green, August 22, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

\textsuperscript{80}Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1930.
(1) **Major Premise:** Laws that increase drunkenness and are difficult to enforce should not be enacted.

**Minor Premise:** State prohibition laws increase drunkenness and are difficult to enforce.

**Conclusion:** State prohibition laws should not be enacted.

(2) **Major Premise:** A statute that is incapable of good enforcement should be repealed.

**Minor Premise:** The Eighteenth Amendment is incapable of good enforcement.

**Conclusion:** The Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed.

(3) **Major Premise:** If a majority of the people do not wish to abide by a statute, it is incapable of good enforcement.

**Minor Premise:** A majority of the people do not wish to abide by the Eighteenth Amendment.

**Conclusion:** The Eighteenth Amendment is incapable of good enforcement.

The issue of prohibition was so emotionally charged in 1928 that in his argument Roosevelt sought to show that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act were not effective, rather than calling for their repeal.81 His premise that, prohibition acts increased drunkenness was supported with the following unproved assertions:

I know from personal observation in many of these states that the enforcement of prohibition is in those states actually less effective than it is in the state of New York, where we operate under the Volstead Act alone.

In every state in this country there are from two to five times more arrests of minors for drunkenness and disorderly conduct than before the misnamed prohibition law was put on the books.  

Roosevelt's personal observations were not enough to judge the amount of crime. His speech the following year to the Governors' Conference showed his fallacy in attempting to draw conclusions as to the amount of crime in other states. At that time he said, ". . . as to whether or not there is a total increase in the number of crimes committed we have no knowledge whatever. . . . we may not speak with any certainty, because there are no statistics collected or available." Further, to argue that a state law supplementing a federal law resulted in an increase in crime obviously lacked even face validity. Therefore, his argument that state prohibition laws should not be passed, was not supported with valid evidence.

His other two basic arguments were tied together in that he needed to establish "that the Eighteenth Amend-

82 Campaign Address, Utica, October 25, 1928.

ment was incapable of good enforcement" before he used it as a premise in his other arguments. In a speech at Yonkers in 1928, he asserted without support, "The whole subject of prohibition...has amply proved that a statute is incapable of good support unless the majority of the people themselves wish to abide by the statute."84 In 1930 he told an audience in Rochester, "...it [Eighteenth Amendment] has attempted to legislate into being a condition that cannot be attained by legislation but only by the slow and orderly process of education."85 Although Roosevelt offered no further evidence to support his premise, his argument bore validity because the Eighteenth Amendment did show the "difficulties of enforcing legislation that a large minority refused to respect."86

Roosevelt based his 1930 argument for repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment on the premise that it couldn't be enforced. If the people would accept his major premise, that laws incapable of good enforcement should be repealed, then this argument bore validity.

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84Campaign Address, Yonkers, November 1, 1928.
85Campaign Address, Rochester, October 21, 1930.
A large part of Roosevelt's remarks on prohibition in the 1930 campaign was directed at the inconsistency in his opponents' stand. Caleb Brumels, Republican nominee for Lieutenant Governor, was endorsed by the Drys, and he refused to accept his party's platform plank calling for repeal. On the other hand, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, Charles Tuttle, supported the platform. Roosevelt consistently referred to them as being "wet and dry at the same time" and of attempting "to appeal to one portion of the State's population, while another appeals to a different portion." In view of the fact that the Republican candidates were inconsistent on this issue, Roosevelt was justified in calling it to the voters' attention.

In summary his arguments on prohibition were supported entirely with his personal observations. His argument that state enforcement acts supplementing the Volstead Act increased crime could not be proved because there were no national statistics available. His arguments that the Eighteenth Amendment could not be enforced was borne out by one of President Hoover's commissions. His opponents differed on the subject of prohibition, and Roosevelt called attention to this difference.

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87 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 21, 1930. Roosevelt also pointed out, "All the Democratic candidates are united in this [support of repeal]."
In 1930 Roosevelt sought to associate the Republican leadership with the depression in the minds of the voters by the following inference:

Major Premise: A political party that does not have the capacity to lead should be repudiated.

Minor Premise: The Republican Party has shown (by its conduct of economic affairs) that it does not have the capacity to lead.

Conclusion: The Republican Party should be repudiated.

To prove that the Republican Party did not have the capacity to lead, in his speech accepting the 1930 gubernatorial nomination he had stated, "lack of leadership in Washington has brought our country face-to-face with serious questions of unemployment and financial depression." He continued to question the fitness of the Republicans to lead when he told a Buffalo audience,

It has been well said by many national leaders in both parties that during the final period of inflation and stock market plunging not one single step was taken by the responsible officials of the national administration to put on the brakes, or to suggest even that the situation was economically false and unsound. . . . If Washington had had the courage to apply the brakes. . . the fall from the heights would not have been so appallingly great.

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88 Speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, New York City, October 3, 1930.

89 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1930.
Although it is apparent from his correspondence of this period that Roosevelt himself did not have a clear picture of the economic situation, the voters could readily see the increasing tide of unemployment as the number of jobless workers changed from 2,500,000 in April, 1930 to 4,000,000 in October, 1930. Lack of positive action from Washington to meet the crisis, increased the lack of confidence in the Republicans.\(^90\)

 Authorities, of course, are still uncertain as to the precise part the Republican leadership played in the depression, and Roosevelt could not have known the full effects of the opposition party's economic policies. In this sense, his argument was questionable. However, there can be little doubt that his arguments helped point out an alternative to Republican leadership.

In the 1930 campaign the Republican nominee, Charles Tuttle, attacked Roosevelt's failure to spend money that was available for relief. Roosevelt refuted him by agreeing that the money was on hand, and by listing his schedule for spending the money. He first criticised Tuttle for not realizing that the money needed to be spent on a monthly basis rather in one lump sum, and then he said:

\(^90\)Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-369.
The total amount of money available during this calendar year amounts to $55,000,000. Already, $33,000,000 have been put to work. The balance of $22,000,000 will be put to work as follows: $9,000,000, this month, $7,000,000 next month, and $6,000,000 in December.91

The Republicans' lone issue in 1930 was Roosevelt's ignoring of the corruption in New York City government. Roosevelt's defense was weak as is evidenced by the following syllogisms on which he based his inference that he could not act.

(1) **Major Premise:** A Governor cannot investigate until he is presented with evidence of crime.

**Minor Premise:** I have not been presented with evidence of crime.

**Conclusion:** I cannot investigate.

(2) **Major Premise:** A party that attempts to bring dishonor on the New York City judiciary is cowardly and reprehensible.

**Minor Premise:** The Republicans have attempted to bring dishonor on the New York City judiciary.

**Conclusion:** The Republicans are cowardly and reprehensible.

Roosevelt's assertion that he could not act without evidence was supported in a speech to a New York City audience when he said, "I learned that a Judge had refused to waive immunity before a Grand Jury. In order that I

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91Speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, New York City, October 3, 1930.
might perform my duty properly, I requested. . .evidence. . . . The public knows that without evidence I can go no farther." 92

Since investigations are conducted for the purpose of finding evidence, Roosevelt was saying, in effect, that he could not investigate until he had the results of an investigation. This was not the case, for as Governor of New York he had written that he had three methods of investigating, "first, a Moreland Act Commissioner, which method applies to state business; secondly, a Grand Jury with a Special Assistant Attorney General or the local District Attorney; and third, the unofficial investigation. . . ." He went on to point out that he did not need evidence but needed only for facts to be "alleged." 93 Therefore, the Governor's own statements reveal the fallacy in his first argument.

When he accused the Republicans of cowardice and of being reprehensible in their accusations of corruption of New York magistrates, he said:

...pursuing misrepresentations without any sense of justice or propriety, the Republican leaders have made every effort to convince

92 Campaign Address, New York City, November 1, 1930.

93 Memorandum from F.D.R. to Louis Howe, October 3, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Roosevelt asked Howe to pass this information on to "Barrett, of the New York World."
the people of this state... that our judiciary is corrupt and our judges unworthy to hold high offices. No more reprehensible or cowardly act has ever been perpetrated in a campaign... the Republican campaign has been aimed at making unthinking people believe that all judges should be brought before a Grand Jury and subjected to the public task of proving they are honest... I deny... that our judiciary... is saturated with corruption.94

This was the sum of Roosevelt's charges of Republican cowardice and reprehensible conduct, but his assertions were not accurate, for the Republican speakers had merely pointed out the instances of irregularities in the New York City Judiciary revealed by a legislative investigation. As a result of the inquiries two city magistrates were removed and three others resigned under fire.95 Therefore, his arguments on this issue of New York City corruption were inadequately supported.

When he dealt with the humanitarian program of aid to the health, welfare, and education of the people, which had been initiated by Alfred Smith, Roosevelt argued as follows:

(1) **Major Premise:** The political party with the better record of aid to those in need should be supported.

**Minor Premise:** The Democrats have the better record of aid to those in need.

94 Campaign Address, New York City, November 1, 1930.

95 *New York Times*, January 16, 1931; February 14, 1931; February 20, 1931; July 3, 1931.
Conclusion: The Democrats should be supported.

(2) Major Premise: If the state can rehabilitate the handicapped it should do so.

Minor Premise: The state can rehabilitate the handicapped.

Conclusion: The state should do so.

He made no attempt to prove either of his major premises, but accepted them as self-evident. In support of his minor premise that the Democrats had the better record of humanitarian reform, he said:

Under Governor Smith the state... has made splendid progress in education.
The only time the Republican leaders took any initiative at all was when they thought they could embarrass the Governor... by passing a bill to increase teachers' salaries when they knew there was no money in the treasury with which to pay the increase... .
Under the leadership of Governor Smith, the general health of the citizens of this state... has taken tremendous strides... .
The system of mothers' pensions has been broadened and amplified by the Democratic administration of Governor Smith... .

Roosevelt was right. The Democrats did have the better record of social welfare legislation. If the voters would accept his unsupported premise that the party with the best welfare record should be supported, his party did deserve this support.

96 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 22, 1928.
97 Bellush, op. cit., p. 282.
To prove his contention that the state could rehabilitate the handicapped he used himself as his supporting example:

I suppose that people readily will recognize that I, myself, furnish a perfectly good example of what can be done by the right kind of care. Seven years ago, I came down with infantile paralysis, and I was completely, for the moment, put out of any useful activities. By personal good fortune I was able to get the very best kind of care, and the result of having the right kind of care is that today I am on my feet. 98

Since Roosevelt was active and healthy, his example was a good one. It did not give him enough evidence for accurate generalization about all types of handicaps, however, and would have to be classed as hasty generalization. Nevertheless, it was apparent that medical science was making studies, and Roosevelt probably gained acceptance of his idea.

In general, the arguments and evidence that Roosevelt used in the 1928 and 1930 gubernatorial campaigns required acceptance of some unproved premises. They were not all sound or all faulty. He generally established his basic arguments on welfare legislation, on farm aid, and aid to labor. He partially established his contention on water power, on prohibition, and on the depression. He generally failed to prove his arguments on New York City corruption.

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98 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 21, 1928.
The ethical appeals of a speaker are derived from the impression which his reputation, character, appearance, intelligence, or good will make upon his audience. In the 1928 campaign, Roosevelt had to refute reports that he was not physically able to be Governor and that he would resign if he were elected. Thonssen and Baird state that "A speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he . . . removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent." 99

A large portion of the 1928 campaign speaking was designed to remove the unfavorable impression that he was not physically able to be an active executive. Roosevelt never again had the same problem in the state, but at that time the unfavorable impressions had to be refuted.

Roosevelt realized that the best way to disprove the impression that he was a dangerously sick man was to be active in his campaign and to ridicule the charge. Over and over again he jokingly called attention to his excellent health. Of course, the report that he was ill had little to do with his character; but the charge that he was too feeble was a personal one and related to his general capacity.

On the first day of the 1928 campaign, at Middleton, Roosevelt asked the crowd if he looked like a sick man. He then remarked, "If the Republicans keep on they'll have the sympathy vote lined up for me." At each stop on his upstate tour he made a humorous reference to the state of his health and received the laugh he wanted. To an audience in Troy he ridiculed the stories of his poor health when he said:

You know, I have been a little bit amused during the last three weeks. I understand that after the Rochester Convention took the action that it did that there was a good deal of what might be called sob stuff among the Republican editorial writers in the State of New York. They said, "Isn't it too bad that that unfortunate man had to be drafted for the Governorship? Isn't it too bad that his health won't stand it?"

Roosevelt then listed the exhausting campaign schedule he had completed to date to show how wrong the papers had been. His election indicated that the people believed he had the physical capacity to serve as their Governor.

In the 1930 campaign, F.D.R. also had the unique problem posed by the fact that three of President Hoover's cabinet members, Henry L. Stimson, Ogden Mills, and Patrick

100 Binghamton Press, October 18, 1928.
101 New York Herald Tribune, October 20, 1928.
102 Campaign Address, Troy, October 26, 1928.
Hurley, accused him of doing nothing about the corruption in New York City. To minimize any unfavorable impression that they might have created, Roosevelt ignored their charges and resorted to a type of *ad hominem* argument in which he said,

...of these three estimable gentlemen, one comes from the great state of Oklahoma which we all respect. He has never lived in New York State; he knows nothing of the problems in New York State; he knows nothing of the situation in New York City. ...well may the people of New York resent this. ...

The other two gentlemen of this triumvirate...have run for Governor in campaigns based largely on 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.\(^{103}\)

Also typical of Roosevelt's campaign addresses was his use of ethical appeals designed "...to link the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous."\(^{104}\) In his other speeches Roosevelt used this appeal, but in the campaigns he did not temper or qualify his attack when he sought to show the evils or dangers of electing the other party's representative. He said of the Republican Party that it was selfish, dishonest, and...

\(^{103}\)Campaign Address, New York City, November 1, 1930.

\(^{104}\)Thonnsen and Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
lacking in ethical leadership. For example, he said at Jamestown, "...the Republican party has a record of eight years of broken promises and failure to accomplish anything." He continued the theme at Buffalo, "We are in the habit... of carrying out our pledge. The Republican leaders of the State have not yet formed that habit..." His charges against his opposition in 1930 were especially intemperate when he said, "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."

Of Charles Tuttle, his 1930 opponent, he said; "I am afraid he has been so long a prosecuting officer, who looks at everything with the viewpoint of securing a conviction in any way possible, that his sense of abstract justice has been blunted, and he thinks in terms of conviction rather than judicial determination."

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105 Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.
106 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1928.
107 Campaign Address, New York City, November 1, 1930.
108 Speech accepting the gubernatorial nomination, New York City, October 3, 1930.
Tuttle had been attacking the Governor's record for several days prior to F.D.R.'s delivery of his acceptance speech; consequently the Republican nominee received specific condemnation and ridicule from Roosevelt in this address. Roosevelt's sarcasm as he appealed to his fellow "upstaters" was hard to refute when he said, "I read that my distinguished opponent has announced that he is going to proceed upstate and, as he was quoted, get down among the people. I know the people will be properly flattered at his condescension, his descent from the heights he occupies. . . ."\textsuperscript{109}

In 1928 Roosevelt questioned the ethics of his opponent Albert Ottinger, and by comparison he sought to appear to be the more ethical candidate. Since he was a Republican, Attorney General Ottinger had not been called on by Governor Smith to represent the Democrat's point of view in legal matter pertaining to water power development. Roosevelt attempted to capitalize on this rejection of Ottinger's legal advice when he said:

\ldots the Attorney General of the State, the lawyer elected by the people to defend the interests of the people, the lawyer of the State whom the Governor in this crisis was so unable to trust to work for the interests of the people of the State, that he felt obliged to retain the services of Samuel Untermeyer to represent the people.\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{110}Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 23, 1928.
He further questioned the honesty of Ottinger's figures on national economy.

Mr. Ottinger is, I think, guilty; guilty of what I hope is an innocent attempt to make the people believe that Republican economy in Washington has reduced the cost of government. . . . this innocent misstatement is the forerunner of a dozen other glaring instances of a complete lack of knowledge on the part of Mr. Ottinger of existing conditions of public affairs both in Washington and Albany. 111

Another unique feature of the ethical appeals was Roosevelt's strong use of self-praise. He usually qualified his self-praise or complimented himself indirectly by praising the accomplishments of his administration. In the campaign speeches, he showed no desire to be subtle in telling the electorate of his merit. He informed an audience in Buffalo that he alone was responsible for reducing taxes when he said, "Nothing was done to relieve the counties of the State from this staggering burden of taxation until I became Governor, and until I pointed the way." 112 Actually the legislature had rejected much of Roosevelt's plan for tax relief and had instituted a plan of its own, but the electorate was interested in the fact that tax relief had been achieved.

When the Republicans accused him of neglecting his duties by refusing to investigate New York City government, Roosevelt praised his actions in initiating investi-

111 Campaign Address, Binghamton, October 17, 1928.
112 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 3, 1930.
gation of a Democratic City administration. He said, ". . . 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."

In 1928, he told a New York City audience that he was a friend to labor. Since he had not been a state executive at that time, he went back to his experiences as Assistant Secretary of Navy, and he praised his actions in supporting the workers employed by the Navy Department. He told the audience:

After I had been there . . . three days longer I got Joe Daniels to sign an order making it the duty of the Assistant Secretary to fix the wage scale each year. I am very proud of one simple fact, and that is that during the seven and one-half years in Washington, we did not have one single major dispute . . . all over the United States.

Roosevelt's self commendation probably was justified when he told an audience in Syracuse that he had forced the legislature to enact the popular bill calling for action on state development of water power. He remarked on this occasion:

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113 Campaign Address, New York City, November 1, 1930.
114 Campaign Address, New York City, October 30, 1928.
When I first came to Albany we were no nearer a solution than ever before. . . .

Finally, after I had again requested the Legislature to take steps toward this development. . . . they introduced and passed a bill providing for a commission to be appointed by me to set up a plan whereby the water power resources of the State on the St. Lawrence River could be developed by a State agency. . . .

He also was justifiably in taking credit for a new policy of the Public Service Commission. He summarized his actions in the following:

I suggested that the Public Service Commission take immediate steps to protect the people's interest in the matter of telephone rates. . . . I sent the letter. . . . I insisted . . . . I appointed the present chairman. . . . Proceedings are being vigorously followed up looking toward cheaper rates for all kinds of public utility services. 115

The one factor of Roosevelt's personality which could not be ignored was his general air of cheerful good will. His smile was quickly made a part of the caricatures in the campaign cartoons which appeared in the newspapers. He was fortunate in both the 1928 and 1930 campaigns to have opponents whose personalities were not as exuberant or dominant as his own.

Emotional Appeals

Brigance says that, "Motivation is essentially setting up a system of adequate rewards in the minds of the

115 Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 22, 1930.
116 Campaign Address, Albany, October 24, 1930.
Roosevelt's campaign motive appeals generally offered a reward for the voters' support in addition to an implied insecurity which would come to them if their votes elected Roosevelt's opponents.

In 1928 New York State was enjoying a period of comparative prosperity which limited the effectiveness of such appeals as those based on a desire for old age assistance or farm relief. However, the stock market crash of 1929 and the ensuing depression made a larger section of the state's population susceptible to the motive appeals of security which F.D.R.'s 1930 campaign speaking persistently employed.

Roosevelt started his 1928 campaign with an appeal to the sense of fair play of his Binghamton auditors to get them to support Alfred Smith for the presidency despite Smith's Catholicism. His success in asking the audience to ignore religious prejudice is doubtful, for Binghamton was a center of Ku Klux Klan activity.118


118 Rosenman, op. cit., p. 20; The Binghamton Press, November 25, 1928, reported that the local Ku Klux Klan had its charter revoked for not paying its national dues.
In most of the campaign addresses, Roosevelt made some attempt to arouse more than one motive. At Binghamton he also appealed to the patriotism of the audience by referring to the proud position their state held in the esteem of other states.

In a later speech at Jamestown he made appeals to the audience's desire to relieve distress in others by citing the economic plight of the farmer and the need for relief. He also tied this thesis to an appeal to his hearers' desire for security by showing that the farm-to-city migration represented a sociological upheaval which threatened their way of life.

In Buffalo, Roosevelt appealed to the motive of security by offering the rewards of extended workmen's compensation, old age pension, and unemployment relief. He also appealed to the desire for relief of distress of others by promising shorter working hours for women and children in industry.

Gray and Braden state that a speaker "...must be able to show...that by following the course of action prompted by the aroused motives, there is strong likelihood that the desired end will result." In his speeches

119 Campaign Address, Jamestown, October 19, 1928.
120 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1928.
at Buffalo Roosevelt cited the stand of the Democratic Party, and he tried to show that labor benefitted when the Democrats controlled the legislature. He was able to secure for labor what he promised by getting working hours reduced for women in industry.

Roosevelt called for aid to widowed mothers in order to keep the families intact, and it is possible that he made this proposal for the emotional value that an appeal to mother love, coupled with relief of distress, would have.

In summary, Roosevelt sought to move the auditors to vote Democratic by appealing to their desires for security, fair play, patriotism, economy, and relief of distress. These appeals also sought to show that "rewards" gained might be endangered by a Republican victory.

Forms of the Campaign Speeches

In its broadest sense, disposition embraces the following matters: the emergence of a central theme, the general method of arrangement adopted for the speech, and the order in which the parts of the discourse are developed.\(^{122}\)

\(^{122}\)Thomassen and Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 393.
Roosevelt sought to emphasize a central theme for each of his campaign speeches consistent with his general legislative goals.123 "I have been trying to concentrate, so far as possible in these great night meetings, on one topic at a time," he said in 1928.124

A survey of Roosevelt's 1920 vice-presidential campaign speeches indicates that he stressed many premises in each speech, but by 1928 he had learned to organize his campaign speeches around a central proposition. This emphasis of a central topic may have been because of the help of Samuel Rosenman. Rosenman had worked on Alfred Smith's gubernatorial speeches, and Smith followed the practice of discussing one main issue in each major speech.

The principal characteristics of organization which distinguished the campaign speeches from Roosevelt's other gubernatorial addresses are: (1) an adherence to a method of organization designed to support a central proposition of policy by supporting subordinate propositions of fact, (2) a consistent order in the introduction of these speeches, and (3) an emotional conclusion with a final epigram, motto, or maxim. In other speeches, Roosevelt

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123 Rosenman, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

124 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 22, 1928.
tended to emphasize more than one basic idea and to organize his speeches on a topical, historical, or logical basis, varying the method of arrangement. The introductions and conclusions of his other speeches do not conform as consistently to a set pattern.

For both the 1928 and 1930 gubernatorial contests, Roosevelt adopted the overall proposition, "Progressive government should be supported at the polls." In the specific campaign speeches he advocated this overall thesis by supporting individual measures which made up his plan for progressive government. For example, in his campaign speech at Rochester in 1930, he maintained the proposition, "The state should develop the water power sources." To prove this proposition of policy he supported the following propositions of fact: (1) electricity is cheap in Canada where they have state-owned water power; (2) electricity is expensive in New York where we have private ownership of water power; and, (3) electricity is a labor saving device. This logical pattern of development was used in all the major campaign addresses.

The introductions of the 1928 major campaign addresses followed a set pattern and always included a

125 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 22, 1930.
strong ethical appeal. It consisted of, (1) a flattering reference to the place, (2) a reference to the occasion, (3) a plea for support of Alfred Smith, and (4) a reference to the subject to be discussed in the speech. This method is typified by the speech at Buffalo in 1928 when he said,

I am very grateful to the city of Buffalo for this splendid meeting. This great gathering tonight has come here not merely to pay tribute to the Democracy of the State of New York; it understands that we have with us...in spirit...Alfred E. Smith.

I had planned to talk about a lot of things...tonight, but when I read that...my old and good friend, Mr. Ottinger, had had the nerve to talk about what the Republican Party has done for labor, I decided that was my chance.126

The 1930 campaign speech introductions deviated from this pattern of organization in that he included a summary of what he was trying to do for the state and presented a more careful summary of the materials to follow in the speech. An outline of the introduction to a 1930 campaign speech would be the following: (1) a reference to the place, (2) a reference to the occasion, (3) praise of his legislative proposals, (4) a reference to Republican obstruction, and (5) a summary of the materials to follow.

126 Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1928.
The conclusions of the 1928 and 1930 campaign speeches were summaries of the preceding materials, a plea for support, and, frequently, an appeal in the form of a maxim or motto. Except for the campaign speeches, Roosevelt rarely used maxims or quotations for his concluding remarks. The following are examples of his concluding statements:

I thought of a little verse that was taught me when I was pretty small, and thought it was a good motto for this campaign. . . .
"Look outward and not in; look forward and not back; look upward and not down, and lend a hand."127

I ask you to join with me in a saying, as our old sailors did back there in the days against the Barbary Coast pirates, "millions for defense, and not one cent for tribute."128

In summary, Roosevelt organized his campaign speeches around a single proposition of policy, and his introductions and conclusions followed a consistent pattern of development.

Summary

After he had been persuaded by Alfred Smith to accept the 1928 gubernatorial nomination, Roosevelt

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127 Campaign Address, Rochester, October 22, 1928.
128 Campaign Address, Syracuse, October 23, 1928.
engaged in a whirlwind campaign that included every large population center and covered over 1,000 miles in the first two weeks in upstate New York. He made nearly 50 speeches during the campaign, but his victory over his opponent, Albert Ottinger, was so close that Ottinger demanded and received a recount.

The 1930 campaign was conducted along the same lines as that of 1928 except that Roosevelt spent only one week in upstate New York instead of two. The issues were essentially the same in both campaigns: extension of social welfare legislation, state development of the water power sources, prohibition, farm relief, and corruption in New York City. In 1930 Roosevelt brought the issue of the depression into the campaign, and he tied it to the national administration.

Roosevelt's arguments and his evidence were not based on exhaustive studies of the subject matter. He tended to use his personal observations to support his premises. These observations were not adequate to prove his points when he relied on them exclusively, but when he used materials from other sources to bolster his personal experiences, he did establish some of his premises. However, these premises were dependent on other premises before inferences could be drawn. Almost every argument required that the public accept as true an unsupported premise.
His ethical appeals were designed to remove the unfavorable impression that he was physically incapable of being an active Governor. Further, they were designed to show Roosevelt as a champion of the people. He repeatedly castigated the Republican leaders for blocking his legislative program.

His emotional appeals were based primarily on the desires of the people to be secure in their jobs and free from the fear of insecurity in their older years. He attempted to show that while the Republicans threatened the people, the Democrats brought the reward of security.

The speeches were organized around a central thesis and followed a logical pattern of development that was consistent in that the speeches started with a reference to the occasion, an introduction of the subject, a citing of the problem and its history, presentation of the argument, a summary of the argument, and an appeal for support.
CHAPTER IV

THE OFFICIAL SPEAKING OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

This chapter concerns Franklin D. Roosevelt's inaugural addresses and his annual messages to the legislature. On the stump Roosevelt vilified the leaders of the Republican Party, but those same persons became a major part of his official audience. Roosevelt had a Republican legislature for the four years that he served as Governor of New York. In *Politics in the Empire State*, Warren Moscow states that Roosevelt, as well as Alfred Smith and Herbert Lehman, much preferred a Republican to a Democratic legislature because it was much easier to "...damn the opposition villains than those of one's own party, the latter being a handicap to tactics and a gag on the vocal organs." The Republican legislature received its full measure of castigation from Governor Roosevelt for opposing his popular program. This censure, although it never elected a Democratic legislature, aided in keeping public opinion behind him.

When he spoke to the legislature, Roosevelt knew that he could not win the support of the Republican majority,

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for the political lines were too sharply drawn to expect the opposition leaders to concede on any major issue. He had to be more devious and get the people of the state to apply pressure to induce the legislators to vote for his proposals. Therefore, the annual messages were not designed to get immediate cooperation from the legislature, but they sought a delayed response from the electorate. Although they are full of appeals for non-partisan actions, there is no spirit of compromise in them.

Two characteristics stand out in these annual messages: first, they were short enough for the newspapers to print them in full whereas Alfred Smith's messages had been about a hundred pages in length; and second, the supporting materials were highly argumentative rather than informative.2

These messages were not as vituperative as were the campaign speeches, thereby permitting the legislators to save face when they were forced to comply with the expressed wishes of their constituents.

During his first term Roosevelt used the talents of Louis Howe, Edward Flynn, James Farley, and Henry Morgenthau, Jr. to strengthen the upstate units of the Democratic Party.3

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2F.D.R. understood the value of preparing speeches for their published values as was indicated when he prepared his 1928 nominating speech. See page

3Personal interview with Eleanor Roosevelt, Hyde Park, New York, August 22, 1952; note from F.D.R. to Edward Flynn, January, 1929; note to Henry Morgenthau, Jr., April 24, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
Under the guidance of Howe these men laid the ground work for the Governor's appeals to be translated into public protests by getting Democrats who were loyal to the Governor to organize county committees and to nominate candidates even in areas in which the Republicans hopelessly outnumbered them. A continual stream of visitors from upstate counties came by the offices of the State Committee and Farley carried on a personal correspondence with Democrats in every county. Henry Morgenthau made personal contacts for Roosevelt and used his magazine, the American Agriculturalist, to support the Governor on all farm issues. This work by Roosevelt's aids gave him the assistance of an organization in each county to which he could appeal for support on the current issues.  

Roosevelt was generally affable to the Republican leaders who had bitterly struggled with Alfred Smith. These leaders hoped and expected Roosevelt would be easier. Before the first legislative session was over, however, they realized that Roosevelt was as capable and as willing to fight as Smith ever was.

THE ANNUAL MESSAGES

During his first year as Governor, Roosevelt spoke to the New York legislative bodies on three occasions. He delivered his annual message, a special message to both

\[4\text{Ibid.}\]
houses, and appeared before a legislative committee.5

The first annual message was delivered shortly after 1:00 p.m. on January 2, 1929, in the Assembly Chamber in Albany.6 The occasion was marked by a friendly atmosphere between the legislature and the Governor. Since the message was brief, the session lasted less than half an hour.7

It was neither necessary nor customary for the Governor to read his annual message in person. Nevertheless, Roosevelt, following Alfred Smith's precedent, delivered his messages personally.8 It is probable that F.D.R. knew that the newspapers would give more publicity to these addresses if he made a personal appearance before the legislature.

The same year, on March 12, at his request he read a special message to a joint session of the Senate and Assembly on the St. Lawrence water power issue. Like the annual messages, this special message lasted only twenty minutes. Its reception was unenthusiastic.9

The longer Roosevelt was Governor, the less amicable

5Remarks to Committee on Taxation and Agriculture, January 16, 1929.
8Ibid.
became his relationship with the legislature. In the last three years of his governorship he restricted his personal appearances before the legislature to his annual messages. These presentations were delivered under approximately the same conditions as in 1929.  

In contrast to 1929, the occasion of the 1930 annual message was marked by feelings of bitterness toward the Governor by the legislators. But the third annual message was read to a legislature "in more of an atmosphere of accord and harmony" than had been present before. The fourth annual message was read to a resigned legislature that was cold but polite.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

Roosevelt delivered the first of his two gubernatorial inaugural addresses on January first in the Assembly Chamber in Albany. When he suggested holding the ceremonies in the street in front of the Capitol, Robert Moses, in charge of setting up the physical arrangements, wrote to him on November 26, 1928, to discourage this idea:

Dear Frank:-

Your letter with reference to the inauguration reached me this morning. I assume that when you ask

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10The later messages were delivered on the following dates: January 1, 1930; January 7, 1931; January 6, 1932.


what I think about it you want a candid expression of opinion.

I have checked on this matter very carefully with the men at the capitol who have worked on the inauguration in the past, and who are very familiar with the small problems which are involved and with weather conditions in Albany. They are all unanimous in the opinion that the outdoor inauguration will not work and I must say that I agree with them.

It is bound to be very cold, and of all the cold places in the State there is none that is chiller than State Street on the front steps of the capitol. Now that the new park has been established next to the Capitol there is even more of a vacuum for the wind to howl through. Moreover, there is very frequently snow or rain on the first of January. We would surely have to provide seats for some of the people on the Capitol steps and if people sit there I am afraid we shall have a lot of pneumonia patients as a result, especially if you consider that you have quite a few people who are along in years among the guests, including the Court of Appeals, Regents of the University, etc. The radio arrangements would be difficult to plan outdoors. The dignity of the traditional procedure which provides for the announcement by the Sergeant-at-arms and the entrance of important officials after the audience is seated would be lost outdoors.

The greatest difficulty would be to shift from the steps of the Capitol to the Assembly Chamber in case the weather was bad, especially if the special floor were not laid in the Assembly. You would not accommodate more than the members of the Assembly and Senate.

You will probably have substantial legislative attendance because of the fact that the Legislature convenes the next day. I am sure if you announced a change in plans there would be a scramble for the Assembly Chamber even worse than the one we had at the Governor's acceptance speech which was bad enough. There is a good deal of detail work to be done in connection with the inauguration which ought not to be delayed until the last minute. If you wish, however, we can postpone doing anything until December 10th. I believe that when you have considered the matter more fully you will give up the idea of the outdoor inauguration.

Cordially,
Moses

13 This letter is in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
Although Roosevelt despised Moses, the inauguration was held indoors. This was fortunate, since it snowed that day. The newspaper reported:

An Inaugural audience of unusual size and distinction which filled the Assembly Chamber where the exercises were held as it has seldom been filled on any similar occasion that has gone before, listened to the plea of the new Chief Executive upon whose shoulders the mantle of Alfred E. Smith has fallen, and then voiced approval by a volley of applause that brought smiles of satisfaction to the faces of both the incoming and outgoing Governors.

The crowd attending the ceremony represented all sections of the state, with a sprinkling of Democrats from other commonwealths, and all walks of life.

It included public officials, leaders of both major parties and citizens not in public life. It was a thoroughly representative audience. As they entered the large audience arose to greet them and applauded for a minute or more. Governor Roosevelt was heartily applauded when he laid down his pen and began his inaugural address. This was shorter than most speeches made in recent years by incoming Governors when taking office. Even with the frequent interruptions by applause it required less than half an hour for delivery.

The crippled condition of the new Governor made it impossible for him to proceed to his place on the rostrum by coming down the aisle of the Assembly Chamber. A system of ramps had been constructed to enable him to reach the platform in his wheel chair. He then made his way to the front, leaning on a cane and supported on the other side by his eldest son, James, who is a student at Harvard.

Although it was not apparent to the general public, Alfred Smith was unhappy over the independence which F.D.R. had shown by rejecting an inaugural address written by Mrs. Belle Moskowitz, Smith's former secretary. Smith had offered to help "Frank be a good Governor," and some officials

expected him to have a decisive voice in state affairs.\textsuperscript{15} 

\textit{Time Magazine} reported:

"... Whether or not Mr. Smith plans to continue leading the democracy he found no competitive note in Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address. After eulogizing his friend and predecessor, Governor Roosevelt discussed purely state problems, drew dotted lines indicating extension of Smith's policies."\textsuperscript{16}

The 1931 Inaugural Address was the product of a different set of circumstances. At this time Roosevelt was the leading force in the Democratic party because of his unprecedented 725,000 vote majority in the gubernatorial race.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1931 the newspapers were interested because Roosevelt's victory made him a contender for the presidency, while in 1929 his remarks had significances only on the state level. In view of his great landslide victory, the 1931 inauguration was not as well attended as had been anticipated. It was reported:

The large attendance of Democrats from this and other states that had been expected and predicted in official circles failed to materialize. There were more empty seats... than at any similar function in the last twenty years.

Amplifiers had been placed in position to enable an overflow audience to follow the ceremony from the adjacent Senate Chamber, but these arrangements were of little value since the Senate Chamber was half empty.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{15}Letter "Written for the Record," dated April 6, 1938, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.


\textsuperscript{17}Despite Roosevelt's smashing victory, New York's congressional delegation was left relatively unchanged.

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{New York Times}, January 2, 1931. Because of the depression, the ceremony was unusually simple and the usual fanfare was eliminated to save money.
Although his audience was comprised primarily of state Democrats, F.D.R. received applause only at the beginning and at the end of this address. The address concerned the need for more efficient local government and was not especially designed to elicit enthusiasm.

**ISSUES**

Roosevelt's inaugural addresses and messages to the legislature were used to further his side of nine basic issues. These were the executive budget, prison reform, aid to the farmer, banking legislation, aid to the unemployed, water power ownership, utility regulation, labor legislation, and investigation of New York City government.

**Executive Budget.** In 1929 the Executive budget contained lump sum appropriations for two departments undergoing reorganization. When the legislature designated two of its members to work with the governor in segregating the sums for specific expenditures, Roosevelt maintained that legislative participation should not be surrendered into the hands of only two men, and that it was a violation of the separation of powers for the legislature to participate at all.

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19 Ibid.

20 The executive budget case is reviewed with correspondence and legal decisions in Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, I, op. cit., pp. 532-538.
After an initial decision favorable to the legislature in the appellate division of the state courts, Roosevelt won his point in the State Court of Appeals, New York's highest court.

**Prison Reform.** In 1929 two prison riots set into action a drive for prison reform.\(^{21}\) In 1930, after legislative spokesmen accused him of inefficiency, Roosevelt won his program for prison reform and secured the services of an enlightened penologist, Walter N. Thayer, Jr., to serve as State Commissioner of Correction.\(^{22}\) Roosevelt received and gave more cooperation on prison reform than on any other issue that arose between him and the legislature.

**Aid to the Farmer.** The most significant contribution of Roosevelt's administration to the rural population was a reduction of the farmers' taxes. In 1931 a constitutional amendment passed authorizing the purchase of marginal lands for reforestation.\(^{23}\)

**Banking Legislation.** When several of the state's big banks failed, it became apparent that some action was needed. Roosevelt won an extension of the investigating and regulating powers of the State Banking Commission, but he failed

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\(^{21}\) *New York Times*, July 29, 1929.

\(^{22}\) *New York Telegram*, September 25, 1930.

\(^{23}\) Letter from F.D.R. to John Godfrey Saxe, November 3, 1931; letter from Keith Morgan to F.D.R., November 4, 1931; letter from George H. Dern to F.D.R., November 10, 1931; a clipping from the Shenandoah, Iowa, *Sentinel* of October 30, 1931, indicates the national support that Roosevelt's stand won him. These materials are all in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
to gain legislation regulating thrift accounts in the state banks. These thrift accounts were essentially the same as savings accounts, but did not come under the regulations and restrictions of the state commission as did the savings accounts. Many citizens were not aware of the difference and lost their money in the bank failures.21

The Depression. In 1930, as much was spent on public works as in the three previous years.25 In 1931, Roosevelt got an independent relief agency set up, the T.E.R.A., or Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, despite the desire of the legislature to carry out relief through the Department of Social Welfare.26

Water Power Ownership. In gaining concrete results in the area of water power ownership or in the area of utility regulation, Roosevelt was seriously handicapped by Warren T. Thayer, Chairman of the Committee on Public Service of the State Senate. Thayer made the mistake of writing to the Associated Gas and Electric Company of New York on March 28, 1927: "I hope my work during the last session was satisfactory to your company; not so much for the new legislation enacted, but from the fact that many detrimental


26Annual Message, 1932.
bills which were introduced we were able to kill in my committee."27 This letter was not revealed until 1934 in a Federal Trade Commission investigation.28

The development of St. Lawrence water power was handicapped by the international ownership of the river and the reluctance of the administration in Washington to take positive action to work out an agreement with Canada.29 It took over two decades after Roosevelt left the governorship to secure construction of a public power plant on the St. Lawrence.

Labor Legislation. The laborers of New York State were poorly organized and did not vote as a unit prior to Roosevelt's governorship, but he consistently received the endorsement of the leaders of labor during his gubernatorial period.30

As unemployment rose following the market crash in 1929, the prompt action of Roosevelt's administration won him support. This prompt action was taken by Commissioner

28He also had Edmund Machold to oppose him. Machold was chairman of the Republican State Committee and President of Northern Utilities Company.
29Telegram from President Hoover to F.D.R., July 10, 1932, quoted in Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, op. cit., pp. 483-487.
30Letter from William Green to F.D.R., August 22, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Roosevelt quoted correspondence from Green in his 1930 campaign address at Buffalo, October 20, 1930.
of Labor, Frances Perkins, who said, "I didn't want to change the world and was less interested in theory than in getting unemployment relief."\(^{31}\) Roosevelt, however, began to look at some theories and accepted several new ideas. Among these were agreement with the aims of unemployment insurance,\(^{32}\) old age security,\(^{33}\) and government spending to provide jobs when private industry does not succeed in keeping the workers employed.\(^{34}\)

**Investigation of New York City Government.** Realizing that he had to have Tammany votes to win elections in New York, Roosevelt cooperated with Tammany in the matter of appointments and had their staunch support until a series of scandals broke in New York City. By this time Roosevelt was quietly but actively seeking the 1932 presidential nomination. He needed Tammany support, but would lose national support if he did not act to investigate and punish the guilty in New York City, because the legislature kept the issue popular.

**TYPES OF SUPPORTING MATERIALS**

The distinguishing feature of the inaugural addresses

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\(^{31}\)Personal interview with Frances Perkins, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1952.


\(^{33}\)Ibid., p. 120.

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 114.
and the annual messages was a tendency to be general rather than specific. It is obvious that Roosevelt had to be general in his messages, since he covered from 14 to 20 topics in each. In other speeches he frequently spoke for thirty minutes on one of the topics covered in his twenty-minute annual message.

Argument and Evidence

The inaugural addresses were a traditional part of the Governor's speaking, but the Constitution of New York specifically called for an annual report from the Governor to the legislature on conditions in the state. On all of his official speaking occasions, Roosevelt argued for legislation which he desired. With the exception of the second inaugural address, each of his official speeches included so many different topics that he had to use a minimum of supporting materials for each one.

In a sense, the annual messages served as a summary for all of Roosevelt's gubernatorial speaking, for in these addresses he made brief references to all his legislative goals. In other unofficial speeches he narrowed his field to one or two issues and expanded his arguments in support of them. Obviously, in a twenty minute speech, he could not adequately cover twenty of the state's basic needs.

Roosevelt argued specifically for reorganization of

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35 Annual Message, 1932.
local government, for the development and distribution of hydro-electric power, for aid to the rural New Yorker, for stronger regulation of utility companies, for aid to the handicapped, for laws favoring labor, for further regulation of banks, for benefits for labor, and for legislative rather than gubernatorial investigation of New York City government. He asked for many other measures on which there was little disagreement between himself and the legislature.

When Roosevelt asked the legislature for action to reorganize local government in New York, he supported the minor premise of the following inference:

**Major Premise:** Obsolete governmental machinery should be reorganized.

**Minor Premise:** Local government is obsolete.

**Conclusion:** Local government should be reorganized.

To prove his minor premise, that local government was obsolete, he made the following assertions:

You cannot build a modern dynamo with the ancient forge and bellows of the medieval blacksmith. The modernization of administrative procedure, of counties, of cities, and of villages must be accomplished.36

...town and county government has not been modernized and therefore presents extraordinary instances of waste and inefficiency.37

The machinery of village, town, and county government, originally created many generations ago to meet the needs of those days, is now obsolete.38

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36Inaugural Address, 1929.

37Annual Message, 1930.

38Annual Message, 1931.
Roosevelt's proof on this issue is typical of his supporting evidence in all the annual messages. The many topics he wanted to cover and the brief time he allotted himself, made it necessary that his evidence for each inference be reduced to a minimum. On this issue of local government, his arguments were valid for the governmental machinery of the villages, town, and counties were not designed to cope with modern problems. As John Ise points out:

The small, simple, largely self-sufficient community of pre-machine days, . . . needed few government functions beyond a little policing, the maintenance of some form of court justice, a little upkeep of the roads, the registration of titles, marriages, and various legal instruments, and the maintenance of schools--the school term was often three months. . . . Because of the slow and laborious transportation facilities, the pre-machine community . . . depended largely on the local government for the few public services it needed.  

Since Roosevelt was Governor at a time when the impact of machines was being felt in the transportation fields, it is probable that his contention of obsolescent local government was a valid one. However, he did not establish conclusively the following related argument that local officials were inefficient:

Even the school children know that we maintain many useless officers in our towns, that many functions now exercised by town officials should be assumed by county management, that there is an equal lack of proper auditing, and, in the final analysis,

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that the average taxpayer does not know where his tax money is being spent.\textsuperscript{41}

This generalization assumes a measure of validity if it is proved that the local government is obsolete, but Roosevelt supported it only with unproved assertions, and he did not mention any specific units of government that contained wasteful, inefficient officials. Roosevelt further supported his contention that local government was obsolete and wasteful by comparing the reorganization of the state government, that the Smith administration had effected, to the local governments. He told the 1929 legislature, that, "...this gratifying modernization and perfecting of our State Government serve at the same time to accentuate by contrast our lack of progress in improving our local government."\textsuperscript{42} He employed the same comparison in his 1929 and 1931 annual messages. But since he did not mention specific local governments, he could not establish a definitely proved premise.

The issue of state development of water power was another perennial topic included in the Governor's official speeches. As in the case of his other arguments in the annual messages, his reasoning on water power was supported by assertions. His inferences were:

\textsuperscript{41}Annual Message, 1929.

\textsuperscript{42}This reorganization condensed 186 separate state agencies into 18 state departments.
(1) **Major Premise:** It is your duty to pass laws that people want.

**Minor Premise:** The people want state development of water power sources.

**Conclusion:** It is your duty to pass laws calling for state development of water power sources.

(2) **Major Premise:** No state agency has a right to give away a natural resource.

**Minor Premise:** Water power sources are natural resources.

**Conclusion:** No state agency has a right to give away water power sources.

(3) **Major Premise:** If private companies are eager to develop the water power sources, the water power is needed and usable.

**Minor Premise:** Private companies are eager to develop water power sources.

**Conclusion:** Water power is needed and usable.

He supported his premises that the people wanted state development and that it should be developed with the following assertion, "It is also the duty of our legislative bodies to see that this power, which belongs to all the people, is transformed into usable electrical energy and distributed to the people at the lowest possible cost."

He further told the legislators, "There is a demand...for state development." Obviously these were weak supports, for they did not take into consideration the practical

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^4^3 Inaugural Address, 1929.

^4^4 Annual Message, 1929.
problems of developing and distributing the power. However, Roosevelt probably was correct in his statements that the people wanted state development, for he received much public support in 1931 when public protests were credited with influencing the legislature to act as Roosevelt wanted.  

When he argued that state agencies could not give away the water power sources, Roosevelt asserted:

The title to this power must vest forever in the people of the State. No commission, no, not the Legislature itself, has any right to give, for any consideration whatever, a single potential kilowatt in virtual perpetuity to any person or corporation whatsoever.  

The 1907 legislature gave the St. Lawrence power sources to the Aluminum Company of America, although the 1913 legislature revoked the charter. This in itself refuted the practical aspects of Roosevelt's contention by demonstrating it had a legal right. He probably referred to a moral right, but this, too, was debatable for many objected to the idea of the state being in the business of selling water power. He did not, of course, need to support his premise that water power was a natural resource, but his inference lacked validity because of the weakness of his major premise.

Roosevelt supported his contention that private

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46 Inaugural Address, 1929.

companies were ready and eager to develop the power sources when he asserted, "Let us stop once and for all this silly talk that the electricity available by developing the St. Lawrence is not needed or usable in a practical way. We know that private companies are only too eager to proceed if the State was to abandon its rights."\(^{48}\)

It did not necessarily follow that interest in the matter by the private companies proved the practicality of, or the need for, developing state power sources. As a matter of fact, Roosevelt's proposals in that year of 1930 called only for a commission to investigate the practicality of developing the power sources.\(^{49}\) However, he was correct in his assertion that the power companies wanted to get control of the sources, for the Niagara-Hudson Company and, earlier, the Frontier Power Company, had indicated they wanted the power of the St. Lawrence River.\(^{50}\) Since his major premise was unproved, however, this argument was not validly established.

In the following inference Roosevelt pointed up the economic handicap of rural communities:

> **Major Premise:** Our method of apportionment must provide a fair share of school funds.

\(^{48}\)Annual Message, 1930.


\(^{50}\)Bellush, op. cit., pp. 208, 227.
Minor Premise: Rural school districts do not get a fair share of school funds.

Conclusion: We should change our methods of apportionment.

To support the inference he said, "Under the present method of apportioning State funds to rural school districts, the poorer districts in many instances fail to receive their fair share. The methods of apportionment should be simplified and made to conform more closely to the relative wealth of the districts." This, of course, was mere assertion, but the facts bore him out. Schools employing fewer than five teachers were excluded from receiving state equalization funds. This placed a real hardship on the rural school districts where the one to four teacher schools were located. Therefore, this argument was valid.

Roosevelt's argument for conservation was:

Major Premise: If land is best suited for growing trees, it should be planted in trees.

Minor Premise: We have found 1,000,000 acres that are best suited for growing trees.

Conclusion: These 1,000,000 acres should be planted in trees.

He did not support this argument but merely asserted it when he said in 1930, "We need further development of the reforestation of lands not primarily suited to agri-

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51 Annual Message, 1929.

52 Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, I, op. cit., p. 482.
He continued this idea in 1932 when he noted that the state soil survey had located a million acres best suited to growing trees. The argument was supported from other sources. The state soil survey indicated that four million acres had been abandoned by farmers because it was not suited to agriculture. Sound conservation measures also supported his contention.

On the question of regulating utility companies, Roosevelt argued from the following hypothetical syllogism:

**Major Premise:** If utility rates are too high, we should act to lower them.

**Minor Premise:** Utility rates are too high.

**Conclusion:** We should act to lower them.

He supported his contention that rates are too high by asserting in 1930, "It is becoming more and more clear that the families of this state...have been paying too much for their electricity, and are therefore not in a position to use a proper degree the many labor-saving devices of modern invention." In 1931 he clarified what he meant by rates being too high when he said that the returns on investment were unreasonably high. He asserted:

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53 Annual Message, 1930.

54 Annual Message, 1932. This argument is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V, page 55.

55 Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, I, op. cit., p. 490.

56 Annual Message, 1930.
In some cases rates are too high; profits are beyond any reasonable return on investment; service is not always satisfactory. The plain truth is that effective regulation as contemplated originally has not been realized.\textsuperscript{57}

Roosevelt's arguments were valid if his idea of rates being based on original investment were acceptable. The Public Service Commission was charged to keep rates reasonable. However, the utility companies appealed the Public Service Commission's decision to federal courts and managed to keep rates higher than the Commission ordered. The companies argued that they should make a profit on the replacement costs of their property. Roosevelt said their profit should be based on their original investment.\textsuperscript{58} If this contention was accepted, his argument was valid, but this contention was a matter of opinion.

On the issue of the depression, Roosevelt argued as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Major Premise:} If the depression is more severe in the cities, we should turn the drift of population from the urban areas to the rural districts.
  \item \textbf{Minor Premise:} The depression is more severe in the cities.
  \item \textbf{Conclusion:} We should turn the drift of population from the urban areas to the rural districts.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{57}Annual Message, 1931.

\textsuperscript{58}Letter from F.D.R. to J. Lionberger Davis, October 5, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. Roosevelt pointed out to Davis that the utility companies didn't pay their bondholders on the basis of replacement costs.
(2) **Major Premise:** If our citizens are unable to earn food, clothes, or shelter, we must provide them.

**Minor Premise:** Many of our citizens are unable to earn food, clothing, or shelter.

**Conclusion:** We must provide them.

To support his premise that the urban dwellers wore in worse shape than the rural residents, he said:

A study of the past decade gives us at least one clue to the difficulties of today. It is a simple fact that by far the greater part of the present suffering, of the present inability on the part of hundreds to obtain any work and, therefore, to obtain food, clothing, and lodging in small cities and in the villages and country districts...is far less severe than in the big cities.

We seem to have established that the distribution of population during recent years has got out of balance, and that there is a definite over-population of the larger communities in the sense that there are too many people in them to maintain a decent living for all.  

His argument bore a measure of validity for the farmer could grow food on their acres. However, John Ise points out that urban unemployment reduced markets for an already economically depressed farmer.

The contention that the state should aid those unable to supply basic necessities was not supported but was stated as follows:

...the people of the State of New York cannot allow any individuals within her borders to go unfed, unclothed, or unsheltered. From that

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59 Annual Message, 1931.

60 Ise, op. cit., p. 458.
fundamental springs all the work of relief now in progress in this state.

I report to you regretfully that the conditions of unemployment are as yet no better. . . . Unemployment and distress relief are. . . . going forward.61

Roosevelt's statement in 1932 that the conditions of unemployment were no better was borne out by all reports. The Temporary Emergency Relief Administration reported that more jobless workers were being added each day to the nearly 2,000,000 already unemployed in the state.62 If his premise that the state must provide for the unemployed was acceptable, his inference was valid.

Governor Roosevelt vetoed a bill calling for him to investigate the government of New York City on the grounds that it was not his duty to do so. He told the legislators that it was instead their duty, and he reasoned from the following hypothetical syllogism:

**Major Premise:** If you do not investigate New York City government, you are neglecting your duty.

**Minor Premise:** You are not investigating New York City government.

**Conclusion:** You are neglecting your duty.

As in his campaign speaking (Chapter III, p. 122), Roosevelt supported his minor premise by using the method of residues. He showed that his powers were limited, that the

61 Annual Message, 1932.

courts' powers were limited but that, "no one questions the right of the legislature to investigate any matter of importance to the welfare of the state." His argument was questionable, for the Governor of the state, as he himself pointed out, was empowered to investigate if he saw fit to do so. However, his contention that since his investigating powers were specified and therefore limited, while those of the legislature were not specified and therefore not limited, may have had a measure of validity in that it placed a responsibility on the legislature to conduct its own investigation rather than directing the Governor to do so.

In summary, the arguments and evidence which Roosevelt employed in his official speaking were not well supported with evidence. They were almost completely based on his assertions. However, the arguments frequently were supported by external sources. Most of his contentions required acceptance of an unproved premise or required that the legislature act partly on opinions.

**Ethical Appeal.** Thonnsen and Baird state,

In general, a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he (1) associates himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause. . . ; (5) relies upon authority derived from personal experience;

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*Annual Message, 1931.*
and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.\(^6\)

F.D.R.'s ethical appeals in the annual messages obviously were directed to the people who could pressure the legislature. He made little effort to move the Republican leaders. In speeches over the state and nation, Roosevelt stressed either the non-partisan nature of his goals or the successes of his administration. In the annual messages, he stated that he had a non-partisan attitude, and he attempted to link the Republicans with the unworthy side of each question.

In his first annual message Roosevelt said he was willing to cooperate with the Republican leadership, and he virtuously stressed his desire for elimination of partisan politics. His strategy was made clear when he began speaking outside the legislature. Three months later, to a New York City audience, he said, "In my message to the legislature I outlined a... program which needed immediate attention... some hidden power behind the legislative majority has succeeded in preventing... its enactment into law... ."\(^6\)

In his annual messages, he not only placed his non-partisan remarks on the record so he could refer to them in later speeches, but he also placed the Republicans in the

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\(^6\)Speech to Consumers League, New York City, March 3, 1929.
position of either reciprocating or appearing to be selfish.

In 1929 Roosevelt said:

I come before the Legislature, not only in accordance with the constitution to communicate the condition of the State, but also to express the hope and belief that neither you nor I are entering upon our offices with partisan purpose.

Most of our problems are not political: they can be solved by the same kind of cooperation on your part which I as the Chief Executive offer to you.

I want the agricultural problems studied without regard to partisan politics. . . .

It would be a fine thing if you and I, laying politics and partisanship aside, could take definite steps. . . . toward this reform. . . .

I feel sure that the legislators of both parties will join me in this pledge. He best serves his party who best serves his state.

The verdict on our relations that I most desire from you is that I have been at least fair and reasonable and friendly. Let a common desire to serve our State unite us in a common friendship.66

When the Republican majority failed to pass the laws which F.D.R. desired, he changed his tactics and began to attack the sincerity, merit, and motives of his opposition's stand and he blamed them for thwarting the desires of the people. The Republican leaders were in a quandary, because they were blamed for inactivity, while the Governor took credit for all progressive measures they passed. Roosevelt persistently referred to their delaying tactics and to the unfairness of one-party control, and he blamed them for failure to pass laws which would reduce waste on the local level. Since the Assemblymen and the Senators had to get along with the local officials, they had no desire to inter-

66Annual Message, 1929.
In 1932 Roosevelt showed his capacity to infer that the Republicans were unworthy when he said:

At last the State seems to be making progress toward the day when we can drastically improve on present administration of justice. After a long delay, which was wholly unnecessary, the legislature last year provided for a commission.

Year after year former legislatures have completely and brazenly ignored recommendations by the Governor and demands from the public for safeguarding and improving our election machinery. I ask the pointed question: Why is it that in the counties of Nassau, Oneida, Suffolk, Westchester, Niagara, and Monroe, election supervision is wholly in the control of members of one party?

I have grave doubts as to whether your Honorable Bodies will, during this session, give any consideration to the legislature of our State. The present districting of Representatives in the Senate and Assembly is so grossly unfair that it has become a parody on the American principle of equal representation. Nevertheless, I again recommend action in the interest of fairness and a decent appreciation of the fundamentals of representative government. I do this with the faint but undying hope that the majority party in the Legislature may perform a miracle.

Local government has in most communities been guilty of great waste and duplication. For three successive years I have begged the Legislature of the State to appoint a commission to study the simplification of local government, but for three successive years the Legislature has done nothing.

In 1930 and 1931 Roosevelt needed more cooperation from the legislature and his ethical appeals were less pointed than those in the 1929 and 1932 speeches. His need for their support made him stress the theme of cooperation and to leave them open for censure if they opposed him.

Roosevelt knew he could pressure them through arousing public

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protests at their delays, but he left the door open for the legislature to cooperate. In 1930 and 1931 the Governor and the legislature did work together on the depression, but they fought over most of the other problems. Roosevelt said to them in 1930:

> I offer to you, a new legislature, my own hearty cooperation in carrying on our mutual tasks. You will find me ready at all times to talk over the problems of the State with you individually or collectively.

> In concluding my message last year, I said it is of very small importance who first points out the road to progress, and expressed the hope that all measures affecting the welfare of the State would be discussed frankly and fully between us, with no consideration on either side of partisan advantage. Possibly that idea was too novel to be carried out as fully as I suggested.

In 1931 he again asked for legislative cooperation and placed himself in the better light although it was clear to everyone such cooperation was unlikely. He said:

> It would be a fine thing if you and I, serving a common Master—the people of the State of New York—would unite in this common purpose of bringing into the homes and stores and factories of our State, these modern utilities at a cost reasonably consistent with a fair return to the legitimate investment.

> It seems particularly appropriate that in time of stress such as we are now witnessing, the Governor should again offer to the Legislature his willingness and desire to cooperate for the good of the State. I do so in the hope that this new Legislature will accept this in the spirit in which it is meant.

Thus Governor Roosevelt started out in 1929 offering non-partisan cooperation and gradually changed his ethical

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68Annual Message, 1930.
69Annual Message, 1931.
appeals until he blamed the Republicans at every turn for their delay and deceit.

**Emotional Appeal.** Roosevelt's annual messages repeatedly sought to arouse the legislators' desires to relieve the distress among the people who were suffering because of the depression. He also made appeals to their desire to avoid waste by pointing out the excessive cost of local government and the loss of electric power because of their failure to act on this problem. He sought to make them curious by suggesting that the remedies were new remedies. He attempted to stimulate their desire for security by asking regulation of banks, and for old age assistance. One motive which he did not bring out specifically but which was apparent was the fear that the legislators had of losing in the next election if they did not cooperate with F.D.R. Since Roosevelt's messages were more specifically directed to the newspaper readers, the legislators' fear of opposition in their home districts was a real motivating force in getting legislative action.

Roosevelt most often employed the motives of security and relief of distress in others. As the depression became intensified and more and more persons were jobless, he sought new ways to relieve their distress and he asked for the cooperation of the legislature.

This call for relief of the unemployed was directed at the millions of workers who were afraid of losing their jobs at the time. One and a half million were out of work and
F.D.R. had an insecure urban population that would respond to such an appeal. He said:

To those millions who now starve we owe a duty as sacred as to those thousands who died in France—to see that this shall not come again. . . .70

. . . .The measures which we adopted. . . for unemployment and distress relief are with few exceptions, going forward in the right spirit. . . .71

To let the legislature and the public know that he was working to help alleviate the crisis, F.D.R. told them in 1931:

. . . .The State is doing and will do what it can in the way of immediate emergency relief. Public works are being speeded to the utmost; all available funds are being used to provide employment; wherever the State can find a place for a man to work it has provided a job. . . .72

Prison riots in 1929 brought criticism of Roosevelt. He told the legislators that he was solving the problem if they would work with him. He said, "I shall be in a position by the date set--1935--to eliminate the antiquated and insanitary housing of prisoners which was a disgrace to our modern society. . . ."73

Roosevelt frequently asked for aid for the crippled. There was never open opposition to these proposals which F.D.R. supported with appeals to the desire to relieve distress in others. He illustrated this problem when he said,

70Annual Message, 1932.
71Ibid.
72Annual Message, 1931.
73Annual Message, 1932.
"It is estimated that at least 50,000 men, women and children in the State of New York are thus seriously handicapped, and many of them require constant attendance on the part of some able-bodied person."\(^{74}\)

In the same paragraph he continued with an appeal to the legislators' desires for saving money, "As a matter of good business, it would pay the State to help in restoring these cripples to useful citizenship."\(^{75}\)

The desire to avoid waste was the basis of Roosevelt's 1929 appeal for immediate state development of water power. He said, "...in the brief time that I have been speaking to you, there has run to waste--enough power from our rivers to have turned the wheels of a thousand factories, to have lit a million farmers' homes... ."\(^{76}\) The farmers wanted electricity and Roosevelt kept this desire alive by criticizing the opponents of state owned power.

The millions of older people in the state and the people who had lost their life savings in the depression would be especially critical of a legislature that ignored appeals to the desire for security. Roosevelt brought this motive into most of his messages. In 1931 he said:

Our American aged do not want charity, but rather old age comfort to which they are rightfully

\(^{74}\)Annual Message, 1929.

\(^{75}\)Ibid.

\(^{76}\)Inaugural Address, 1929.
entitled by their own thrift and foresight in the form of insurance. It is, therefore, my judgment that the next step to be taken should be based on the theory of insurance by a system of contributions commencing at an early age. In this way all men and women will, on arriving at a period when work is no longer practicable, be assured not merely of a roof overhead and enough food to keep body and soul together, but also enough income to maintain life during the balance of their days in accordance with the American standard of living.77

Bank failures intensified the peoples' fear of economic loss. F.D.R. was slow to ask for protective regulation of thrift accounts, but he was virtually forced to do so after the Bank of the United States collapsed. His unsuccessful appeal for flexible banking controls was based on the desire for security. He told the 1932 legislature:

The inflexible provisions of our banking law do not permit adequate handling of emergencies. An advisory council could provide under proper restrictions, flexibility with safety. With this I am confident that we can give additional protection to the deposits of millions of our people who are depending on their savings and to the wheels of industry which require banking facilities to meet their payrolls.78

Roosevelt's frustration over the waste of local government was injected into his annual messages. He wanted to get the people in the local communities concerned over the inefficiency of their town and county officials and he wanted them to bring pressure on their legislators to do something about it. The high cost of government bothered F.D.R. and he asked for legislative assistance in reducing useless

77 Annual Message, 1931.
78 Annual Message, 1932.
expenditures when he said:

... town and county government has not been modernized and therefore presents extraordinary instances of waste and inefficiency. . . .79

... . . . Even the school children know that we maintain many useless offices in our towns, that many functions now exercised by town officials should be assumed by county management, that there is an equal lack of proper auditing and in the final analysis, that the average tax payer does not know why or where his tax money is being spent. . . .80

A disillusioned public was ready to try new measures to relieve their depression-caused misery. F.D.R. appealed to this desire when he told the legislature:

We face the necessity of employing new measures of value for the good reason that many old values have disappeared: new comparisons of property and of man's remuneration for his work, for the good reason that many of the old proportions have proven false.81

F.D.R. never seemed to get public support of his proposal to simplify the administration of justice. He repeatedly told the legislature that there was a need to eliminate delay, expense, and red tape in legal proceedings, but he did not get much reaction from any source. His emotional appeal was based on the desire to avoid restraint when he asked for laws to simplify processes of administering justice: 

"... they object to the costliness, to the delays and the complexities of civil actions and to the inequalities and slowness of criminal procedure. . . ."82

79Annual Message, 1930.
80Annual Message, 1929.
81Annual Message, 1932.
82Annual Message, 1930.
The annual messages were organized according to subject matter, or the distributive method. The distributive method is one in which "Matters having a common thought center and an obvious connection among themselves are grouped in certain sections. . . ."83

Frances Perkins pointed out that all the department heads would submit information concerning their areas and this data would be placed under the proper headings.84 The way the headings or sections were included in the messages depended on Roosevelt's consideration of their need. For example, he wrote to Louis Howe in November of 1930, "... I agree with you about a crime paragraph and also a probation paragraph. . . ."85 Both of these paragraphs were included in the 1931 message under the heading "Crime and Punishment."

The organization of the messages consisted of the following steps:

1. An introduction in which the Governor asked for support.

2. The statement of the needs of the state as the Governor saw them. This was done under the general headings and consisted of a summary of

83Thonnsen and Baird, op. cit., p. 394.

84Personal interview with Frances Perkins, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1952.

85Letter dated November 26, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
the background of the problem followed by a summary of what he wanted done.86

3. A concluding appeal for non-partisan cooperation.

The materials in the four annual messages covered 20, 19, 18, and 14 topics respectively, and the subject matter was grouped under the special heading to which it related.

The 1929 annual message discussed state finances, agriculture, water power, grade crossings, public works, canals, aviation, four-year term for governor, county and town governments, labor, health, cripples, Saratoga Springs, education, judicial reform, ambulance chasing, inheritance laws, initiative and referendum for constitutional amendments, veterans in hospitals, and the state census.

The 1930 message had nineteen topics, which included judicial reform, local government, Saratoga Springs, State Parks, State Police, State Crime Investigating Bureau, labor, electricity, grade crossings, State Business Bureau, agriculture, four-year term for Governor, state census, election law changes, state finances, prison reform, banking law, Public Service Commission revision, old age assistance.

The 1931 annual message covered crime and punishment, hospitals, health, old age security, unemployment, labor, Business Bureau, public works, state highways, bridges, barge canals, agriculture, water power and public utility regul-

86The main issues of the year were discussed in the first few topics of the messages, but they were not necessarily arranged in the order of importance.
lation, reapportionment, election law changes, four-year term for Governor, state census, and local government.

The last annual message to the legislature covered banking, motor trucks, unemployment, population distribution, local taxes, state finances, state land policy and reforestation, prisons, administration of justice, old age pensions, congressional redistricting, water power, labor and election law changes.

The organization of the annual messages is less difficult to follow than that of other types of addresses which F. D. Roosevelt delivered as Governor. This is due to the simplicity of arranging related items under the same heading, although the plan did not motivate the auditors to look for the next heading.

Each of the two inaugural addresses was organized on a logical base, as follows:

In 1929, the Governor introduced his talk with a complimentary reference to Alfred E. Smith, and pledged continuation of Smith's policies. He then presented three problems to be solved: water power, delay in administration of justice, and farm relief. Each problem was developed independently by citing the need for action, the type of action needed, visualization of present unsatisfactory conditions, and an appeal for support in solving the problems. The conclusion consisted of an appeal for cooperation and good feelings.
In 1931 the Governor introduced his speech with a reference to his service in the State Senate and he asked for public interest in the state government. He then developed the proposition that local government should be reorganized. He cited the waste, inefficiency, and duplication in local government and he offered as his solution, study of town and village government by the local citizens. His conclusion consisted of a repeated appeal for public interest in government.

Summary

As Governor, Roosevelt was officially charged to deliver inaugural addresses in 1929 and 1931 and to present to the legislature an annual report of the state's condition. Since he realized that the Republican majority would not willingly support his legislative proposals, he prepared his official addresses for the people of the state who would hear them over the radio, read them in the newspapers, or hear the Governor refer to them in other speeches.

Roosevelt's struggles with the legislature concerned the problems of the executive budget, prison reform, aid to the farmers, banking legislation, the depression, water power development, and labor legislation.

Since he had to include many topics in each of the annual messages he did not have time to develop his arguments fully nor to support his premises with adequate evidence. He argued specifically for state water power development,
conservation of the soil, legislative investigation of New York City rather than gubernatorial investigation, aid to the farmer, reorganization of local government and relief for the unemployed. His evidence was too limited to conclude that he established these arguments as valid.

His ethical appeals were designed to show that he was willing to cooperate, that he was unselfish, and they were unique in that he castigated the audience to which he spoke and demanded action from it in the same speech. He appealed to basic motive of the legislators to relieve the suffering and distress of the people. In all his appeals, Roosevelt promoted an indirect fear on the part of the Assemblymen and Senators that they might lose their elective positions if they did not cooperate.

The annual messages were organized on a distributive basis with the major topics placed near the first of each message. The inaugural addresses were organized on a problem-solving pattern in which the need for action was stated first and followed by a solution.
CHAPTER V

SPECIAL OCCASION SPEAKING

During his four years as Governor of New York, Roosevelt delivered hundreds of occasional speeches. Although over 100 manuscripts of these special occasion speeches are preserved at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, he delivered many more addresses extemporaneously of which there remain only a few notes scrawled across a banquet menu or on a scrap of paper.

His occasional speeches are of special significance because they afforded him an opportunity to make known his stand on current issues and to win the support of special groups. Each of these addresses gave him a personal contact with a special organization, thereby enhancing his reputation.

As indicated in the preceding chapters, Roosevelt attempted to rally the support of the people of New York directly through his campaign speeches and indirectly through his annual messages. This chapter considers how he used occasional speaking to win support for his social, economic, and political goals on both the state and national levels. It discusses the occasions on which he spoke to state audiences, those on which he spoke to national audiences, and his speeches to the annual Conference of Governors.
chapter then analyzes the occasional speeches in terms of their supporting materials and organization.

Speeches to State Audiences

The more important speeches were delivered extemporaneously or from a manuscript at luncheons or dinner meetings on some issue of current interest.

In view of his physical handicap, Roosevelt's willingness to speak in different parts of the state indicates his desire to win overwhelming popular support. Each speech had to be preceded by letters and telegrams arranging his lodging in a home or hotel which had an elevator or a first floor bedroom. Transportation by train or automobile had also to be adjusted to the Governor's physical problems. For his speech to publishers of county newspapers the New York Times reported that he travelled ". . . to Syracuse . . . from Albany on a special car which was offered for his use by officials of the New York Central Railroad. He had reserved a seat in an ordinary pullman car, but came to the station to find the special car had been arranged for him."\(^1\) After his first few months in office he used the railroads only for long trips, since he apparently found that travel by automobile was more convenient for the shorter distances.

Through speaking on special occasions, F.D.R. reached a broad cross-section of the voters. For example, three

\(^1\)New York Times, February 2, 1929.
hundred persons heard his speech to the county publishers on February 1, 1929;\(^2\) 10,000 heard his commencement address at Fordham University, June 12, 1929;\(^3\) 3,000 heard him speak at the Church of the Heavenly Rest on November 12, 1929;\(^4\) over 1,000 heard him at a meeting of the Midtown Mercantile Association on March 22, 1930;\(^5\) seven hundred of his supporters attended a testimonial dinner held for him by the Oneida County Democratic Club on June 9, 1930;\(^6\) "several hundred" public welfare officers heard him speak, October 29, 1930;\(^7\) 350 National Prohibition Association members were present to hear him speak on prohibition, March 17, 1930;\(^8\) 30,000 attended to hear him dedicate a new bridge across the Hudson River in New York City, October 21, 1931;\(^9\) 2,000 were present to hear the Governor speak at the April 9, 1932 luncheon meeting of Cardinal Hayes Committee of the Laity.\(^{10}\)

Roosevelt brought out the issue he considered prominent

\(^2\)Ibid.  
\(^3\)New York Herald Tribune, June 13, 1929.  
\(^5\)Ibid., March 23, 1930.  
\(^6\)New York Herald Tribune, June 10, 1930.  
\(^7\)Ibid., October 30, 1930.  
\(^8\)New York World, March 18, 1930.  
\(^{10}\)Ibid., April 10, 1932. A clipping of the report of this speech is in Roosevelt's personal scrapbook in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
and sought to tie it to the interests of the auditors. Frequently the subject on which he spoke was alien to the general interest of the immediate audience. For example, he talked about the prison problems to the State Federation of Women's Clubs; he reviewed the executive budget case before the City Club of New York City; his commencement addresses often dealt with matters of governmental policy rather than with the problems of young people beginning their careers; to the industrial workers in Tuckahoe, he spoke on farm relief.

Among the special interest groups that Roosevelt was most desirous of influencing were the newspaper writers and publishers. Since he needed their support he spoke to them when he had the opportunity. He travelled to Syracuse to talk to the county newspaper publishers in 1929.\(^\text{11}\) That same year on March 14, he spoke to the annual gridiron dinner of the Albany Press Association held at Hotel Ten Eyck.

The press correspondents had for this occasion taken the theme of the Broadway musical "Showboat," and called their production "Cap'n Frank's Show-Off Boat."\(^\text{12}\) Governor Roosevelt was depicted as interlocutor and the legislative leaders as end men. The opening chorus and theme song, sung to the tune of "Old Man River," poked fun at the

\(^\text{11}\)Speech to Newspaper Publishers, Syracuse, February 1, 1929.

Governor's water power issue:

    Old Man Power, He's Frank's right bower;
    Perhaps you glean it, we may not mean it,
    But keep on shoutin'; just keep on shoutin' of
    Power! Power! Power!

    Our lone issue may be like tissue,
    But Al said "Take it and don't forsake it,"
    We must keep shoutin', just keep on shoutin' for
    Power! Power! Power!

Roosevelt's speech, the only one of the evening, was a serious one which he started with, "Making speeches at public banquets does not come under the category of amusing jobs." Many of the Governor's chief political enemies were present.

Roosevelt's speech on Clara Barton gives a picture of his outdoor speaking on special occasions. Roosevelt spoke at Danville, New York, where Clara Barton had organized the first American Red Cross unit after the Civil War.

The New York Times reported:

    Governor Roosevelt, driving down from Rochester was met by a motor reception committee and after luncheon at a hotel, proceeded to the State Park at Stoneybrook, two miles away.

    The Gubernatorial salute of 19 guns signaled his entrance. A troop of cavalry, several troops of infantry and fifty Red Cross nurses escorted his car to the speaking stand. Sitting across from the Speaker's stand on the far edge of the bowl, children in colored jackets formed a living Red Cross and the crowd lingered in the shade of the copses bordering the bowl to hear the addresses. 13

Roosevelt's speech was broadcast immediately following

13Ibid.
17Ibid., September 10, 1931.
a speech by President Hoover from Washington. Although newspapers had anticipated sharp conflict between the two speakers, neither spoke on highly controversial issues.

A stenographic report of F.D.R.'s speech at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Child Labor Commission dinner indicates that he had the capacity to evoke frequent laughter and applause throughout an occasional speech. Roosevelt spoke extemporaneously on the work and accomplishments of this organization and pointed out how its desires for social welfare coincided with his own legislative goals.\(^\text{15}\)

Among the scores of groups to whom Governor Roosevelt delivered occasional speeches were representatives of all major economic and social organizations in New York. His repeated appeals for support from these audiences undoubtedly strengthened his political effectiveness in the state.

Speeches to Audiences On the National Level

Roosevelt frequently directed his remarks to national audiences, and he spoke to specific groups outside New York on issues of national prominence. As a leading personality in the Democratic Party he sometimes accepted invitations of other Democrats to address them if he thought such speeches would further his goals.

\(^{15}\)Letter to F.D.R. December, 1929. Roosevelt had to ask the Child Labor Commission for a copy of his speech. Both letter and speech are in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
On September 13, 1930 he wrote Jouett Shouse:

> My difficulty is twofold. First, my ... hesitation in saying anything national until after the election, for as you know one of the Republican pleas this autumn will be that a vote for F.D.R. will only build him up as an opponent of friend Hoover later on - all of which is pure rot but will catch some Republican voters if I show the slightest sign of national interest.  

On May 30, 1931 Roosevelt again wrote to Jouett Shouse, "I wish much that I could go ... but I have had to say no to a lot of other delightful invitations from outside the State, for the very good reason that if I go to one I must go to others ... ." In other words, F.D.R. was interested in speaking outside the state only if it furthered his specific goal. He spoke to gatherings in other states each year, but with the exception of the speeches to the Governors' Conferences only two occasional speeches were given outside the eastern area of the nation.

Roosevelt was asked to speak to a luncheon meeting of Illinois Democrats on December 10, 1929. He was preparing to leave for Chicago when Maurice Bloch, Democratic leader in the New York Assembly, suddenly died. F.D.R. wrote his son James, "Instead of going to Chicago from here [Warm Springs] on Monday, I am going back to New York tomorrow.

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16 Letter from F.D.R. to Jouett Shouse, September 13, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.


18 Speech to Democratic dinner in Chicago, December 10, 1929; speech to Jefferson Day dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 18, 1932.
on the Crescent to attend the funeral and will leave on
Monday from there, getting back to New York from Chicago
on Wednesday night. ¹⁹

Following his luncheon speech, Democrats from 82
Illinois counties gave the New York Governor a long ovation.
The personal interest in Roosevelt shown by individuals
outside New York is reflected in a letter which an admiring
auditor wrote to him, "I feel you rose to sublime heights
in your touch on Americanism.  .  .  .If you can get the Demo­
crats to forget the League of Nations and its "World Court"
you will have more receptive considerations." ²⁰ Several
Congressmen wrote F.D.R. that they liked what he said in
the speech.

The Democrats in Kent, Connecticut, heard Roosevelt
speak on the subject of crime, September 5, 1931. The 5,000
Democrats cheered when F.D.R. was acclaimed as the next
President. ²¹ His speech concerned prohibition and enforce­
ment of the Eighteenth Amendment. ²²

On January 14, 1932 F.D.R. spoke at a Democratic

¹⁹Letter from F.D.R. to James Roosevelt, December 6,
1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

²⁰New York Times, December 11, 1929; letter from Oscar
A. Penn to F.D.R., December 15, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt
Library.

²¹New York Times, September 6, 1931. A clipping of
this news item is in Roosevelt's personal scrapbook, Franklin
D. Roosevelt Library.

²²Louis Howe, Executive Secretary of the National
Crime Commission, was responsible for F.D.R.'s subject matter.
Victory dinner at the Hotel Astor in New York City which was held to raise money to help wipe out the one and a half million dollar deficit of the national Democratic Party. He discussed the subject, "American System of Party Government." According to the New York Times, "... the major ovation of the evening was accorded former Governor Alfred E. Smith, although he was not present to hear it. It came when Mr. Davis read a telegram from Mr. Smith from Boston, and it lasted for more than a minute."  

In subsequent speaking engagements Roosevelt was careful to avoid decidedly pro-Smith meetings. He and Smith were engaged in a crucial battle for delegates, and F.D.R. disliked meetings which were packed in Smith's favor as he indicated when he wrote Elisabeth Harbury, "... As I am going three days later all the way to St. Paul, Minnesota, I think people will not say that I am holding back. As a matter of fact, that Washington meeting will be packed anyway, and packed the wrong way!" He had accepted an invitation to attend a dinner and to speak to the Democrats in Washington, but he withdrew when he learned that Smith was going to use the occasion to attack Roosevelt's candidacy. 

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24 Ibid.
On April 18, 1932 Roosevelt spoke to a Jefferson Day dinner in St. Paul, Minnesota, where thousands of persons saw and heard him. On this occasion he was given publicity as the leading contender for the nomination. His speech was highly controversial in its attacks on Hoover and undoubtedly furthered his ambitions to win the presidency.\(^\text{27}\)

On May 22, 1932 Roosevelt delivered at Oglethorpe University a commencement address which was a carefully planned part of his campaign bid for the nomination. His theme was the idea that the country needs and demands "bold, persistent experimentation." Ernest K. Lindley, a reporter for the New York World, wrote the basic draft from which the speech evolved.\(^\text{28}\)

Occasional speeches to audiences from other states gave F.D.R. an opportunity to make contacts which were invaluable during the contest for delegates which took place in 1932. The careful choice of occasions on which he spoke and the careful choice of subject matter included in his speeches made it clear that Roosevelt considered these speeches to be among his most important.

\(^{27}\)Minneapolis Journal, April 18, 1932; Minneapolis Tribune, April 20, 1932. A clipping from the Minneapolis Tribune is in Roosevelt's personal scrapbook in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; the notation "Republican Paper" is on the clipping.

Speeches to the Conferences of Governors

As Governor, Roosevelt attended the annual Conferences of Governors. These meetings helped to keep his name in the national news, and they gave him some valuable personal contacts which he could use later to good advantage. At three of the conferences he spoke on political and social problems, but in 1932 he delivered a simple eulogy of George Washington in order to avoid controversy in his bid for the presidential nomination.

The Governors' Conference of 1929 was held in New London, Connecticut, in July. On May 21 Roosevelt wrote Louis Howe, "I have definitely been asked to lead the discussion on "Crime" at the Governors' Conference at New London on July 26th. So get me all the data you can. . . ."29 Howe, who had been Executive Secretary of the National Crime Commission since 1925, provided Roosevelt adequate material to give the impression that the Governor was an authority on the subject.30

In the 1930 speech to the Governors, delivered June 30 in Salt Lake City, Roosevelt spoke on the subject of "Unemployment and Old Age Security." He was eager to discuss the water power issue; in a letter to Burton K. Wheeler he

29Letter from F.D.R. to Louis Howe, May 21, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

30Roosevelt was a member of this Commission which probably explains why Howe was Executive Secretary.
indicated a fear that there was a strong move to suppress
the subject:

I hear confidentially that at the Governors' Conference . . . power will not be one of the subjects discussed though a number of governors had hoped it would be. Every effort is being made to put the lid on and keep it there.31

The New York Times, a consistent supporter of Roosevelt,
reported the following:

Governor Roosevelt, addressing the Conference of Governors today, came out as an advocate for unemployment insurance, received more than casual mention as a presidential possibility, and was made the object of a demonstration of greater warmth and volume than any of the others in the opening session.

Governor Roosevelt took it all very modestly and seemed intent more than anything else, upon effacing himself. In fact, he appeared even a little embarrassed at the persistence with which the limelight played upon him at the moment the conference was getting down to business.

Politics is taboo at the conference and John I. Brown, Salt Lake City's Republican Mayor, in delivering his address of welcome may even have transgressed the rules a little when he sprung the presidential boom for the New York Democrat at the assembly of Governors.

The Mayor's reference to Governor Roosevelt, however, made a hit with the audience in the House Chamber of Chamber of the State Capital, arousing applause which assumed the volume of an ovation when a moment later the New Yorker was presented as the first speaker of the conference proper.32

Roosevelt wrote to his friend Richard E. Byrd a few
days later, "... Since you were here we have been to Salt
Lake City and back, and I wish that I were a simple little

31Letter from F.D.R. to Burton K. Wheeler, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
thing like a polar explorer who could sit around with his family all summer and have nothing to do."^{33}

In his 1931 speech to the Governors' Conference Roosevelt discussed the subject of "Land Utilization and State Planning." He carefully maintained "...an aloofness from extensive discussion of topics potentially within the category of 1932 presidential politics."^{34} Despite his reluctance to discuss national politics, "...every Governor present, aware of the efforts put forth by [his] friends throughout the country, believed that the hat of New York's executive would be in the ring before long."^{35} On June 9 Roosevelt wrote Elisabeth Marbury, "...the Governors' Conference was a real success."^{36} Without involving himself in premature controversy, he had forwarded his ambition to gain the nomination.

His fear of premature commitment on national issues was demonstrated even more pointedly in the 1932 speech to the Governors in Richmond, Virginia. On this occasion F.D.R. gave a eulogy of George Washington. His willingness to undergo extreme physical discomfort in order to avoid making a poor impression on the other Governors is shown in the


34 New York Times, June 3, 1931.

35 Ibid.

36 Letter from F.D.R. to Elisabeth Marbury, June 9, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
following partisan report by Eleanor Roosevelt:

In the course of that conference, . . . all the governors were invited to dine at the White House . . . I was more familiar with the way in which guests had to stand in the East Room at a state dinner before they were received by the president and his wife, so I was a little worried about Franklin, who had to have somebody's arm and a cane. In addition he became rather tired if he stood without support for any length of time.

We arrived a little ahead of time . . . and then we waited . . . Twenty minutes passed and the President and Mrs. Hoover did not appear. . . . My husband was twice offered a chair, but he evidently thought that if he showed any weakness someone might make an adverse political story out of it, so he refused each time. It seemed as though he were being deliberately put through an endurance test, but he stood the whole evening very well, though the one-half hour before the President and Mrs. Hoover appeared was an ordeal.

Argument and Evidence

Roosevelt's basic objectives, social and economic legislation and election to office, did not change in his special occasion speeches. However, he had the task of adapting his evidence to special interest groups rather than speaking for a general audience. His arguments supported premises from which he deductively reached his conclusions. The specific premises which he supported were:

(1) The farmers are in serious economic distress.
(2) My administration helps the farmer.
(3) Conservation measures help us to put our lands to their most practical use.

Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), pp. 61-63.
(4) Local government is too expensive.

(5) Republican blundering intensifies the depression.

(6) A satisfactory system of unemployment insurance can be devised.

His premise that the farmers are in distress was a part of the following syllogism:

**Major Premise:** We should aid our citizens who are in distress.

**Minor Premise:** Our farmers are in distress.

**Conclusion:** We should aid our farmers.

In his speeches to the New York farm groups his supporting evidence was expressed in terms of local and state problems. He told a group of farmers meeting at Syracuse of his observations that indicated they were in distress. He said:

I recall, for example, one very lovely old lady who came down to the canal to see me at a place called Montezuma. She was a fine woman, eighty-five years old, . . . on that farm she had raised a large family in comfort but today, in her declining years, she struggles to make both ends meet. This example is, I am sorry to say, typical of thousands of acres which for generations provided a prosperous livelihood for an intelligent and progressive population.38

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38 Speech at Annual Farm Dinner, Syracuse, August 28, 1929. Of the 22,000,000 acres of farm land that prior to 1920 had been cultivated in New York, 4,000,000 acres were abandoned by 1929. It is not surprising that a great deal of F.D.R.'s special occasion speaking was directed to the farmer when one remembers that the core of Republican solidarity in New York was the upstate rural farming regions and that it was this area that responded to Roosevelt's appeals for public outcries when the legislature balked at passing popular legislation.
He continued in the same speech to cite evidence showing that the farmers were economically depressed, by listing differences between the amount paid the New York farmer and the retail price of poultry and livestock. He said:

The wholesale price in New York City for heavy live fowls is from twenty to twenty to twenty-three cents, and the retail price is from thirty-five to thirty-six cents. This represents a spread of sixty-five per cent between wholesale and retail prices. The wholesale price of legs of country dressed veal is sixteen to seventeen cents a pound; the retail price is thirty-three cents a pound, a spread of ninety-seven per cent. . . .

Roosevelt continued to stress farm problems in the same speech when he pointed out that the farmers of New York frequently saw their western competition so glut the New York City market with cabbages "...that they could only be consumed if the six million people in New York all decided to eat corned beef and cabbage three meals a day for a week." 40

He supported his premise, that the farmers were in distress, when he spoke to the New York State Agricultural Society in 1932. In this speech he referred to the large number of abandoned farms, and he drew an analogy between the ghost towns of the West and the exodus from the villages of

39 Ibid. These figures probably were supplied him by his Commissioner of Agriculture and Markets, Thomas Rice, on whom he customarily relied for supporting information on this subject.

40 Ibid; New York was first in the nation in production of cabbages in 1929.
New York when he said, "Out in western states...they have..."ghost towns"...There are hotels without a lodger or a landlord, shops whose shelves hold nothing but dust and refuse...We want to avoid...ghost villages in New York State."\(^1\)

Although he generally talked to audiences of New York farmers about their local and state difficulties, he supported the same premise of farmers' distress when he spoke to national audiences, but the evidence he used was adapted to a national level. For example, when he spoke to the Governors' Conference at French Lick, Indiana, he talked about national farm problems and his evidence included other states in addition to New York. He said:

> We are faced with a situation of...farmers attempting to farm under conditions where it is impossible to maintain an American standard of living. They are slowly breaking their hearts, their health, and their pocketbooks against a stone wall of impossibilities...this is true of every state east of the Mississippi and of at least some of the states west of the Mississippi.\(^2\)

He further noted the plight of the nation's farmers by comparing the efforts of some of them to the iron ore miners of New York state when he said:

> The discovery and development of vast fields of a more economical grade of iron ore in Minnesota and other sections of the country forced the closing of the New York State iron mines. The raw materials

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\(^{1}\) Speech to New York State Agricultural Society, January, 20, 1932.

\(^2\) Speech to Annual Conference on Governors', French Lick, Indiana, June 2, 1931.
did not meet the economic standard. By the same token it may have been profitable when land was first cleared to farm this land, but today...it has become uneconomical to use land which does not produce good crops.\textsuperscript{43}

To the American Life Conference, a group that had spent over twenty years studying agrarian problems, he said:

\ldots we have seen...a steady and continued increase in urban population as compared to rural. There have been good reasons for it in the constantly increasing efficiency of farming as in industry and the growth of agricultural surpluses which have constantly been forcing the less successful farmers to quit the soil.\ldots\textsuperscript{44}

Roosevelt undoubtedly reinforced the farmers' consciousness of their distress. Between 1919 and 1929 the farmers' percentage of the national income declined from 16 per cent to 8.8 per cent.\textsuperscript{45} The prices of farm land declined, "and thousands of farms fell to mortgage holders or were sold for taxes."\textsuperscript{46} Roosevelt made no attempt to prove the major premise, that citizens in distress should be aided, but if the citizens would accept this contention, then his deduction that the farmers should be aided was validly inferred.

\textsuperscript{43}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{44}Speech to American Life Conference, Ithaca, August, 1931.


Roosevelt more pointedly reasoned that his administration should be supported by the rural citizens when he sought to prove the minor premise of the following syllogism:

**Major Premise:** An administration that helps the farmer, deserves rural support.

**Minor Premise:** My administration helps the farmer.

**Conclusion:** My administration deserves rural support.

This argument was essentially the same as that he employed in the 1930 gubernatorial campaign (see Chapter III, p. 108). He supported his premise that his administration had aided agriculture when he made the following statement to farm groups:

> For a dozen years there has been much talk of helping the farmer—mostly talk. This year of grace, 1929, will go down into history as the first year in which actual relief was given.  
> ...one of the most pleasant features of... [this trip] has been the widespread appreciation of the rural counties, the approval... of tax equalization, and tax reductions.\(^7\)

He presented as evidence of his aid to farmers, the results of a state soil survey. He said to the New York Agricultural Society:

> ...the work... has already had important results... the extension service of the Agricultural College is able to give invaluable advice to farmers... and to aid people from the cities in finding new locations... The survey has also produced information of great value... in our reforestation program. The data gathered has been profitably used by telephone and electric light companies in revising their plans for extension of service.\(^8\)

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\(^7\)Speech at State Fair, Syracuse, August 29, 1924.

\(^8\)Speech to New York Agricultural Society, Albany, January 20, 1932.
Actually Roosevelt had signed bills calling for:

(1) Relieving the counties of their 35 per cent contribution to state highway construction.

(2) State assumption of half the cost of removing snow from rural roads.

(3) Reduction from ten per cent to one per cent of the counties' share of the cost of elimination of grade crossings.

(4) Doubling state aid for construction of dirt roads in counties.

(5) Refunding of gasoline taxes paid by farmers for gasoline used in their tractors.

(6) Relieving the counties of the major part of the cost of rural schools.

(7) Investigating insect pests that attacked farm products.

(8) Increasing appropriations to Cornell University for agricultural experimentation.

(9) Appropriating funds for a state soil survey.\(^4^9\)

In view of this record his minor premise was validly supported.

Closely related to his farm arguments was Roosevelt's contention that conservation measures were needed. The four million acres of abandoned farm lands in New York served as the basis for his evidence when he supported both the major and minor premises of the following inference:

**Major Premise:** We should employ measures that help us put our lands to the most practical uses.

**Minor Premise:** Conservation helps us to put our lands to their most practical uses.

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\(^{49}\) The Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, II (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1933), p. 149.
Conclusion: We should employ conservation measures.

He supported his major premise by pointing to the agricultural difficulties and then blaming part of the farm crises on the misuse of the land. In a speech to the New York State Agricultural Association, he said, "Our own farm difficulties must be helped in a number of ways, but many of these methods will require years before they become effective"; he continued his evidence with this example: "for instance. . .many of our citizens. . .continue to use land for farm crops instead of using that same land for grazing or raising trees. In other words, we must. . .work out a plan for using every acre for the purpose to which that particular acre is best suited."\(^5\)

He repeated this same idea when he spoke to the State Fair Association in Syracuse, August 29, 1929, and in 1932 he said to the State Agricultural Society:

For three hundred years we have been taking the land as it came, adjusting ourselves to it by the method of trial and error. The tragic thing about this is that it sometimes takes generations of backbreaking toil on stubborn acres to discover that they never should have been used for farm homesteads because they are not fit for it—an example of sheer economic waste.\(^5\)

In speaking to the Governors' Conference, in 1931 he included other states in his assertion of land misuse. He

\(^5\)Speech to New York State Press Association, Syracuse, February 1, 1929.

\(^5\)Speech to New York State Agricultural Society, Albany, January 20, 1932.
said, "We have...sub-marginal land in every state which ought to be withdrawn from agriculture...and put into a different type of crop,...the growing of trees."  

Roosevelt's argument that the land should be put to the use for which it is best suited hardly needed proof since the question of practicability or suitability depended upon his listeners' senses of value or upon their opinions. However, his statement of the misuse of the land included the solution of conservation measures. His arguments for planting timber was supported with the following assertion: ". . .a generation or two ago...we did not realize the beneficent effects of timbered hillsides in protecting our water supplies, guarding our soils against erosion and saving our valleys from disastrous floods." He continued his statements, "We want to...to preserve the mountain forests and to plant new forests to replace those that were shorn away."  

Roosevelt's arguments were valid. Later investigation determined that 500,000 farms were ruined by lack of conservation measures, that 320 million acres of timber were cut and not replanted, and that 35,000,000 acres of land were completely ruined by erosion for all agricultural purposes.  

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52Speech to Conference of Governors, French Lick, Indiana, June 2, 1931.  
54Ise, op. cit., p. 314.
When he argued that local government was too expensive, Roosevelt persistently told his audiences that their state taxes had been reduced and that the local governments had refused to pass the benefits on to them, but instead had raised taxes. This argument was a major contention in most of his speaking. Stated in syllogistic form his inference was:

**Major Premise:** If local government is too expensive, your gains in state tax reductions will be nullified.

**Minor Premise:** Local government is too expensive.

**Conclusion:** Your gains from state tax reductions will be nullified.

In a speech at the State Fair in Syracuse Roosevelt stressed his major premise when he said, "this tax relief can only become part and parcel of your own tax bill, if your local officials. . .do not spend for other purposes, the money which the State has saved you."^55

In later speeches he presented evidence that local officials had increased costs of the local governments. In a speech in Ithaca at a Farm and Home Week celebration, he said:

...it is the localities which are making these expenditures which burden the property owner. Your real property taxes go to the support of local government and I submit and insist that we must find some way to reduce them. I am firmly convinced that much of the expenditure represented in this taxation on real estate is being foolishly and wastefully

^55Speech at State Fair, Syracuse, August 29, 1929.
made. I repeat that the record of increase is shameful.\textsuperscript{56}

He pointed out in the same speech that the 57 upstate counties in New York had increased their annual costs by $62,000,000 while the state annually gave to these counties aid in the amount of $31,000,000.\textsuperscript{57}

In an address at the University of Virginia he discussed the cost of local government as a national problem and his arguments, drawn from examples in New York, were extended to the nation when he said:

\ldots the aggregate expenditure of Federal, State and local government is approximately twelve or thirteen billion dollars yearly. Of this sum the Federal government spends approximately one-third, State government about 13 per cent, leaving considerably more than one-half as the cost of local government. Notwithstanding the influence of the war on Federal governmental expenditures, these ratios have existed, with slight variations, since 1890.\textsuperscript{58}

He further pointed out that surveys in North Carolina and New Jersey concluded "that a radical reorganization of local government was needed."\textsuperscript{59}

Although Roosevelt established the fact that local government costs had increased, he did not conclusively prove that local government was too expensive. It is prob-

\textsuperscript{56}Speech to Farm and Home Week meeting, Ithaca, February 19, 1932.

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid. His figures came from New York State tax reports, \textit{Public Papers of Franklin D. Roosevelt}, IV, op. cit., p. 557.

\textsuperscript{58}Speech at University of Virginia, April 20, 1932. His figures were based on 1927 tax reports.

\textsuperscript{59}Ibid.
able that his audiences accepted his minor premise, but no specific local action was called for by the Governor. He seemed to be seeking an understanding by the people that tax increases were not due to his administration.  

Roosevelt attempted to blame the Republicans for intensifying the depression. His inference was:

**Major Premise:** A party that intensifies the depression should be repudiated.

**Minor Premise:** The Republicans have intensified the depression.

**Conclusion:** The Republicans should be repudiated.

His main argument to a Jefferson Day dinner crowd was the assertion that the Republicans had intensified the depression by passing the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. He said:

The Republican administration has greatly intensified the depression by its tariff policy. The Hawley-Smoot Law of 1930 was a drastic revision of the tariff upward. The increases which the Hawley-Smoot Bill made... were political favors. The consequences of the Hawley-Smoot Bill have been tremendous both directly and indirectly. Directly American trade has been dwindling. Indirectly, the high schedules of the Hawley-Smoot Bill caused European nations to raise their own tariff walls. The result has been that the value of goods exchanged internationally... has been less than 50 per cent of what it was three or four years ago.

Roosevelt's charge that the Hawley-Smoot Bill was a

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60 Ise, op. cit., p. 495. Ise points out that local taxes increased steadily and that the bases for the local taxes were not always sound.

61 Speech at Jefferson Day dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 18, 1932.
blunder was not conclusively proved although some economists and historians do feel that this tariff was a mistake.²

Roosevelt's argument that a satisfactory system of unemployment insurance could be devised was part of the following syllogism:

Major Premise: Labor should have unemployment insurance if a satisfactory plan can be devised.

Minor Premise: A satisfactory plan of unemployment insurance can be devised.

Conclusion: Labor should have unemployment insurance.

He supported his minor premise with the following assertion: "...the feasts of yesterday do not satisfy our hunger today, but it is wholly possible to set some portion of yesterday's feast aside...to satisfy tomorrow's hunger."³

To the State Insurance Underwriters' Association he said:

It is of the utmost importance that unemployment insurance be based on sound actuarial tables. . . .The other factors entering into unemployment insurance are more methods of administration than matters of fundamentals. . . .All of these can be worked out in the days to come.⁴

Roosevelt advocated unemployment insurance on the national level in an address to the Conference of Governors

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³Speech to State Federation of Labor, Buffalo, August 17, 1930.
⁴Speech to State Insurance Underwriters' Association, Albany, March 6, 1931.
meeting in Salt Lake City in 1930. His arguments were basically the same as these to the state audiences, namely, that unemployment insurance was feasible and desirable. In view of the present successful unemployment insurance laws, his arguments were valid.

To summarize, Roosevelt's argument and evidence in his occasional speeches were similar to that of the campaign speeches, but he directed his evidence at the specific audiences. His arguments were supported by other authorities and by other facts and examples, but at most he established only the probability of his conclusions.

**Ethical Appeals.** F.D.R.'s ethical appeals were nearly as numerous as his logical appeals. He consistently injected praise of himself into his speeches because he wanted reactions favorable to himself as a person in addition to public support of his legislative program. It was essential to his national political success that he gain the reputation of being an intelligent man of high moral character.

An indication of the number of references to himself in his speeches is the fact that he used an average of 67 first person pronouns in ten special occasion speeches selected at random. A corresponding number of second person pronouns helped tie him to his hearers.

The Aristotelian concept of **ethos** included character, sagacity, and good will. Roosevelt specifically sought to

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show that he possessed all three. He usually began his speech with an attempt to show his good will by identifying "... himself properly with the hearers and their problems." Usually he had a specific relationship with his audience to which he could refer. His talks to New York Democrats generally did not require him to establish his good will because he was the leader of this partisan group, but in speaking to Tammany Hall, he had to demonstrate that he was favorably disposed toward the New York City machine because he was frequently pictured by national periodicals as opposed to Tammany.

Roosevelt's most obvious bond with the upstate agrarian Republicans was his experience in managing his mother's Hyde Park estate. He repeatedly referred to his sustained interest in agriculture in his occasional speeches. The following excerpts are typical of his references to this interest:

I am one of those who love the soil and am not able to escape a life-long interest in the processes by which it yields our sustenance - processes whose pursuits also yield some of the greatest satisfactions of life.  

I was brought up on a farm in upstate New York...

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66 Ibid., p. 387.
68 Speech at Annual Farm Dinner, Syracuse, August 28, 1929.
I run a farm in Dutchess County and one in Georgia. I became a member of the New York Agricultural Society about twenty years ago and I still am.

F.D.R.'s special occasion speeches to the farmers usually contained a reference to his general plan for farm relief such as, "In this state we have been definitely planning on the basis that our agriculture is permanent, that it always will be of fundamental importance." He would then point out specific things his administration had accomplished to show them he was a man of good will towards them.

To the State Federation of Labor he sought to show his good will when he said, "I want your backing whether I am a public official or a private citizen. I will devote my energy to obtaining an honest non-political law to provide full security for every citizen who, through no fault of his own, needs help in later years." He established his good will for the New York Women's Trade Union League first, by inviting them to hold their meeting at his home in Hyde Park and second, by telling them,

69 Speech on Farm Relief, Tuckahoe, May 27, 1932.
70 Speech at State Fair Grounds, Syracuse, August 29, 1929.
71 Speech to Agricultural Society, Albany, January 20, 1932.
72 Speech to New York State Federation of Labor, Buffalo, August 27, 1930.
I feel that it is a great honor and a very high compliment for the New York Women's Trade Union League to celebrate its Twenty-fifth Anniversary at the home of the Governor of their State. To have earned the confidence, to have deserved the friendship of an organization such as yours, is an achievement of which I am very proud. I am prouder still that this friendship and mutual understanding between us dates back to my first entrance into public life, when as a new Senator in the legislative halls, I found myself fighting shoulder to shoulder with your body for better working conditions, for fairer treatment of labor in this State.\[73\]

In addition to establishing good will, he consistently praised his own good character and unselfish devotion to duty. For example he said to a farm audience at Cornell University:

I am not interested in the matter of fixing blame except as a step toward the goal of better and more efficient government. I am seeking by every means in my power to stimulate interest on the part of the citizens of the State in their government so that it may function more efficiently and less wastefully.\[73\]

To the Democratic State Committee, he asserted, "I. . . act upon all public business with a single view as to what is good for the State, and without partisan consideration."\[75\]

But his most consistent type of ethical appeal in his special occasion speeches (as in his other types of speeches) was a comparative building of his character in his addresses by

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\[73\] Speech to New York Women's Trade Union League, Hyde Park, June 3, 1929.

\[74\] Speech at Farm and Home Week Meeting, Ithaca, New York, February 19, 1932.

\[75\] Speech to the Democratic State Committee, Albany, January 2, 1929.
attacking his opposition. "...a speaker focuses attention upon the probity of his character if he...links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous..."76 according to Thonssen and Baird. Roosevelt associated the opposition party with the depression. He needed to keep the Republicans discredited in the minds of the people if he was to reap the fullest benefits from the distrust the voters felt for the Hoover administration. To point up irresponsibility in Washington F.D.R. told the Democrats in St. Paul, Minnesota, "...a thousand economists told President Hoover that he should not sign the Hawley-Smoot tariff law...President Hoover ignored this warning. Would he have ignored a warning by a thousand engineers that a bridge which the national government was building was unsafe?"77

Governor Roosevelt slapped at the Republican legislature in most of his occasional speeches. To a luncheon meeting of the United Neighborhood Houses he said, "Measures are being murdered in committee rooms without full and fair consideration and without a record vote."78 When the Court of Appeals sustained his side of the argument over the executive budget, Roosevelt told the City Club of New York City, "The highest court of the State of New York sustains this

76 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 387.
77 Speech at Jefferson Day dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 18, 1932.
78 Speech at United Neighborhood Houses luncheon, New York City, March 9, 1929.
sacred American principle and from now on I trust that instead of constant bickerings and efforts to throw monkey wrenches into the machinery, we shall have better cooperation and a clearer understanding of the governmental powers in Albany."79

In his speech to the State Federation of Labor Roosevelt repeatedly hit at the legislature by saying in part: "I have asked the Legislature for two years for an honest law. . . . The Legislature has failed. . . . The Legislature did nothing. . . . As usual the Legislature has failed. . . . We finally persuaded the Legislature. . . ."80 This speech was preceded by a few days the 1930 gubernatorial election, so the attacks on the legislature were more numerous than was customary.

In 1932 Roosevelt severely criticized the big businessmen in some of his special occasion speeches. The public was more than willing to listen to him when he opposed the utility executives in the following:

It is an unfortunate fact. . . . not denied by the leading bankers or the leading utility men themselves, that largely through the building up on. . . great mergers and. . . . great holding companies, the capital structure. . . . has been allowed to expand. . . . far beyond the actual wise and necessary cash investment. . . . Electric utility companies have succeeded in obtaining permission to charge rates

79Speech to City Club, New York City, November 23, 1929.
80Speech to State Federation of Labor, Buffalo, August 27, 1932.
which will bring a...return, not on this cash investment but on a definite inflation of capital.  

Roosevelt frequently utilized a special occasion speech to build his character by removing "...unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent..." In 1930 he came out for old age insurance and for better utilization of prison labor at the Governors' Conference at Salt Lake City. When he returned to New York he found that the State Federation of Labor was unhappy because it did not want to compete with cheap prison labor. Therefore, in his speech at the Federation meeting in Buffalo, Roosevelt said:

Let me clear your minds...No one more clearly realizes the evil of competition of prison labor with free labor than I...I have...a sub-committee to consider how we may keep our prisoners employed without competing with the labor of our free workmen...I am wholly and irrevocably opposed to letting one State dump its prison-made goods on the free markets of another State..."  

Although in his 1920 vice-presidential campaign Roosevelt supported the League of Nations, by 1932 he had a citizenry opposed to the League of Nations and he could expect to gain no support from them by letting them think he was still an advocate of participation in the League. Therefore, he sought to minimize or remove the unfavorable

81Speech at Jefferson Day dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 18, 1932.  
82Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 387.  
83Speech to the New York State Federation of Labor, Buffalo, August 27, 1930.
impression that he was a supporter of the League when he said to the New York State Grange, "The League has not developed through these years along the course contemplated by its founder. . .therefore, I do not favor American participation." 84

The ethical appeals were of special importance because F.D.R. could use this type of appeal even in speeches in which he was not ostensibly asking for support of his legislation or his candidacy. In this respect the commemorations, dedications, welcoming speeches, speeches of presentation, and eulogies which Governor Roosevelt delivered were of significance in their total effect of building his stature on the state and national levels although they were not pleas for support.

Emotional Appeals. The depression provided Roosevelt his most frequently used motive appeal: the desire for security. This emotional appeal was the same as that used in his campaign speeches with the added emphasis he could give when speaking to a specific group. This appeal is illustrated in his speech at the Oglethorpe University commencement when he said:

"...with it [depression] has vanished not only the gains of easy speculation, but much of the savings of thrifty and prudent men and women, put by for their old age and for the education of their children. With these savings has gone, among millions...

84Speech to the New York State Grange, Albany, February 2, 1932.
of our fellow citizens, that sense of security they have rightly felt they are entitled... More calamitous still, there has vanished with the expectation of future security, the certainty of today's bread and clothing and shelter.

To the Democrats assembled in St. Paul he said the same thing when he told them, "Two weeks ago I said we were facing an emergency more grave than war. I repeat this tonight... With the coming of economic stress we feel the disturbing hand of fear." Appeals of this sort kept the people unwilling to trust the national administration and kept them looking for the 1932 campaign with the hope of electing someone to do something to bring security.

Roosevelt appealed to the desire for security when he said in 1929, "... The man of forty-five or fifty is no longer a desirable employee and the man who is older has a pretty difficult time getting a job nowadays, if for any reason he is thrown out of employment." This particular speech preceded the depression, but the appeal later was intensified by the increased number of unemployed. He appealed to security in a speech later in 1929 when he said, "... the tendency is to take care of our aged poor away from their homes by placing them in hospitals and other

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85 Speech at Oglethorpe University Commencement, May 22, 1932.

86 Speech at Jefferson Day dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota, April 18, 1932.

87 Speech at United Neighborhood Houses luncheon, New York City, March 9, 1929.
public institutions."^\textsuperscript{38}

F.D.R. did not base all his motive appeals on security. Prison riots brought Roosevelt much criticism and he needed to do something quickly in order to dispel the impression that he was in any way responsible for conditions in the prisons of the state. In the following he sought to appeal to the people's desire to relieve the distress in others:

Hell appears to have been the ideal design for a prison in the minds of our forefathers. The narrow cubicles of sweating stone, the little shaft of light that crept between the heavy iron bars, the lack of ventilation, sanitation, of everything which makes life endurable, all to be suffered in sullen silence under the watchful eyes of brutal guards - surely no better form of eternal punishment could be devised to torture lost souls in the hereafter.

...we still have...prisons whose physical characteristics have lost little of their ancient horrors so far as their construction goes.\textsuperscript{39}

Governor Roosevelt sometimes appealed to the people's desire to see fair play. He repeatedly asked the people to pressure their legislators into showing a more sportsman-like conduct in handling his legislative program. For example, he said in 1929,

I hold that bills...should be given a fair, open discussion...Then, if we are beaten we cannot say we did not at least have a chance.

Bills...smothered in committee...will remain there unless all of you who are interested

\textsuperscript{38}Speech to Women's Trade Union League, Hyde Park, June 6, 1932.

\textsuperscript{39}Speech on Prison Problems, New York City, January 18, 1930.
succeed in applying enough pressure to the Legislature to get them out on the floor. I have done all that I could, but I can't pass legislation.90

F.D.R. also appealed to the farmers' sense of fair play and his desire to save money when he spoke against the telephone companies:

The principle of...equal service at...equal cost to all the people of the State has not been carried out...

It is...well known that the cost of the telephone to the farmer...depends very largely upon what county and even more important on what road he happens to live...Why should families in one section be so grossly penalized over families in other sections?91

In order to gain support for his suggestion of moving the population away from the cities to the farms, F.D.R. appealed to the inborn desire of his hearers to be free from restrictions. He said to the American Country Life Conference,

The country has added advantages that the city cannot duplicate in opportunities for healthful and natural living. There is space, freedom and room for free movement. There is contact with earth and with nature and the restful privilege of getting away from pavements and from noise...92

In general the emotional appeals that Governor Roosevelt employed were tied to his ethical and logical appeals in order to harmonize in his drive for election and for

90Speech at United Neighborhood Houses luncheon, New York City, March 9, 1929.

91Speech at State Fair, Syracuse, August 29, 1932.

92Speech to American Country Life Conference, Ithaca, August 19, 1931.
The special occasion speeches were organized around the specific propositions which F.D.R. was advocating. They generally followed a logical pattern of arrangement in which Roosevelt stated his problem, gave its history, cited the opposing arguments, refuted these opposing arguments, presented his arguments, and appealed for support.

His speech to the Bar Association of New York City in 1932 was patterned after a legal brief and contained the following sub-heads: What is the Problem? and What is the Road to Reform? each of the sub-heads was followed by a legalistic statement of the case.

Except for speeches to large groups which were more carefully prepared, Roosevelt's occasional speeches were not as unified in their general structure as the other types of addresses. This lack can be partially explained by the fact that he had to prepare so many of them. His preparation consisted usually of dictating or writing a speech with no preliminary outline to serve as a guide. Corrections and additions were made in such copies but the loose construction of the original frequently was apparent in the final copy.

93 Personal interview with Frances Perkins, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1952.
Roosevelt sometimes spoke from outlines of speeches instead of reading his speech. These outlines were topical in nature. The following outline was used for his speech at a testimonial dinner which the Oneida County Democrats held for him:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prisons</td>
<td>Segregation 9,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupational training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Better Housing and Sanitation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parole</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>18,000,000 40 more</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bond Issue</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment - 1929 session</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Age Security Veto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Compensation</td>
<td>Expenditures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory</td>
<td>Hours of labor Expenses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, Roosevelt's arrangement probably was guided by his legal training. He made no conscious effort to organize the special occasion speeches according to any set pattern. The argumentative nature of the materials included in most of these speeches made it necessary to follow a logical or problem-solving pattern of development in order to get the materials across.

94 See Photograph Number 1.
Testimonial Dinner

to

Franklin D. Roosevelt
GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

by
Democratic Club of Oneida County, Inc.

MONDAY, JUNE THE NINTH,
Nineteen Hundred and Thirty

HOTEL UTICA
Utica, New York
During his four years as Governor of New York, Roosevelt delivered hundreds of occasional speeches each of which gave him the opportunity to seek the support of a special-interest group. In these addresses he spoke to representatives of every major social, economic, and political organization in the state. Although he frequently spoke to special-interest audiences out of the state, he restricted the number of these speeches because he feared a premature announcement of his candidacy for the presidency. He did attend the annual Conference of Governors and he was a principal speaker at each conference.

In his occasional speeches he argued for rural relief, support of his administration for helping the farmer, conservation measures for marginal farmlands, reorganization of local government, repudiation of Republican leaders, and unemployment insurance. He supported each contention with evidence drawn from his personal experiences and from his department heads and advisors. He conclusively established only the need for aiding the farmer, and for conservation. In his ethical appeals he established a relationship between himself and his immediate audience and he asserted that his goals and those of the specific agency to which he was speaking were the same. His emotional appeals were designed primarily to stimulate the organization members' desires for security of job and savings. Each of the
occasional speeches was organized around a specific proposition and followed a logical or problem solving pattern of development.
CHAPTER VI

RADIO SPEAKING

Blocked by a Republican legislature from achieving his legislative goals, Franklin D. Roosevelt had to persuade the general public in New York to bring pressure on the legislature to enact his laws. In this connection he soon recognized the tremendous importance of radio as a means of mass communication. In 1929 he told the Democratic State Committee, "Science has given us a new method to reach the scattered individual rural homes...radio." Subsequently he depended on the radio as his chief means of reaching the general public.

This chapter considers F.D.R.'s use of the radio in his gubernatorial years. First, it discusses Roosevelt's awareness of the importance of radio in this period. The chapter then names the specific radio stations on which he relied, the broadcasts in each year, and various aspects of the occasions on which the Governor delivered radio speeches. Finally, the speeches are discussed in terms of their supporting materials and organization.

1Speech to the Democratic State Committee, Albany, January 2, 1929.
In 1920 when F.D.R. ran for vice-president, radio sets had just been offered for sale to the general public. The few persons who owned one of these early radios listened with their headphones and relayed the remarks of the speakers to their families and friends. However, by 1920 radios were equipped with loudspeakers and the industry was supplying the American people with a virtual necessity.

In the seven years in which Roosevelt adjusted to his paralysis and emerged to serve an extended period of leadership, radio had become a stable industry with definitely allocated channels and frequencies, and all areas of the nation were available to broadcasters.

In 1924 Roosevelt designed his "Happy Warrior" speech nominating Alfred E. Smith for the presidency to appeal to the convention delegates; but in 1920, when he was again asked to nominate Smith, he decided to try out a new idea in political convention oratory. On this occasion his speech was aimed at the radio audience rather than the delegates. He explained:

> In preparing my speech, I did so with the definite purpose of addressing the 15,000,000 radio listeners rather than the 15,000 in the Convention Hall.²

²Letter from F.D.R. to Z. W. Pease, July 23, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
When I started in to prepare the nominating speech I felt convinced that the old fashioned type of oratory would serve no useful purpose. . . so I deliberately addressed the speech, not to the Convention Hall, but to the general public who were listening on the radio and reading the newspapers.  

I tried the definite experiment this year of writing and delivering my speech wholly for the benefit of the radio audience and press rather than for any forensic effect it might have on the delegates and audience in the convention hall. Smith had the votes anyway and it seemed to me more important to reach out for the Republicans and Independents throughout the country. 

Roosevelt achieved his purpose. In its editorial headline the sympathetic New York Times called this speech "High Bred" and commented:

There was nothing strained or fantastic or extravagant in what he said. It was the address of a fair-minded and cultivated man avoiding the usual perils of national convention oratory and discussing in an intelligent way the qualifications which should be sought for the President of the United States. . . . The entire address of Mr. Franklin Roosevelt is a model of its kind—limpid and unaffected and without a trace of fustian. It was not fitted to provoke frenzied applause, but it could not be heard or read without prompting to serious thought and sincere emotion.

Even the anti-Democratic Chicago Tribune praised the speech asserting that F.D.R. was really a Republican.

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2Letter from F.D.R. to H. Walker, August 22, 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.


7Freidel, op. cit., p. 243.
One of the points that Smith stressed when he pleaded with Roosevelt to accept the gubernatorial nomination was that F.D.R. could "make a couple of radio speeches and be elected." Roosevelt knew better. He had seen, however, the importance of radio for Smith's campaign, and he had acted to insure the Democrats equal time with the Republicans on the stations with which his good friend Owen D. Young had influence.²

Broadcast Facilities Used by F.D.R.

No trustworthy estimate of the number of radio sets in New York in 1928 are available. In a study of the development of radio, Lawrence D. Batson stressed the impossibility of acquiring accurate figures on the number of sets in any given area.¹⁰ Assuming that the state had its proportionate share, there were probably between 600,000 and 1,500,000 radio sets in the state that year. This number of sets would indicate a radio audience of from three to seven million. Inasmuch as mechanical innovations such as motion pictures, automobiles, radios, and television

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⁹Letter from F.D.R. to Owen D. Young, August 18, 1928, Frank D. Roosevelt Library.

sets are more quickly accepted in metropolitan and wealthy regions, one would be justified in assuming that seven million is the better guess.

The state of New York was allotted 0.4 percent of the nation's radio stations in 1928. This number insured complete coverage of all counties. To reach his radio audience, Governor Roosevelt relied principally on the following stations: WGY in Schenectady; WHAM in Rochester; WBEN and WGR in Buffalo; WSYR in Syracuse; WOR, WEAF, WJZ, WNYC, WABC, AND WGBS in New York City; and WOKO in Albany.

In this period most of Roosevelt's radio speeches were broadcast from Schenectady over station WGY, owned by the General Electric Company. The station operated on 150,000 watts with the minimum power for a clear channel station being 50,000 watts. When WGY installed broadcast facilities in Roosevelt's study at the Executive Mansion in Albany, F.D.R. could conveniently reach the entire state over this one station. The comparative power of

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12 Binghamton Press, October 20, 1928.

WGY is indicated in the following letter from Lucy Schults in Rochester:

I know you will welcome comments on the radio reception of prominent speakers for the Democratic ticket this past week. I refer to the speeches by our Governor and Ex-Governor Smith through WBEN, Buffalo and WOR Newark. No luck whatever in getting the Syracuse station. Reception through Buffalo and Newark was mingled with interference from other stations. Now and then we would hear a few words or enough to know what subject was being discussed but could not hear the speech in its entirety. Governor Roosevelt's speech from Albany through WGY was very clear with no interference from other stations. If any more speeches are scheduled to be broadcast in the near future, I certainly hope they will give us the speeches as clear as WGY, Albany on Friday night. 14

Another contemporary witness recalls that WGY's effective range extended beyond the borders of New York State in this period.

Despite the range of WGY, Roosevelt knew that many of his potential supporters habitually tuned in on their local radio stations. He, therefore, sought to broadcast over a variety of stations. The New York Times reported, for example, that Roosevelt's address of March 7, 1929, was broadcast over WHAM in Rochester "...on which the rural population of the state habitually tune in." 15

14 Letter from Lucy Schults to Democratic State Committee, October 25, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
When he wanted complete coverage of the state, the Governor used three widely separated stations: one in western New York at Buffalo or Rochester; another from central New York at Schenectady or Syracuse; and the third in New York City. The following broadcast schedule of the 1930 campaign illustrates this utilization of stations from three sections of the state:\(^\text{16}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Station(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 9, 1930</td>
<td>6:15 to 6:45 p.m.</td>
<td>WGBS New York, WGY Schenectady, WGR Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 13, 1930</td>
<td>6:00 to 6:30 p.m.</td>
<td>WOR New York, WGY Schenectady, WGR Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 16, 1930</td>
<td>6:15 to 6:45 p.m.</td>
<td>WGBS New York, WGY Schenectady, WGR Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 20, 1930</td>
<td>10:00 to 10:30 p.m.</td>
<td>WOR New York, WBEN Buffalo, WSYR Syracuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Syracuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 22, 1930</td>
<td>9:30 to 10:30 p.m.</td>
<td>WOR New York, WBEN Buffalo, WSYR Syracuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 24, 1930</td>
<td>10:00 to 10:30 p.m.</td>
<td>WOR New York, WGY Schenectady, WBEN Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 27, 1930</td>
<td>10:00 to 10:30 p.m.</td>
<td>WOR New York, WBEN Buffalo, WSYR Syracuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Broadcast from Bronx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{16}\)"Campaign Strategy," Louis Howe Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
October 26, 1930, 10:00 to 10:30 p.m. Broadcast from Yonkers
   WOR New York
   WBEN Buffalo
   WSYR Syracuse

October 29, 1930, 9:00 to 10:00 p.m. 9:30 to 10:00 p.m.
   Broadcast from Queens
   WGBS New York
   WOR New York

October 31, 1930, 9:00 to 10:30 p.m. 9:30 to 10:30 p.m.
   10:00 to 10:30 p.m.
   Broadcast from Brooklyn
   WGBS New York
   WBEN Buffalo
   WSYR Syracuse
   WGY Schenectady

November 1, 1930, 8:45 to 10:45 p.m.
   Broadcast from Carnegie Hall
   9:00 to 9:30 p.m.
   WOR New York
   WBEN Buffalo
   WSYR Syracuse
   WHAM Rochester

November 3, 1930, 10:00 to 10:30 p.m.
   Broadcast from Poughkeepsie
   WOR New York
   WGY Schenectady
   WGR Buffalo

The Broadcasts

The large number of radio speeches in the files of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library attest to the frequency with which F.D.R. appealed directly to the people of New York for their understanding and support. Exclusive of the 1932 campaign there are over fifty addresses in this library which were designed for delivery over a microphone. Many other speeches were broadcast in which Roosevelt sought his chief response from a face-to-face audience rather than from the radio listeners. In the following four sections of this chapter the radio speeches are listed in the chron-
In 1929 Roosevelt delivered nine speeches over the microphone to distant audiences. Seven were radio speeches, and two were delivered over telephone wires.

He started the year with a seeming reluctance to broadcast, for he wrote Fay Parsons, "I see no special reason that my speech be broadcast. I think I should prefer making it just to the dinner."\(^{17}\) There is no subsequent evidence of reluctance on his part to broadcast a speech.\(^{16}\)

His first gubernatorial speech delivered exclusively for a radio audience was broadcast on March 7, 1929, on General Electric's "Farmers' Hour." The people of New York heard the speech over WGY of Schenectady and over WHAM of Rochester. Later that month on March 27 he appealed to upstate voters for support of a $50,000,000 State Hospital bond issue over WGY and also over WABC of New York City.\(^{19}\)

On April 3, Roosevelt spoke over telephone wires to a loudspeaker set up at a testimonial dinner held for Maurice Bloch, Democratic leader in the Assembly, at the

\(^{17}\)Letter from F.D.R. to Fay P. Parsons, January 20, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.


\(^{19}\)New York Times, March 28, 1929.
Hotel Commodore in New York City. Later that same evening, he reported to the people on the actions of the 1929 legislature over WGY in Schenectady, WGR in Buffalo, and WHAM in Rochester. This chatty report was a forerunner of the presidential fireside chats. On April 10 he spoke again to clarify and amplify the April 3 report.20

After winding up executive action on the bills passed by the legislature, Roosevelt went to Warm Springs in May. While there he made plans for several radio addresses and wrote for Louis Howe's opinion of radio speeches asking public support of a hospital bond issue which the legislature had turned down.21

While in Warm Springs, Roosevelt delivered a second speech via the telephone and loudspeaker to an audience of 5,000 in Moultrie, Georgia. In this speech he said:

This is, I think, the first time that a speech has been made from a long distance away through amplifiers to a large gathering of people in the open air. The next development of science will enable me through a television machine to see you and for you to see me seated at a desk in front of the telephone.22

On May 25, 1929 over a national network, he invited the people of Georgia to vacation in New York. The speech

20 Ibid., April 4, 1929.

21 Letter from F.D.R. to Louis Howe, May 15, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

22 Speech to Show and Sale of Purebred Beef Type Cattle, Moultrie, Georgia, May 21, 1929.
which was heard all over the nation, listed the many sights to be seen in New York. Roosevelt was urged to publicize the Olympic games in this speech, but he sent the following telegram to his Secretary, Guernsey Cross:

"Socony Radio talk Tuesday evening will merely mention Lake Placid Club as site of Olympic games." At the end of the first typewritten page of his speech, Roosevelt had to add in longhand, "...including Lake Placid which has been selected as the site of the next winter Olympic games in 1932. . . ." 24

After his inspection tour of the state which was made through the canal systems, Roosevelt reported on his observations by means of a broadcast from the Executive Mansion in Albany over the facilities of WGY. 25

In the annual Assembly campaign the Governor wisely declined to use the radio to support specific Assembly candidates. 26 On October 4, 1929, he wrote the following to Democratic State Chairman William Bray:

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23 Telegram from F.D.R. to Guernsey Cross, May 27, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

24 Radio Address, May 25, 1929.


26 In many of his letters F.D.R. indicated he learned this lesson from the mistakes of Woodrow Wilson in the 1916 campaign in which Wilson personally spoke against specific Republicans. Wilson did not, of course, have the radio for his campaigns.
I think radio talks should wait until after the election. Please check with Bill Crawford and see if he has my radio date made for the Wednesday before election. If you think it advisable put in another radio date for me between October 18th and election day. I can present all our policies without taking a partisan position in the Assembly campaign. . . . 27

Eight days later, he wrote to Gordon Battle, "...I expect, however, to make one or two radio talks outlining the principles of the election rather than the details of candidates and localities. . . ." 28

On October 30 Roosevelt's radio talk for the Assembly campaign discussed in general terms the "Morals of Good Government." In this speech his real goal was to make his auditors dissatisfied with the existing Republican legislative majority. However, he did not specifically ask for repudiation of the Republicans.

In the first year of his governorship, Roosevelt found that he could get a sympathetic response from the people when he spoke to them over the radio. His first report on the working of the legislature was followed by a flood of letters and telegrams commending him. In his second report he mentioned this response and showed that he recognized its potential value when he commented: "I can only hope that public opinion will compel the legisla-

27 Letter from F.D.R. to William Bray, October 4, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

28 Letter from F.D.R. to Gordon Battle, October 12, 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
ture to get together with the Governor on matters involving some immediate needs of the state." In the following years Roosevelt was to use the sympathetic response from his radio audiences as a lever to pry parts of his legislative program from a reluctant legislature.

1930

The pattern of broadcasts established in 1929 was continued through the succeeding gubernatorial years. In addition to copies of the 1930 radio campaign addresses, there are copies of texts of ten other radio speeches that the Governor delivered that year. Roosevelt really discovered his powers as a radio speaker in 1930. Following his annual report on the legislative session which was broadcast on March 26 the mailman delivered the response of an aroused public to the Assemblymen and Senators. Ernest Lindley reports that the legislators became so sensitive to such reaction from the public after each radio report that by the following year they were coerced even by the threat of one of F.D.R.'s radio reports.

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29 Radio Address, April 10, 1929.

30 These are listed on pp.

31 Rosenman, op. cit., p. 39.

On Sunday, March 2, over an NBC nationwide network, Roosevelt's speech on the subject of "States' Rights" brought unfavorable reaction from Walter Lippmann as Roosevelt indicated when he wrote James Bonbright:

I may be a little sore because a week ago I made a short radio speech on a national hook-up on the broad subject of the State vs. Federal Constitutional rights. I talked about broad principles and did not emphasize the fact of the Eighteenth Amendment. Walter Lippmann hopped all over me the next morning. Relegated all the rest of the speech to the discard and cussed me for not having made a speech on prohibition alone. 33

Not everyone was as dissatisfied as Lippman. Dr. Z. Q. Malaby in Pasadena, California, reported to F.D.R., "Your radio talk was well received in California."34

The Governor's April 23 radio talk on public utilities and the role of a public service commission caused comment as far west as Oregon, from where a supporter wrote Roosevelt:

Since your recent utterances defining the proper functions of a public service commission, you have been the most discussed Democrat in the Pacific Northwest.

. . . Most of the leading Democrats in the Pacific. . . Northwest. . . are unanimously of the opinion that you are the logical candidate of the party for 1932. . . . 35

33 Letter from F.D.R. to James Bonbright, March 28, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
34 Letter from Dr. Z. Q. Malaby to F.D.R., March 28, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
35 Letter from J. K. Carson, Jr. to F.D.R., May 16, 1930, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
Roosevelt also broadcast many of his occasional speeches that year. On March 1, he spoke on the National Democratic Club's weekly forum which was carried by WOR, WNYC, and WABC, all of New York City. On March 31, he initiated Conservation Week, and praised the Knights of Columbus who were holding their convention in Schenectady. On April 12 he eulogized Thomas Jefferson.

Radio played a major part in the political strategy of 1930 when Roosevelt waged the initial portion of the campaign via the radio. Bellush noted the following about the effectiveness of F.D.R.'s use of this medium:

... Towering above all... factors in significance and influence was Roosevelt's ability to make his listeners feel that he was addressing them personally, whether they were part of a large audience or sitting in their home listening to the radio.

Following the Radio speech of October 3, 1930, a reporter wrote:

Members of the Governor's staff asserted that his radio talk last night had brought a flood of commendatory telegrams from all over the state and that the Governor was gratified with the response he had evoked.

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37 Bellush, op. cit., p.
38 New York Times, October 15, 1930. A clipping of this news item is in F.D.R.'s personal scrapbook, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.
After the 1930 campaigning, F.D.R. on November 20 gave a radio speech from Warm Springs, Georgia, on "combating tuberculosis with Christmas Seals."

1931

In 1931, Roosevelt gave twelve radio speeches for which texts have been preserved. The major radio addresses which the Governor broadcast that year supported special constitutional amendments. One radio speech, delivered April 7, was of special significance following the seeming victory of the Governor over the legislature on the St. Lawrence water-power issue.

The Republican legislature named as members of the new water-power commission opponents of public power development. Roosevelt said they were trying to kill the development of this resource and announced that he was appealing to the people via the radio. Ernest Lindley in the following shows the effectiveness of F.D.R.'s threat:

...He said that he would go on the air with an appeal to the electorate. Within twenty-four hours the Republican leaders were submerged in telegrams and editorial protests from civic organizations, chambers of commerce, and individuals especially in their own territory in Northern New York. They beat the hastiest retreat in the history of their dealings with Roosevelt. ...When Governor Roosevelt went on the air that night to make his appeal it was not any longer necessary; all he
had to do was express his gratification at the
prompt uprising of the public.\(^3\)

The constitutional amendments for which Roosevelt
spoke three times in October of 1931 included the one for
reforestation, which was opposed by Al Smith. Roosevelt
thought it "a queer thing for Al to fight so bitterly."\(^4\)
Smith lost in his fight to block the amendment.

Also in 1931, F.D.R. broadcast the following
speeches: January 30 he spoke on National Thrift Week;
January 31 he spoke on the Dairymen's League Program;
February 18 he spoke for aid to crippled children; April 1
he spoke on conservation of the soil; April 24 he gave
his report on the 1931 legislature; June 21 he spoke on
"Campin';" September 17 he spoke on the occasion of the
completion of U.S. Highway Number 1; November 13 he advo-
cated a movement of the people toward food sources.

1932

In 1932 Roosevelt's primary radio addresses concen-
ted the presidency of the United States, but he was still
Governor of New York and in this capacity he made several
radio speeches on the cost of New York government.
In addition to these, on February 8 he spoke on the rising

\(^3\) Lindley, op. cit., p. 273.

\(^4\) Letter dated November 3, 1941, Franklin D. Roose-
velt Library.
cost of local government and on the re-organization of block aid for relief. On April 6 he spoke on the magnitude of accomplishment of the Boy Scout movement. On October 22 he praised the Greek-Americans and in December sent radio greetings to a ship bearing Christmas aid to Puerto Rico. The April 7, 1932, speech, called the "Forgotten Man" speech, was delivered as a part of F.D.R.'s campaign to get the presidential nomination.

The radio speeches of special significance to the state were the seven reports on the cost of government. The New York Democrat reported on June 11, 1932:

The Governor announced that the talk was the first in a series of broadcasts numbering probably thirteen, in which will be set forth an actual analysis and comparison of cost and service of the various state departments in 1922 and 1932.

In this series which began June 9, F.D.R. spoke on the costs of the state police, division of standards and purchase, the executive chambers, and the budget. On June 16 he spoke on the cost of the Department of Agriculture and Civil Service. June 23 he spoke on the cost of the Department of Mental Hygiene. July 9 expenses of the Department of Taxation and Finance, and the Department of State were discussed. The state Department of Health came up for analysis of its expenditures July 21, 1932. July 28 the Governor covered the cost of the Department of Correction and Social Welfare. August 4 he concluded the series with a talk on the cost of the Department of Labor.
In this series the Director of the Budget, Mark Graves, and the State Controller, Morris Tremaine, each made a talk on the cost of the Department of Conservation, and on the Departments of Audit and Control Service and/or miscellaneous commissions.

The Speeches

Use of Argument and Evidence. Roosevelt's arguments in his radio speeches were designed to achieve the same basic objectives that he sought in his campaign speeches, in his occasional speeches, and in his official speeches. However, he used the radio to influence a general rather than a specific audience.¹¹ For example, in a campaign speech to an Erie county audience he discussed the savings his administration had effected for Erie County; but in a radio address he discussed the savings his administration had effected for the 57 upstate counties.¹²

In his radio speeches, Roosevelt argues specifically for repudiation of the Republican legislature, for reforestation of marginal lands, for rural tax relief, for moving many urban dwellers closer to the sources of food supply,


¹² Campaign Address, Buffalo, October 20, 1930; Radio Address, February 8, 1932.
for employment of older persons; for support of a gasoline tax; for support of increases in the administrative costs of the state.

In the first report on the legislative session of 1929 Roosevelt stated his major premise and devoted the rest of the speech to an attempt to prove the minor premise of the following syllogism:

**Major Premise:** A platform which the leaders do not even attempt to carry out is a fraud and a deceit on the voters of the State of New York.

**Minor Premise:** The Republican legislators have not attempted to carry out their platform.

**Conclusion:** This is a fraud and a deceit on the voters of New York.\(^4\)

As evidence to prove that the legislators had not attempted to carry out their pledges, he noted the following:

1. The Republicans promised economy and yet appropriated more money than they had the preceding year.

2. The Republicans promised a revision of the tax laws and did not do anything about it.

3. The Republicans promised aid to labor and refused to keep their pledge.

4. The Republicans promised aid to the handicapped and refused to consider plans for aiding them.

5. The Republicans promised a sound water power policy but refused to act.

\(^4\)Radio Address, April 3, 1929.
One of the fallacies in the above evidence is that not all the actions which the Republicans refused to carry out were repudiations of their platform. For example, their rejection of Roosevelt's proposal for state development of the water power sources was not inconsistent with their 1928 campaign pledge. They had specifically opposed state development in their campaign. Also his charges that despite the Republicans' promises of economy in 1928, they had passed his executive budget, was singularly weak evidence, for if they deserved opprobrium for passage of this budget, Roosevelt, who supervised its preparation, was even more at fault. His charge that they had promised aid to labor and had refused to pass legislation for labor was valid, for the Republicans could have reduced the hours of women in industry but refused to do so.\footnote{Daniel R. Fusfield, The Economic Thought of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Origin of the New Deal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 165.} In general, this argument was not adequately supported for a conclusive inference to be drawn.

When he proposed reforestation, Roosevelt argued as follows:

\underline{Major Premise: } We should adopt measures that will preserve our timber.

\underline{Minor Premise: } Reforestation will preserve our timber.

\underline{Conclusion: } We should adopt reforestation measures.
To support his point that the state needed timber, he stated:

In New York State, the largest consumer of timber of all the states, we are using it twenty times faster than we are growing it. We have to have the bulk of our supply from distant states in the West at a cost of $40,000,000 a year for freight—and even that supply is not going to last forever.45

Roosevelt's figures on timber consumption could only have been based on estimates, but they were valid.46 His figures on freight cost also would have to be estimated. No central records would have been available to him since the means of transportation are so varied. However, his argument was so potently obvious that it bore validity.

Roosevelt argued for a decrease in the state income tax in 1929 as opposed to elimination of the state direct tax on real estate. In his argument he drew the following inference:

Major Premise: We should reduce the tax that will offer the greatest benefit.

Minor Premise: Reduction of the state income tax will offer the greatest benefit.

Conclusion: We should reduce the state income tax.

To support his minor premise he told his radio audience the following:

45 Radio Address, October 26, 1931.

46 John Ise, Economics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946), p. 136. Ise points out that our timber reserves in 1946 would last only another 50 years.
In such counties as Allegheny, Cattaraugus, Chenango, Delaware, Jefferson, Livingston, Orleans, Steuben, Warren, and Yates to mention a few, the greatest benefit is to be derived from a reduction of the income tax. There are more than a half million income tax payers in the state. I hold this temporary tax reduction...would be more equitably distributed by a reduction of the income tax than by elimination of the direct tax.\textsuperscript{47}

The immediate flaw in Roosevelt's evidence is the ambiguity of the term "benefit." He did not make it clear which was to benefit, counties or people. He had based his arguments for tax relief on the needs of the farmer, but it is doubtful that many of those in need, who never paid an income tax, could have derived benefits from a reduction in income tax. Ise points out that the direct tax had to be paid whether the property produced revenue or not, and that thousands of farmers let their lands be sold because they could not pay the direct taxes.\textsuperscript{48} In view of these factors it is doubtful that those with the greatest need would have been appreciably helped by Roosevelt's proposals. Therefore, the validity of the inference is questionable.

When Roosevelt argued that urban dwellers should move nearer the sources of food supply, his inference was:

\textsuperscript{47} Radio Address, March 7, 1929.

\textsuperscript{48} Ise, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 495-496.
Major Premise: Those who are in need should live where food is cheaper.

Minor Premise: Food is cheaper nearer its source of supply.

Conclusion: Those in need should live nearer the source of food supply.

He supported his minor premise with the following example:

A farmer ships milk to a great city two hundred miles away. He gets three cents for his milk. The cost of handling plus two or three cents profit on the trip make the mother, the father, and three or four children in the city pay fifteen cents a quart for that same milk.

He then generalized: "The situation as to milk applies to nearly all agricultural products." and he concluded:

Is it worthwhile to get people to move out of cities where there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of unemployed and bring them closer to the actual sources of food supply? It seems to me that to that question we must answer with an emphatic yes.

Roosevelt's arguments on this problem were essentially the same as those in his annual messages. The problems attendant on moving millions of unemployed out of their city homes to rural communities made his argument
questionable. Arguments that the cost of food was cheaper at the source were, of course, valid. 51

To promote his plan of social welfare, Roosevelt argued that it would be good for society if the aged were employed. He reasoned thus:

**Major Premise:** If the aged can be productive, society benefits.

**Minor Premise:** The aged can be productive.

**Conclusion:** Society benefits.

His supporting evidence for his minor premise was the following hypothetical example:

... Suppose, for the sake of argument, that three hundred thousand people are out of useful work when they grow to be older and that each one of them, if he could work, could produce one thousand dollars' worth of new products every year. In other words, if the productive values were one thousand dollars a year apiece, three hundred thousand of them would mean three hundred million dollars added to the annual productive capacity of the United States. ... 52

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51 This was an idea that Roosevelt formed when he was a State Senator in 1913. He had made, at that time, a personal investigation of the costs of marketing and became convinced the middleman was too costly. The farmers' prices were depressed because they could not control their surpluses as could the distributors according to William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), p. 592.

52 Radio Address, February 6, 1931.
Although his argument was structurally valid, the number of unemployed in 1931 was steadily increasing and the competition for jobs made any such argument questionable for, in view of stagnant markets and increasing surpluses, adding more products seemed a doubtful advantage.53

When F.D.R. assumed the Governorship, New York did not levy a tax on gasoline. He argued that the automobile owner should pay a gasoline tax in order to pay a larger share of highway construction costs. His reasoning was as follows:

**Major Premise:** We need a tax that will place a larger part of the cost of highways on those who use them.

**Minor Premise:** A gasoline tax will place a larger part of highway costs on those who use them.

**Conclusion:** We need a gasoline tax.

Roosevelt supported his minor premise with the following statistics:

It is estimated that the gasoline tax will yield about $22,000,000 a year. The automobile license tax will, it is estimated, this year yield as the state's share $28,500,000, making a total of $50,000,000 paid by owners or users of automobiles. With the $8,000,000 additional State aid proposed, the State will spend on highways a total of $56,300,000. In other words, the State

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would spend on roads $5,800,000 more than the total
taxes paid by the automobile owners and users. 54

Roosevelt obviously was right. A gasoline tax would
result in the users of the highways paying a greater share
of the taxes. If his major premise was acceptable, his
argument was valid.

In a series of talks on the cost of the executive
departments of state government, Roosevelt argued for pub-
lic support of the increased expenditure in most departments.
He compared the years 1922 and 1932 and reasoned thus:

Major Premise: Either we keep our present govern-
ment service or we revert to the level of
1922.

Minor Premise: We cannot revert to the level of
1922.

Conclusion: We will keep our present governmental
services.

As evidence to prove his inference he cited the
following statistics:

...of the total increase in the Executive
Department, more than 65 percent is due to State
Police. This force initially consisted of 232
...by 1922 it had grown to 372 and now consists
of 666.

That the force is performing more work is man-
ifest when I say that last year they patrolled four
times as many miles of highway; made 4\frac{1}{2} times as
many arrests; conducted twice as many investigations,
and collected more than twice as many fines. 55

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54 Radio Address, March 7, 1929. These sources yiel-
ded $41,800,000 in 1932. Public Papers of Franklin D. Roose-
velt, Forty-Eighth Governor of the State of New York, IV,
op. cit., p. 614.

55 Radio Address, June 9, 1932.
Look at the Department of Correction. Last year this department spent $8,500,000, 78 percent more than 10 years ago. Nearly half the increase of annual cost since 1922 came because we had more prisoners. The remaining costs are because we have provided better prison facilities.\(^{56}\)

Roosevelt's inference was not valid because his major premise ignored the wide compromise that was possible between the 1922 levels of governmental services and those of 1932. His minor premise was conclusively established, however, for the state obviously could not go back ten years in time.

To summarize the validity of the arguments and evidence of the radio speeches, it is clear that Roosevelt did not prove the Republicans to be frauds, did not conclusively prove a need for reforestation, did not prove that reduction of income taxes was preferable to elimination of the direct tax, did prove as far as necessary that food was cheaper nearer its source of supply, did not prove that goods produced by older workers would be of benefit to a surplus-ridden nation, did prove that a gasoline tax would cause the highway users to pay more taxes, and did not validly infer that the state had to continue all the 1932 services.

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\(^{56}\)Radio Address, July 28, 1932.
Emotional Appeal. The radio reports to the people following the legislative session were designed to elicit the emotional response of indignation against the Republican party leaders. F.D.R. gained the reaction which he sought in these attacks on the Republican legislative majority. For example, aroused citizens indignantly besieged the legislature on the water power issue when F.D.R. asked them to do so. Roosevelt had received popular support on the water power issue before, and he knew the people would support him and show indignation when he said:

...On one point nearly everyone is agreed, and that is that the ownership of these water power sites should forever remain in the hands of the people of the state and that electricity should be available for the use of all the people...at the lowest fair cost...I submitted a program which I believed to be a solution of this problem. The Republican leaders...put through a resolution of adjournment without even considering it.57

The radio reports, in contrast to the other speeches, virtually ignored the depression, thereby reducing the chance to appeal to desires for relief of distress and security.

Since the legislature cooperated with him on issues pertaining to the depression, Governor Roosevelt had no dramatic issue to put before the people on this problem.

57 Lindley, op. cit., p. 293.
58 Radio Address, April 3, 1929.
Since he needed the drama of conflict to build himself and his legislative goals in the eyes of the public, he had little to gain by bringing out the depression problem in radio speeches. He also had no need to ask public pressure to get depression relief enacted.

The push for old age assistance legislation and for a continuation of state health services were based on appeals to security and relief of distress. These two appeals were a consistent characteristic of Roosevelt's speaking.

Roosevelt based his emotional appeals in the radio speeches largely on the motive of ownership. He did this by attempting to show that people were getting their money's worth in the state government. This reliance on the ownership appeal in the radio speeches was unique.

When he wanted action on the state development of water power, F.D.R. directed his appeal at the ownership motive by citing a lower cost of publicly developed water power, and by charging that the Republican leaders were tools of the power magnates. The Governor omitted his campaign appeal to freedom from restraint by citing electrical labor-saving devices.

Appeals to ownership are typified by the following:
It is that matter of getting your money's worth for your tax dollar that I want to talk to you about tonight. 59

If the housewife, going about her daily marketing, is compelled by lack of funds to spend less money, she begins to scan the family menu, the laundry bill. . . . You taxpayers go to market with a long list of public services to purchase. You, too, scan the list and decide what you will buy. . . . 60

Ethical Appeal. In the radio speeches, F.D.R. obviously attempted to give the impression of being sincere, but his attacks on the Republican leaders were not as forceful as the attacks on them in the campaign speeches.

Roosevelt's capacity to tie himself to his radio audience was an outstanding feature of his radio speaking. A reason for this contact with his auditors was his use of first and second person pronouns, "I" and "you." This form of direct discourse was not peculiar to his radio speaking alone, but it did strengthen the speaker-to-audience contact. F.D.R. tried to make his speeches to radio audience as personal as possible. The following examples indicate this use of direct discourse:

Many of you who are listening to my voice I shall hope to have the pleasure of meeting during the course of the coming summer and in the meantime I am glad to have had this chance of talking to you. I hope to see you very soon. 61

59 Radio Address, February 8, 1932.
60 Radio Address, June 9, 1932.
61 Radio Address, April 24, 1931.
As we discuss these activities by which your children are educated, the roads in front of your house paved. . . . Perhaps there comes to your mind as there comes to mine the question. . . .

Most of you remember that last spring I took the position that. . . .

This tendency to tie himself to his audiences made F.D.R. a distinct personality, who appeared to be sincerely interested in the people in the state. Eleanor Roosevelt commented that her husband had the capacity to appeal to radio listeners as a personal friend. She also mentioned the letters which F.D.R. received in which radio auditors wrote to him as if they were friends of long standing. 64

The familiar theme of a desire for non-partisan legislation was brought out in the radio speeches as Roosevelt sought to show the people of the radio audience that he was interested only in better laws while the Republicans were interested only in politics. The following examples are typical of F.D.R.'s association of himself with non-partisan action:

After I had picked the men and women best qualified to study the whole problem. . . . I found that this commission consisted of eighteen Republicans and only three Democrats. . . . I do not see how it would be possible to find anything more non-partisan than this. . . .

62 Radio Address, July 7, 1932.
63 Radio Address, September 17, 1929.
64 Personal Interview with Eleanor Roosevelt, Hyde Park, New York, August 22, 1952.
I am utterly indifferent as to whether the legislation actually passed is that technically introduced by a Republican member or a Democratic member.\(^{65}\)

I have consistently tried to keep this budget out of politics and to preserve the main purpose of it by giving a clear picture of the financial situation of the State and by asking for the preservation of responsible government.\(^{66}\)

To my amazement some of my political friends on the other side have been trying to bring politics into this matter which ought to be regarded absolutely from a non-partisan point of view. I suppose that there are certain types of minds which can never think of a public question except in terms of party politics. I try not to think of things that way.\(^{67}\)

Thonssen and Baird state that a "speaker's good will generally is revealed through his ability to... offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration."\(^{68}\) P.D.R. frequently offered rebukes in the radio speeches, but he tempered them in some way. For example, in listing counties which had raised taxes in spite of increased state aid he said:

The other counties on this roll of shame are Allegheny, Cayuga, Chautauqua, Chenango, Clinton, Cortland, Dutchess (my own county, so you see I am playing no favorites)... . . .

It is true that many of these counties increased their levies only in relatively small amounts.\(^{69}\)

\(^{65}\)Radio Address, March 7, 1929.

\(^{66}\)Radio Address, March 27, 1929, from Albany.

\(^{67}\)Radio Address, September 17, 1929.

\(^{68}\)Thonssen and Baird, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 379.

\(^{69}\)Radio Address, February 8, 1932.
This quality of blaming a good part of his audience was peculiar to both his radio speeches and his speaking in the legislature where he blamed the Republican leaders.

In his radio speeches on the cost of state government, Roosevelt, without specifically stating his point, rebuked those asking for a reduction in the cost of government by showing the results of such reduction:

Recently, through the newspapers, letters to public officials, and resolutions, . . . you have been telling us that you wish to have the taxes reduced next year. Do you mean that. . . ?

Should the state save $144,000 by restricting maternity, infancy, and child hygiene work to the scope of 1922? . . .

Should the state save $45,000 a year by returning its work with tuberculosis patients to the 1922 scope? 70

In summary, the ethical appeals in the radio speeches were unique in the tact Roosevelt showed when he criticized his auditors and in his capacity to appear as a friend of good will to the radio listeners.

Organization. The basic pattern for arrangement of the radio addresses was logical. Each speech was organized around a central theme. In the reports on the costs of state government, the arrangement of a series of seven speeches was based on the theme that government services must be kept at their 1932 level.

70 Radio Address, July 21, 1932.
The radio reports on the sessions of the legislature consisted of listings of what had been accomplished and what had been neglected by the legislature, followed by a statement condemning the Republican leaders for blocking progress. For example, a 1931 radio report numbered and cited twelve accomplishments and twelve failures of the legislature. The accomplishments were:

1. A Power Authority.
2. Prison reform laws.
3. Land utilization laws.
4. Part of a fine health program.
5. Addition to authority of Public Service Commission.
6. Extension of institutions' building program.
7. Unification of New York City Rapid Transit system.
8. Consolidation of Hudson tunnel with New York City Port Authority.
9. A commission to study Long Island shore pollution.
10. An unemployment commission.
11. A 48 hour week for women.
12. A committee to investigate New York City.

The failures were:

1. Failure to effectively strengthen state control of utilities.
2. Refusal to study reorganizations of local government.
3. Refusal to establish county health units.
4. Refusal to regulate thrift accounts.
5. Refusal to reapportion State legislative districts.

Ibid.
7. Refusal to forbid judges' participation in private business.
8. Refusal to continue relief agencies.
9. Refusal to regulate employment of labor acts.
10. Failure to provide for enforcement of labor acts.
11. Failure to act on four-year term for Governor.
12. Refusal to change elections to eliminate partisanship.

The other legislative reports were similarly arranged, although the items were not as clearly numbered.

The seven radio speeches which cited the cost of state government were organized on another pattern. Without exception these seven radio speeches followed six steps for each department discussed:

1. Introduction.
2. History of department discussed.
3. Cost of department in 1932 and in 1922.
4. Justification of increased cost.
5. Dangers of elimination of function of this department.
6. Interrogation: "Shall we continue this activity?"

The deductive pattern of arrangement of the radio speech of April 3, 1929, has been noted already in the section concerned with logical supports. The typical system of arrangement followed an inductive pattern.

In summary, the radio speeches were organized in logical order to support a central theme or proposition.
Summary

Franklin D. Roosevelt entered the New York governorship the same year that radio was given a complete reorganization. The stabilizing of the radio industry plus the continued purchase of receiving sets by the public gave him the opportunity to reach millions of people via this medium.

Roosevelt showed that he recognized the need for adapting his speeches to the radio when he prepared his speech nominating Alfred E. Smith for President in 1928 for the 15,000,000 radio listeners, rather than for the 15,000 in Convention Hall.

WGY of Schenectady cooperated with Governor Roosevelt and extended to him the use of its facilities. In order to reach the entire state, he frequently broadcast over a chain of three stations from New York City, Buffalo or Rochester, and Schenectady or Syracuse.

He discovered after each broadcast that he had the capacity to evoke an immediate response from the public in the form of telegrams and letters to himself and to the members of the legislature. So effective did this become that the legislature responded even to the Governor's threat to go on the air.

His argument and evidence sought to get the listeners to repudiate the Republicans for failure to keep their campaign pledges, to support reforestation of margi-
nal farm lands, to support reduction of the income tax instead of elimination of the direct tax on real estate; to help unemployed urbanites to move closer to the sources of their food supply, to employ older persons, to support a tax on gasoline, to support the increases in the cost of state government. He conclusively established the need for reforestation and for the gasoline tax, but his other arguments were based on unproved premises.

In his ethical appeals he sought to show that he was unselfish, non-partisan, and a friend of each radio listener, and that his opposition was a fraud, irresponsible, partisan, or selfish. The motive appeals were designed to stimulate the desire of the people for saving money and for security.

Each radio speech was organized around a theme corresponding to the basic argument involved. Most of the speeches were organized on a logical pattern and involved comparison of political achievements of the two major parties, or of 1932 government services and those of 1922.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND APPRAISAL

This chapter summarizes: (1) Roosevelt's record of support of progressive measures, (2) his leadership in New York, (3) his major goals, (4) obstacles to their achievement, (5) his speaking as a means of achieving his goals, and (6) a recapitulation in which Roosevelt's effectiveness as a speaker is evaluated.

Roosevelt's Progressive Record

No satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for Roosevelt's consistent support of liberal and progressive legislation even though a background of privilege and luxury such as his, tended to produce persons with conservative or reactionary ideas. Whatever the cause, in 1910 Roosevelt spoke strongly for progressive measures on his entry into politics as nominee for State Senator from the Twenty-Sixth Senatorial District which embraced Putnam, Columbia, and Dutchess Counties. In the State Senate he won his first headlines by leading a group that successfully opposed Tammany Hall's choice for U. S. Senator, William Sheehan. In addition to his record of anti-bossism, he supported measures
calling for conservation, state development of water power
resources, for aid to rural New Yorkers, for benefits to
labor in the form of workmen's compensation laws and in­
creased safety requirements in industrial plants. During this
carly period he met Louis McHenry Howe, a newspaperman who
attached his fortunes to those of the young State Senator.
Howe spent the rest of his life working to make Roosevelt
President of the United States.

In 1913 Roosevelt accepted the position of Assistant
Secretary of Navy and served in the Wilson Cabinet until he
was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1920. Under the
influence of Wilson's progressive ideas, he campaigned on
the issue of U. S. entrance into the League of Nations.
After his defeat he returned to private law practice.

In 1921 Roosevelt's legs were paralyzed by an attack
of poliomyelitis and he spent the next seven years striving
to overcome this handicap. Some of his biographers at­
tribute his social consciousness and sense of humanity to
his soul-searching trials during this struggle.

In 1924 and 1928 Roosevelt nominated Alfred E. Smith
for President of the United States. When Smith won the
nomination in 1928, Roosevelt was urged to accept the nomina­
tion for Governor of New York. But operating under the
psychology of a sick man, he was afraid to run for office
for fear he could not do it. However, he allowed himself
to be persuaded to run when he realized that a refusal could
eliminate him from future consideration.
His Leadership in New York

Even before he considered running for Governor, Roosevelt had promoted the progressive legislative goals of Alfred E. Smith. It was natural, therefore, for him to continue to follow them when he became Governor. But his first big problem in his drive for national office was to escape from the shadow of Alfred Smith and to demonstrate that he himself was a competent administrator. Firmly rejecting domination by Smith, he so speedily established himself as a capable, independent leader that he soon was the chief Democrat in both state and nation.

At first he kept the legislature confused and uncertain by his smile and air of geniality, while at the same time he refused to yield an inch on a single issue. When they passed laws he approved, he took credit for them. When they passed laws he did not want, he vetoed them and publicly castigated the legislators for their selfish partisanship.

He became so adept in stealing headlines that the legislators learned to fear his opposition on any issue. This fear was justified, for the people began to visualize him as their champion who fought valiantly for them against selfish and partisan legislators.

The Republicans' only hope of destroying Roosevelt's halo was to associate him with the corruption in New York City government, but even there he bested them by insisting
that the legislature investigate the irregularities, and by signing all bills authorizing investigation. In 1932 he silenced their charges by removing the Sheriff of New York County and by forcing the Mayor of New York City to resign.

Roosevelt cooperated with Tammany Hall in New York City as long as he could do so without bringing general opprobrium upon himself. Even after he stopped his cooperation with the machine leaders, he held out to them the hope that he would take no action to punish them. He acted against them only when he felt that they were endangering his chance for the presidency.

In his approach to the depression, F.D.R. showed a willingness to experiment, and he captured the imagination of the public through his economic and social reforms. In his program of direct relief he initiated an entirely new system of aiding the unemployed, and he removed from millions the dread of possible starvation.

When he was frustrated in winning a legislative goal, he set about to educate the people in a series of highly partisan reports and then through his speaking he activated them to bombard the legislature with petitions, telegrams, and letters demanding action. The legislature was unable to resist him when he stirred the righteous indignation of the people.

Many of the national policies which he later initiated were born on the state level. When international compli-
cations blocked development of the St. Lawrence power resources and kept him from winning his goal of cheaper electricity for the rural dwellers, he took his frustration to Washington in 1933 and through the T.V.A. and related plans worked for this goal on the national level. Most of the relief agencies which he began while he was President were counterparts of New York's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration.

Roosevelt was a man who moved into the leadership vacuum in the Democratic Party created by Alfred Smith's premature decision in 1929 to abandon running for office. When the depression hit the nation's economy, he assumed a leadership in experimenting with social and economic legislation. His leadership was accepted because his speeches inspired the confidence and good will of listeners.

His Major Goals

From his record it is clear that Roosevelt had three basic goals: to win the governorship, to enact humanitarian legislation, and to gain the presidency of the United States.

His margin of victory was so close in 1928 that he hoped for re-election in 1930 by a decisive majority in order to convince the Democrats of the nation that he could poll a large vote and that he was therefore a logical choice for the 1932 Democratic nomination.

Although critics disagree as to his sincerity and his motives in working for a broad program of humanitarian
and welfare legislation, the fact remains that Roosevelt did strive to enact this program. He specifically called for depression relief; development of cheaper hydro-electric power; laws regulating the hours of women and children in industry; aid to widows, orphans, the crippled, the aged, and the sick; reform of the prison system; reduction of utility rates through the Public Service Commission.

A large part of his gubernatorial activity was devoted to his goal of the presidency. His closest adviser, Louis Howe, kept his aim constantly before him, and together they organized a group of supporters who worked with them to achieve this end.

Obstacles to Achievement of His Goals

The obstacles which F.D.R. had to overcome or to which he had to adjust in order to achieve his ends, included the following: opposition from the Republican leaders; from the utility companies; and after 1931, from Alfred E. Smith and Tammany Hall leaders. Further, he had to compensate for his physical handicap, and he had the problem of the depression.

The Republican legislators opposed F.D.R. on most issues, for they won no political advantage by cooperating with him. This left him with the problem of appealing to other groups to ask recalcitrant legislative leaders to enact the laws he wanted. The people of the state to whom he spoke were traditionally divided between the upstate
Republican counties and the New York City Democratic counties. He could count on a majority from New York City, but he had to have a strong vote also from upstate New York. His problem was how to win the Republicans' votes and to oppose their leaders at the same time. When the utility companies, working through the Republican Party, hired legislators and Republican officials to oppose him, his problem was how to counteract the utility companies' lobby.

In 1931 Alfred Smith directly but unsuccessfully opposed F.D.R. by speaking against a bond issue for reforestation. Smith apparently wanted to unseat Roosevelt from the position of leading contender for the 1932 nomination. In 1932 Smith, intensifying his fight for delegates, spoke openly against his former nominator. Since they were afraid of Roosevelt's reform tendencies, Tammany Hall supported Smith for the nomination and F.D.R. lost the majority of his state's delegates. This left him with the problem of how to get delegates votes from other states.

In order to win elections, Roosevelt needed Tammany Hall votes, but the leaders of the organization were so unpopular that he received criticism for his association with them. Therefore, he had the problem of fighting Tammany Hall while yet depending on the machine for votes.

The gubernatorial years marked Roosevelt's return to political activity after his attack of poliomyelitis. He could not walk without the assistance of a strong arm, and he literally had to be carried up and down steps.
Consequently, he faced the problem of delivering his speeches in a manner that would not cause an unfavorable reaction because of his handicap.

The farmers of New York were in an economic depression when Roosevelt took office and when the stock market collapsed ten months later, both the farmers and the industrial workers looked to him for action to alleviate their conditions. With ten million urban dwellers in New York and a third of the workers unemployed, the problem was resolved into one of how to keep the jobless workers and their families from starving.

F.D.R.'s Speaking as a Means of Achieving His Goals

This section summarizes first, the various kinds of speeches F.D.R. used to achieve his goals, second, their preparation and delivery, and third, his use of specific appeals.

The Occasions. In his gubernatorial campaigns Roosevelt answered critics, who implied that his physical handicap would keep him from being an active Governor, by being an active campaigner. His extensive tours of the state, coupled with his obvious good health, effectively refuted his detractors on this point, and he did not have to reveal to the general public the extent of his physical disability, since they saw him only on a stage or in the back seat of an automobile.

Since he knew he could not move the Republican legis-
lators to act, Roosevelt directed the appeals in his four annual messages to the legislature, and those in his inaugural addresses to the people who would read them in their newspaper or hear him refer to them in other speeches.

When he appealed to the people, he hoped that they would put pressure on their legislators to act with the Governor. Roosevelt used scores of occasional speeches to influence special interest groups to support him. These speeches gave him a personal contact with representatives of every major social, economic, and political organization in the state. Special occasion speeches were essential to the success of his legislative goals, since his only means of getting the legislature to enact laws was to get the people to evidence their desire for the legislation. His contacts with the people gave him the opportunity to educate them and to persuade them to accept his legislative aims.

Since he had to be careful of premature announcement of his hopes for the presidency, occasional speeches to groups on the national level gave him his best opportunities to receive the national recognition he needed in order to be considered by the political leaders in other states.

Radio afforded a means for Governor Roosevelt to reach the entire state with a single speech. This coverage made it possible for him to meet the problem of the legislature's opposition to his program of social reform, because he could use this medium to win popular support. From his
study in the Executive Mansion, he successfully broadcast appeals for displays of public indignation. The people became so responsive to his broadcasts that the outcry he could evoke from them became his most potent weapon in getting the Republicans to enact his laws. Radio speeches had special significance for the Governor, for these were the only addresses he could deliver without having to be concerned about his physical handicap.

**Preparation.** In the gubernatorial period Roosevelt depended on two competent and loyal supporters, Samuel I. Rosenman and Louis Howe, to assist him in speech writing. Rosenman primarily assisted Roosevelt in writing his campaign speeches and his addresses on the state level, while Howe assisted primarily in the preparation of speeches of national importance. The Governor received the factual materials for his addresses from his department heads and from other officials in charge of subject matter. For the rest of his life he continued the plan of speech preparation initiated in this period.

**Delivery.** Delivery of a speech was difficult because F.D.R. had to be assisted to and from the lectern, and while speaking, he had to support himself by holding to the speakers' stand. When he campaigned, he made his short speeches from the back seat of an automobile, holding on to a reinforced rail built into the back of the front seat. But his longer speeches had to be delivered from platforms or from auditoriums, and sometimes it was necessary for him
to be carried up a rear fire escape in order to avoid an unfavorable reaction from the crowd on his inability to walk up stairs.

For his speeches to the legislators, Roosevelt had a series of ramps built in the State House so he could be pushed in a wheel chair to a rear door opening on the platform. He would then walk the remaining few feet to his place at the lectern.

When radio station WGY installed broadcast facilities in the study of the Executive Mansion, Roosevelt began using this medium of communication more frequently than any previous Governor. He had a voice especially suited to radio, and he enjoyed speaking to the people. His lack of physical activity could not be noticed when he broadcast.

Roosevelt's speaking rate was slow, about 100 words a minute, but he soon learned to pace his delivery to fit the broadcast time. He spoke with an eastern American dialect and his voice was free from unpleasant qualities.

Supporting Materials

In order to gain support of his candidacies and his legislative goals, Roosevelt consistently sought to win the people who protested because of their economic and social insecurities. When his argument was validly supported, he blended his logical, emotional, and ethical appeals and asked for popular support and for popular repudiation of his opposition. For example, he established that the farmer was
in economic distress; he accused the Republican leaders of ignoring the plight of the farmer; he offered monetary rewards in the form of rural tax relief if the farmers would support him. But when he spoke on the issue of prohibition or on the issue of corruption in New York City government, he had no valid evidence to support his arguments; so he stressed ethical and emotional appeals by accusing his opposition of hypocrisy and irresponsibility and by seeking to generate insecurities in the minds of the listeners if his policies on prohibition and corruption in New York City government were not followed or accepted.

He told the small crowds in the village squares, and the thousands in the auditoriums that he was going to Albany to fight for them against the forces of reaction; he told the hundreds at banquet tables that it was to their interests to support him; he told the millions of radio listeners that they should demand that their legislators agree with the Governor. He told the farmers that he was a farmer, he told the lawyers that he was a lawyer, he told the women that he had always supported them, he told the laborers that he was concerned for them and that their problems were his. He tied himself to each audience in some manner, and he generated a sympathetic response that was the source of his power in gaining his legislative and electoral goals.

Use of Argument and Evidence. Roosevelt's arguments in all types of speaking were designed to advance one of his major goals: the governorship, welfare legislation, or
the presidency. These aims could not be separated, for if
F.D.R. was to be elected Governor, he had to support a
popular legislative program; and to be considered for the
presidency, he had to win the governorship. Therefore, he
based his requests for election on his advocacy of humani-
tarian laws; but prior to 1932, his appeals for the presi-
dency had to be indirect. He indicated this need for
subtlety when he wrote in 1930, "...the Republican pleas
this autumn...that a vote for F.D.R. will only build him
up as an opponent of friend Hoover...will win some Repub-
lican votes if I show the slightest sign of national interest."

While F.D.R.'s basic arguments did not change, the
occasion on which he spoke necessarily dictated in part his
choice of subject matter and supporting materials. For
example, in his occasional speeches he spoke on local
matters, but in his radio speeches he dealt with the broad
state problems. Further, the types of speaking dictated
the nature of the appeals. In the following instances
in which he asked for enactment of part of his legislative
goals, his basic thesis was unchanged, but the appeal varied.
In his campaign speaking he wanted a definite and personal
reaction from his auditors in the form of their votes for
him; therefore, he sought to show that his election would
bring about the humanitarian goals of shorter hours for
women and children in industry, relief of the farmer, and
aid to the aged and handicapped. Since he could not alone
get action from the lawmakers his messages were prepared for
the people, who visualized him as their champion when they read their newspapers and heard reports of his addresses to legislature citing a need for welfare legislation. In his occasional speeches he told the individual groups it was to their advantage to support his goals and ideas. He sought public resentment of the legislature in his radio speeches, and he wanted the listeners to contact their representatives; therefore he contended that the Republicans opposed enactment of popular laws.

To illustrate: Roosevelt adapted the issue of development of water power sources to the kinds of speaking. His basic contention was that state development of water power would mean cheaper electricity for the state, and consequently, more labor-saving devices. To a campaign audience he pictured his party as the savior of this natural resource, and he accused the Republicans of attempted theft of the water power sites. He announced his text: "Thou Shalt Not Steal!" To the legislature he was less dramatic when he lectured it: "...there is a demand...that the title and constant control of the power generated at the sources shall remain definitely in the people and shall not be alienated by long term leases." To the state bar association he offered a subtle flattery by presenting his views in the form of a legal brief. He said, "May I...present to you as a "brief" a short account of...the past and just what is proposed for the future...The important
duty of every. . . lawyer. . . is from now on to work whole­
heartedly. . . [For state-owned water power]." To a radio
audience he made reference to their capacity to persuade
the legislature when he said, "I am grateful for the fact
that there has been such a splendid response from every
corner of the state to this policy [of state development],
for without that response it is clear that it would not have
had a chance of going through the legislature."

In addition to the placing of a different stress on
the major issues in each kind of speaking, some subjects
were emphasized primarily in a single type of speaking.
For example, Roosevelt committed himself on the emotionally
charged issue of prohibition only in his campaigning, and
even then he did so as evasively as possible, for he had
no desire to lose the prohibition votes. The occasional
speeches to out-of-state audiences and the speeches broad­
cast over national networks gave him his opportunities to
speak on national issues such as the tariff and land reform.
Other occasional speeches covered local problems such as
the effects of skyscrapers on small businesses in New York
City, the price of cabbage, or the need for a bridge across
Lake Champlain. His radio addresses contain F.D.R.'s only
reports on state finances. The annual messages were, of
course, unique in that each included a brief discussion of
from 14 to 22 of the basic state problems.

The major inferences which he drew expressed as
syllogisms were:
(1) **Major Premise:** The state should pass laws that the people want.

**Minor Premise:** The people want state development of the water power sources.

**Conclusion:** The state should develop this power.

(2) **Major Premise:** If the utility companies base their rates on the replacement costs of their plants, the consumers' rates are too high.

**Minor Premise:** The utility companies base their rates on the replacement costs of their plants.

**Conclusion:** The consumers' rates are too high.

(3) **Major Premise:** Our citizens who are economically depressed should be aided.

**Minor Premise:** Our farmers are economically depressed.

**Conclusion:** Our farmers should be aided.

(4) **Major Premise:** If the local governments are obsolete, they are too costly.

**Minor Premise:** Local governments are obsolete.

**Conclusion:** Local governments are too costly.

(5) **Major Premise:** It is the duty of the state to aid the unemployed.

**Minor Premise:** Millions of our citizens are unemployed.

**Conclusion:** It is the duty of the state to aid them.

(6) **Major Premise:** A political party that thwarts the desires of the people is morally irresponsible.
Minor Premise: The Republican Party thwarts the desires of the people.

Conclusion: The Republican Party is morally irresponsible.

(7) Major Premise: If we do not have responsible national leadership, we will suffer in the present economic crisis.

Minor Premise: We do not have responsible national leadership.

Conclusion: We will suffer in the present economic crisis.

(8) Major Premise: If a sound system of unemployment insurance can be devised, we should adopt it.

Minor Premise: A sound system of unemployment insurance can be devised.

Conclusion: We should adopt it.

(9) Major Premise: A statute that is difficult to enforce should be repealed.

Minor Premise: The Eighteenth Amendment is difficult to enforce.

Conclusion: The Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed.

(10) Major Premise: Land best suited to the growing of trees should be planted in trees.

Minor Premise: Millions of our acres are best suited to the growing of trees.

Conclusion: These acres should be planted in trees.

(11) Major Premise: I cannot investigate corruption in New York City until I have evidence of corruption.

Minor Premise: I do not have evidence of corruption in New York City.
Conclusion: I cannot investigate.

(12) **Major Premise:** Either we keep the program of state services we now have, or we revert to the level of 1922.

**Minor Premise:** We will not revert to the level of 1922.

**Conclusion:** We will keep what we have.

Although the syllogistic forms of these arguments are valid (that is: if the premises are true, the conclusions must also be true), the premises were not all conclusively established. On the issue of water power, he generally established that the people wanted state development; his argument on utility rates has not been settled even today; he did not, of course, prove that the Republicans were morally degenerate; he did establish that rural aid was needed; he showed that local government was obsolete and expensive; he established that the unemployed needed aid; he did not prove that the Republicans were lacking in responsible leadership; he did generally establish that unemployment insurance was desirable; his arguments on prohibition were not established except for his premise that the statute was difficult to enforce; his arguments on corruption in New York City were weak and invalid for an investigation seeks evidence and does not wait for evidence before it is begun; his argument on the services of government between 1922 and 1932 ignored completely the wide compromise that was possible and was therefore invalid.
In general, the logical supporting materials that Roosevelt employed in gubernatorial speaking were so skillfully adapted to his immediate audiences that despite the fact that the arguments contained some fallacies, they were generally acceptable to the listeners and served to persuade the voters when combined with the other aspects of the total speech situation.

Ethical Appeals. The ethical appeals of F.D.R.'s gubernatorial speaking consisted primarily of an association of himself and his cause with virtue and association of his opponents with evil. Further, Roosevelt revealed a capacity to vary his supports from one type of speaking to another.

The ethical appeals in his campaign addresses differed from his others in that he used his strongest references to his own praiseworthy intentions and outstanding accomplishments, and he used the strongest terms of condemnation when he challenged the character of his opponents. These differences clearly were planned, for F.D.R. sought a personal acceptance by the voters and a personal rejection of the Republican candidates.

The ethical appeals of speeches to the legislature were unique in that the Governor strongly condemned the legislators from whom he demanded action. This was the only type of speaking in which Roosevelt spent a good part of his time questioning the integrity of his audience. However, as has already been noted, he spoke for the record rather
than for the immediate effect his words would have.

In his occasional speaking, he attempted to establish himself as a man of good will by associating his interests and background with those of his immediate audience. He told the farmers of his Hyde Park "farm"; he told laborers of his record in managing the navy yards when he was Assistant Secretary of Navy; he told lawyers of his legal training; he told Democrats of his record of party devotion. He did not have this opportunity of being specific in other types of speeches because his other audiences tended to be heterogeneous.

He charged in the radio speeches that the Republican legislature was selfish and irresponsible. He sought in these talks popular condemnation of the Republican leaders. The radio addresses also contained some blame of upstate county and village officials who increased the cost of local government, but Roosevelt knew these officials were mostly Republicans, and he wanted the people on the local level to reject them.

In general, the ethical appeals were grounded in the merits of the legislative proposals of the Governor as opposed to those of the Republican leaders. The people could accept one or the other, and they accepted Roosevelt's. The most obvious flaws in his ethical appeals were his categorical condemnation of Republican leaders, who were not all dishonest, and his self-praise for securing local tax reduction when the tax reduction for which he took credit was sponsored by the Republicans.
Emotional Appeals. In his gubernatorial speaking, Roosevelt wanted to motivate the people's desire for fair play, for avoiding waste, for security of employment, and for relief of distress in others. These were all employed in his attacks on the Republican legislature, with the appeal intensified in relation to the response he sought in each type of speaking.

When he campaigned and when he broadcast his reports on the actions of the legislature, the Governor asked the people to demonstrate their indignation. In his messages he tried to stimulate the desire to avoid economic waste by local officials, the waste of water power, and the waste of manpower in the form of untrained persons with physical handicaps.

The chief differences in the motive appeals that he employed in the four types of speaking were appeals to the desire for security of their bank accounts and jobs when he spoke to special occasion audiences, appeals to the sense of fair-play when he asked the radio listeners to pressure the legislature to support him, appeals to the desire to relieve distress in others when he spoke to the legislature, and appeals for both security and fair-play when he campaigned.

Organization. Roosevelt usually prepared his addresses by dictating a first draft and then revising it until he was satisfied with the result. This plan of preparation
resulted in speeches that were not always cohesively arranged. Samuel I. Rosenman frequently was charged with the responsibility of taking F.D.R.'s next-to-last draft and rearranging sections so that the speech would be better organized.

The annual messages differed from the other speeches in that they were organized on a topical basis with subject matter divided according to the many headings in each. Major problems were placed near the introduction of the messages, but the chief issue was not always placed first. The other speeches generally followed a logical pattern of arrangement with the following differences noted:

The campaign speeches were organized around a central theme with the subject matter arranged thus: (1) a reference to the place and the occasion, (2) praise of the Democratic Party, (3) a reference to Republican obstructionism, (4) preview of materials to follow, (5) citing of a need, (6) a proposed remedy, (7) appeals for support.

In his special occasion speaking, F.D.R. usually (1) related himself and his interests to the audience, (2) praised the audience for its good work, (3) cited the problem at hand, (4) gave its history, (5) refuted opposing arguments, (6) gave his solution, and (7) appealed for support.

The radio speeches followed two patterns of development, both logical. Reports on the legislative sessions consisted of listings of accomplishments and failures of the legislature, followed by an argumentative evaluation
by the Governor. All the reports on the cost of state
government were arranged as follows: (1) introductory re-
marks, (2) history of the department being discussed, (3) 
comparison of cost in 1922 and 1932, (4) justification of 
the increase, (5) citing of the dangers of the elimination 
of the functions of the department, (6) question of whether 
to continue this activity.

It is clear that the gubernatorial speeches were 
sufficiently well-organized that they could be classified.

Recapitulation

Thonssen and Baird suggest the following six criteria 
for measuring the effectiveness of an orator:

(1) . . . the character of the immediate, surface 
response. . . .

(2) . . . the test of readability of the speeches. . . .

(3) . . . the speaker's ability to. . . construct a 
speech which has the essential qualities of good rhetoric 
as viewed from the printed page.

(4) . . . the orator's wisdom in judging the trends 
of the future.

(5) . . . responses deriving from possible changes 
in belief or attitude.

(6) . . . exercise of discernible and significant 
influence upon the course of events.

Each of the tests can be applied to a part of Roose-
velt's gubernatorial speaking. His speaking generally drew 
applause and often he was given a long ovation by his 
listeners. However, one could not discern the immediate 
surface effect of his radio speeches on a state-wide audience,
and his speeches to the legislature sometimes were not received with enthusiasm. His annual messages to the legislature, prepared with the reasonable assurance that they would be published, are concise reports and obviously were intended to be read. However, the other addresses were not prepared for their published value, and there are repetitions in language and argument. The technical perfection of the speeches was marred by what Frances Perkins referred to as his "unsystematic insight" into a problem. F.D.R.'s individual speeches do not represent an adherence to all the principles of good rhetoric. His argument was not technically perfect because he sometimes based his conclusion on fallacies in logic. There is little close-knit organization of the speeches, because his addresses were not prepared according to a systematic pattern of development.

The last three criteria offer the most obvious measurement of Roosevelt's gubernatorial speaking, because they are concerned with the effects on society of the speeches. It is difficult to evaluate his "wisdom in judging the trends of the future," because under his leadership these trends were directed toward fulfillment of his goals of social reform. His speeches were followed by changes in the voting habits of the people of New York, thereby indicating a change in the attitudes of the voters. The merit of the long range effects of his speaking has not yet been evaluated, for critics still challenge many of his innovations.
As Thonssen and Baird point out "... response is the key determinant of effectiveness." Franklin D. Roosevelt won response and achieved his goals. He was elected Governor, a large part of his legislative program was adopted, and he did become President. It is clear that without his speaking he would have achieved none of these.
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F.D.R's Personal Scrapbook, containing clippings, letters, and manuscripts, deposited in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

Marguerite A. Le Hunte's Scrapbook, containing clippings, letters, and manuscripts pertaining to Roosevelt's career, deposited in Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

Radio Addresses Delivered by Franklin D. Roosevelt

1929

March 7 - Agriculture Hour.

March 27 - Bond Issue Speech.

April 3 - Telephone Address to Maurice Block testimonial dinner.

April 3 - Report on 1929 Legislative Session

April 10 - Report on 1929 Legislative Session

May 21 - Telephone speech from Warm Springs to Moultrie, Georgia.
May 28 - Invitation to travel through New York State.
September 17 - Report after Inspection tour of state.
October 30 - Morals of Good Government.

1930

February 3 - Present needs of the State.
March 2 - States Rights.
March 26 - 1930 Legislature.
March 31 - Conservation of Natural Resources.
April 12 - Thomas Jefferson.
April 12 - Report on 1930 Legislature.
April 16 - Report on 1930 Legislature.
April 21 - Public Utility Regulation.
May 31 - Knights of Columbus Convention.
October 9 - Campaign Address.
October 13 - Campaign Address.
October 16 - Campaign Address.
November 28 - Combat tuberculosis by buying Christmas seals.

1931

January 20 - National Thrift Week.
January 31 - Dairymen's League.
February 15 - Crippled Children.
April 1 - Conservation.
April 7 - Passage of St. Lawrence Power Bill.
April 24 - Report on 1931 Legislature.
June 24 - Wishing.

September 17 - Speech on the completion of U. S. Highway Number 1.

October 20 - Urging voters to support Reforestation Amendment.

October 26 - Urging voters to support Reforestation Amendment.

November 2 - Urging voters to support Reforestation Amendment.

November 13 - Advocating moving towards sources of food.

1932

February 8 - Wishing cost of Local Government.

February 29 - Reorganization of Local Government.

March 16 - Organization of Lock Aid.

April 7 - "Forgotten Man" speech.

April 8 - Magnitude of Boy Scout Movement.

June 9 - Cost of State Government.

June 16 - Cost of State Government, Department of Agriculture and Markets and Civil Service.

June 23 - Cost of State Government, Department of Mental Hygiene.

July 7 - Cost of State Government, Department of Taxation and Finance and Department of State.

July 21 - Cost of State Government, Department of Health.

July 28 - Cost of State Government, Department of Correction and Social Welfare.

August 4 - Cost of State Government, Department of Labor.

October 22 - Greetings to Stage Stars.

October 27 - Tribute to Greek Americans.

December 21 - Message to Christmas ship bound for Puerto Rico.
Special Occasion Addresses

1929

January 2 - Before Democratic State Committee, Albany.

February 1 - Dinner of New York State Press Association.

March 1 - Consumers League, New York City.

March 1 - Metropolitan Club Dinner in recognition of 12 years as President of Boy Scout Foundation of Greater New York.

March 9 - Luncheon of United Neighborhood Houses, New York City.

March 14 - Banquet of Legislative correspondents.


March 18 - Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Troy.

May 3 - A M College Commencement, Carrollton, Georgia.

May 10 - Atlanta Bar Association.

June 4 - Bankers Club, Warm Springs, Georgia.


June 10 - Hobart College Commencement.

June 12 - Fordham University Commencement.

June 17 - Phi Beta Kappa Speech, Harvard.

June 25 - 28th Conference of Health Officers, Saratoga Springs.

July 13 - Speech on extension of rehabilitation of Mentally and Physically handicapped persons, Chautauqua.

July 16 - Conference of Governors, Speech on Crime.

August 15 - Survey of Soil and Climatic conditions, Silver Lake.
August 26 - Dedication of Lake Champlain Bridge, Crown Point.

August 28 - Annual Farm Dinner of Jerome D. Barnum, Syracuse.

August 29 - Dedication of Unveiling of Memorial Tables, Syracuse.

1929

August 29 - New York State Fair, Syracuse.

September 11 - 22nd annual tax conference, Saranac Inn.

October 17 - Saratoga Battlefield.

October 17 - Convocation of Regents of University of New York.

October 13 - Convention of New York State Waterways Association.

November 8 - Columbia Bar Dinner.

November 10 - Church of the Heavenly Rest.

November 12 - 35th convention of New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, Albany.

December 10 - Democratic Luncheon.


1930

January 8 - Hensselaer Company Democratic Committee.

January 16 - Dinner of Holland Society.

January 17 - Bond Club Luncheon.

January 17 - Dinner of State Charities Aid Association.

January 18 - Luncheon of National Republican Club.

February 14 - State College of Agriculture, Cornell University.
February 28 - New York Board of Trade Luncheon, New York City.

March 1 - New York City National Democratic Club.

March 7 - Welcome to General and Lady Baden-Powell, New York City.

March 12 - Schenectady County Democratic Organization.

March 22 - Midtown Merchants Association.

April 12 - Accomplishments and failures of 1930 session.

June 9 - Testimonial dinner to FDR by Democratic Club of Oneida Co., Inc., Utica.

June 17 - Democratic State Committee.

June 24 - Reception for Rear Admiral Richard Byrd, Albany.

June 30 - Governor's Conference, Salt Lake City.

July 9 - Syracuse University.

August 21 - Howe Caverns.

August 27 - State Federation of Labor, Buffalo.

September 3 - Dinner given by Jerome Kurnum, Syracuse.

September 4 - State Fair, Syracuse.

September 30 - Syracuse, Democratic State Convention.

October 3 - Acceptance Address, New York City.

October 28 - Advertising Club.

November 11 - Armistice Day Address.

1931.

January 31 - Annual Dinner of the New York State Agriculture Society, Auriania Club.
February 7 - Automobile Club Luncheon.

February 7 - Banquet of Real Estate board of New York, Ind., Hotel Commodore, New York City.

February 13 - Cornell University Farm and Home Week, Ithaca.

March 6 - Address on Unemployment Insurance, New York City.

March 17 - Dinner of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Hotel Astor, New York City.

April 11 - Odd Fellows Convention, State Armory, Schenectady.

April 28 - New York City Charter Centennial Dinner, New York City.

April 30 - Ground breaking Ceremonies for Union Island Terminal, New York City.

April 30 - Young Men's Democratic Club, Hotel Astor, New York City.

June 2 - Conference of Governors at French Lick, Indiana.

June 15 - Advertising Federation of America, Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City.

June 22 - Von Hornesville School Commencement.

July 6 - Extemporaneous address before University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

August 19 - American Life Conference, Ithaca.

August 12 - Address Accepting bust of George Washington, Senate Chamber, State Capitol, Albany.

September 9 - Annual Farm Dinner of Jerome D. Barnum, Syracuse.

September 9 - Fiftieth Anniversary of Founding of First Red Cross Chapter in the United States, Danville, New York.

September 12 - Dedication of Steuben Memorial Park, Remsen, New York.

October 16 - Susquehannock Centennial Celebration, Yorktown, Virginia.
October 22 - Unveiling of Governor Glynn Portrait, Executive Chamber, State Capitol, Albany.

October 24 - Dedication of the George Washington Bridge, New York City.


November 26 - Thanksgiving Dinner at Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Warm Springs, Georgia.

December 11 - Dinner at Completion of the Regional Plan of New York.

1932

January 1 - Democratic Victory Dinner, Hotel Astor, New York City.

January 20 - Meeting of the New York State Agricultural Society, Albany.

February 2 - New York Grange, State Armory, Albany.

February 19 - Farm and Home Week, Ithaca, New York.

February 22 - Address at Commemorative Patriotic Exercises of the 200th Birthday of George Washington, Chancellors Hall, Albany.

March 12 - Before Bar Association of New York City.

April 9 - Catholic Charities Luncheon, New York City.

April 18 - Jefferson Day Dinner, St. Paul, Minnesota.

April 27 - Governor's Conference, Richmond, Virginia.

May 22 - Commencement Exercises, Oglethorpe University, Oglethorpe, Georgia.

May 27 - Tuckahoe, New York.

June 7 - Opening of Port of Albany.
October 16 - Nomination acceptance speech.

October 17 - Hancock
Middleton
Neponsit
Fort Jervis
Surquehanna
Collinson
Binghamton

October 18 - Oswego
Elmira

October 19 - Corning
Hornell
Wellesville
Cleau
Salamanca
Jamestown

October 20 - Dunkirk
Buffalo

October 22 - Batavia
Hochester

October 23 - Canandaigua
Seneca Falls
Syracuse
October 24 - Oswego
   Watertown
October 25 - Rome
   Utica
October 26 - Herkimer
   Schenectady
   Troy
October 27 - Albany
October 29 - Queens
October 30 - New York City
   Bronx
October 31 - Yorkville
November 1 - Yonkers
November 2 - Fun Club Luncheon, New York City
   Academy of Music
November 3 - Madison Square Garden

1930

October 18 - Binghamton - Elmira
October 20 - Buffalo
October 21 - Rochester - Batavia - Geneseo
October 22 - Syracuse - Geneva - Auburn
October 23 - Utica
October 24 - Albany
October 28 - Advertising Club
   Yonkers
October 29 - Jamaica
October 30 - Staten Island
October 31 - Brooklyn Academy of Music
November 1 - New York City
November 4 - Election Day

Official Addresses

1929

January 1 - Inaugural Address
January 2 - Annual Message
January 16 - Before Legislative Committees on Taxation and Agriculture
March 12 - To the Legislature - "St. Lawrence, source of power"

1930

January 1 - Annual Message

1931

January 1 - Inaugural Address
January 7 - Annual Message

1932

January 6 - Annual Message
Paul Jordan Pennington was born April 20, 1923, in Deweyville, Texas. He attended public schools in Dierks, Arkansas, Bienville, Louisiana, Broken Bow, Oklahoma, and graduated from Pine Bluff High School, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, in 1941. That same year he enrolled in Henderson State Teachers' College, Arkadelphia, Arkansas. He left his studies in 1942 to serve three years in the U. S. Army Air Force. He re-enrolled at Henderson State Teachers' College in 1946 and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1948. The following year he taught speech at Classen High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. In 1949 he entered the University of Oklahoma and received the Master of Arts degree from there in 1950. He served for one year as instructor of speech at Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma. In 1951 he entered Louisiana State University for four semesters of graduate work. In 1952 he was employed by Louisiana Polytechnic Institute where he is now Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Speech. He is at present a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Speech.

In 1948 he married Doris Beth Riley and they are the parents of two daughters, Paula Beth and Margaret Caryl.
Candidate: Paul Jordan Pennington

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: A Rhetorical Study of the Gubernatorial Speaking of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Approved:

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Major Professor and Chairman

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EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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