

# 'AL' SMITH OPENS CAMPAIGN ON ISSUE OF 'REACTION'

## SMITH SAYS 'REACTIONARY' RULE BY MILLER IS ISSUE

Continued from First Page.

met them and listened to them, and I sent their recommendations to the Legislature and the Republican majority turned them down. When they called on Gov. Miller he told them they were a menace to the State.

"Another special interest—the representatives of organized labor—called on me. I recommended a great many things at their suggestion that I thought of benefit to the State. They received the same treatment by the Republican majority that the welfare bills received. The door of the executive chamber was open to them all during my administration. Last year and this year they have been unable to approach even the Capitol itself.

"Another special interest—men and women interested in the welfare of the people in our penal institutions called on me. I appointed a committee to survey that made many recommendations that were put into force and effect, bettering conditions in our penal institutions. When that interest called on the Governor he told them that the prisoners were too well off.

"I had another interest call on me, namely, employers and employees who were at odds. I appointed a board for the consideration of strikes and lock-outs and sat in with them myself and adjusted a great many of the strike troubles throughout the State. Gov. Miller called out the police.

### Public Utilities.

"The water power interests knew better than to call on me because they had known my position on water power for ten years. They know that I am in favor of the development, ownership and control of the water power of the State by the State to the end that the people themselves may get the full benefit of their natural resources. When they called on Gov. Miller and the Republican Legislature they were given to them to divert water from the St. Lawrence river that they were denied by a repeal of their charter under a Democratic Legislature in 1913.

"The New York traction interests did not call on me because they knew well that I would refer them back to their own city to settle their affairs before the only tribunal competent to hear them. They called on the Governor and the Republican Legislature and were successful in having the city authorities lifted entirely out of the picture so that a State appointed commission might fasten into existing contracts with the city increase the car fares in the city of New York. The city or her people did not ask for this transfer of power to any other party in interest was the railroads, so the special interests won.

"The telephone interests and the gas and electric companies throughout the State were not successful when they called on Gov. Miller. They succeeded in having a Public Service Commission upon which they are themselves represented so fastened into the law ten years to come that they are practically beyond the power of anybody to remove them.

"A special interest visited me to speak about the insane soldiers. I recommended an appropriation of \$2,000,000 for a special hospital for their exclusive treatment. When the special interests called on Gov. Miller they were told that the war heroes in State hospitals are much better fed, kept and housed than 75 per cent. of the people of the State who are paying taxes which support the hospitals.

### The State Constitution.

"Another special interest that called upon me was made up of the Advisory Council of Real Estate Interests, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the Brooklyn Young Republican Club, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Chamber of Commerce of all the municipal cities of the State, the Women's Municipal League, the Women's City Club and Rotary clubs throughout the State, backed up by such prominent Republicans as Elihu Root, Nicholas Murray Butler, Charles Evans Hughes, J. Gould Schurman, George W. Wickersham, Judge Clegg, Senator Davenport, Samuel S. Koenig, Jacob A. Livingston, Alfred E. Marling, Adelbert Moot, Henry L. Stimson, William L. Ward of Westchester, Erskine C. Rogers, the Republican candidate for Attorney General, and Nathan L. Miller, then a private citizen, in the interests of the reorganization of the State government and the simplification of its makeup by reducing its 130 odd agencies of government to eighteen compact departments by amendment to the Constitution which would further provide for a new executive budget, something that the Republican party thought good in the nation but were unwilling to give to their own State.

"I recommended to the legislatures of 1919 and 1920 amendments to the constitution which would empower the Legislature to reorganize the State government. The Legislature, starting in a hostile frame of mind toward the amendments, heard from the folks at home, and were unable to withstand the pressure of public opinion in favor of them, and reluctantly and grudgingly passed them in the dying moments of the session.

"The same interest was unable to

make its plea to Gov. Miller. At the behest of some one or of some interest, after conference with the legislative leaders, it was whispered around the corridors of the Assembly that the reorganization amendments were not to be passed. Thus the work and labor given unavailably by a great number of the State's foremost citizens went by the board with a single shrug of the shoulders and we find ourselves to-day still struggling along with a broken, disjointed, tied up form of government that the men themselves engaged in it do not understand. Significant, indeed, is it for the newspapers to carry under the headline of Saturday of last week that the Governor summoned his 200 department heads to the executive chamber for conference.

"Nathan L. Miller approved these amendments and admitted at that time that they were essential if real efficiency and genuine economy were to be effected in the government of the State. Strange to say, that when he had the opportunity to go to Albany to drive them through the Legislature he turned about face on the proposal. Had he approved of them in his first year of office we would today have a completely reorganized, compact, efficient government instead of the wasteful, scattered, irresponsible, duplicating structure which we have now.

### Miller's Substitutes.

However, Gov. Miller said he had a substitute for these amendments which was just as good and would save time. Let us see what it was. He did nothing about the budget system. He abolished the Department of Narcotics, Drug Control, and imposed on local communities the burden of caring for these unfortunate people; he abolished the State Excise Department and claimed that it was in the interest of economy; he suggested the abolition of the port wardens and declared them to be useless, but finally accepted from the Legislature a ripper bill that threw out the Democrats and put Republicans in their place; he reorganized the Tax Department and got rid of the Democratic Tax Commissioners. In this particular case he brought about nothing of a consolidation, but went about it in such a manner as to effect no economy. He did away with a central control of automobile licensing and scattered it around among the counties. This, of course, saved no money to the taxpayer ultimately because the cost was saddled on local authorities. He abolished the Superintendent of Elections and in obedience to the party cry for exempt patronage he recreated it as a bureau in the office of the Attorney General. This is his substitute for the comprehensive plan by constitutional amendments that had the vigorous support of the organizations and men that

"The Governor's trump card is his boast of economy. It would take a group of certified public accountants to count the number of times the Governor has shifted as to the millions he is supposed to have saved. If a Governor can move at the total of his appropriation bills he will have very little difficulty in impressing on the public that his administration should be credited with great economy.

"I have a fondness for official documents. Press statements, reports from press bureaus and political flurrying can stand up before the heavy searchlight of real facts outlined in State papers. The Legislative Manual is published under the direction of the Secretary of State, pursuant to statute, and at page 615 of the 1922 manual there are enumerated the total appropriations for the support of government for ten years back. That document shows that Gov. Miller's administration in his first year was more costly to the taxpayer than was my last year, and in fact was the most costly in the history of the State.

### Economies Compared.

"It is but a natural thing for the man on the street when he hears of great economy in the administration of State affairs to ask the simple question, 'Where is it reflected and in what way do I get the benefit?' The State raises money for itself in two ways; one by indirect taxation and one by direct. The direct tax is levied against real and personal property and personal incomes. Indirect taxes are levied on certain business transactions and estates of deceased persons.

"There has been no real reduction in any of the State taxes. We are paying our income tax now at the same rate that we paid it ten years ago. In fact, one form, that levied against the owners of automobiles, has been increased and the State has reached out to tax a new industry—moving pictures. There has been a reduction in the amount of the direct tax against realty, but that does not represent a saving, because the difference is being taken from the State's surplus. A man would realize no economy in his business if to effect a small saving out of his annual income he accomplished that saving by drawing against his bank account for expenses. Republican press bureaus, Republican orators, republican newspapers and the Governor himself can shout economy in the house, but that cannot change official figures. The real fact is that Gov. Miller's two years in office cost the taxpayers of this State \$44,990,651.95 more than my two years

## MAIN POINTS SMITH MADE IN ACCEPTING NOMINATION

WHEN you get rid of the lovely picture painted by the press bureau of the welfare and economy Governor, the friend of the common people, what is left is a real reactionary Governor of the old fashioned Republican school.

I would be the last man in the world who would question Gov. Miller's personal ability, and I will to-night and throughout the campaign deal only with the record, and if any one can make out of that anything but the history of a reactionary Governor I do not know the difference between reaction and progress.

The only special interests that received my assistance are the special interests of the people. When the women called on me asking for welfare measures I listened and sent their proposals to the Legislature. When they called on Miller he called them a menace.

I served another special interest—the employers and employees. I appointed a board to consider strikes and adjust their troubles. Miller called out the police.

The Governor's trump card is his boast of economy. It would take a group of certified public accountants a week to recount the number of times the Governor has shifted as to the number of millions he is supposed to have saved. His first year was more costly to the taxpayers than my last year.

There has been no real reduction in State taxes. The real fact is that Miller's two years in office cost the taxpayers \$44,990,651 more than my two years cost them.

Miller's economies in reorganization represent complicated trick bookkeeping, and are no substitute for real permanent economy and reorganization of the government by constitutional amendment such as I proposed.

cost them. The Governor drew a very rosy picture for the taxpayers of the State when he tried to have them see 2,500 employees, referred to by him as hangers on to the Capitol, marching away from their employment as a result of his attempts of economy. The real fact is that the records of the State show that the personnel was greater in 1921 under his administration than it was in 1920 under mine.

"Mr. George W. Wickersham, speaking for the New York State Association, proved the contention that I just made, and the Governor, in order to back up his fictitious claim of reduction, ordered the State Civil Service Commission to print a new form of report, which has since been used as propaganda, in which he makes a distinction between State departments and State institutions in such a way as to cover up the real facts. What is the conclusion? The record shows us the real Governor. The Republican press bureau presents to the people the picture Governor and speaks of his humanitarian achievements which the record show to be largely imaginary. It speaks of the great public problems which he claims to have solved, when the real fact is that he has left them all in hopeless controversy. His economies in reorganization represent largely complicated trick bookkeeping and are no substitute for real permanent economy and reorganization of the government by constitutional amendment.

"The members of the Republican press bureau find their greatest difficulty in dressing the Governor up for reelection with any substantial contribution to the public welfare along well defined lines. In October of 1921, before his advisers told him that he would have to make some step in the direction of social welfare, he had it confounded entirely with the charitable activities of the State. In his speech in Buffalo he said, 'I think the people fall, as a rule, to appreciate how much the State has done in the field of public welfare. Of the budget of \$135,000,000 more than half goes to the direct work of State charities.'

"Nothing could be more ridiculous than the Republican State Committee claim backed up by a statement from the Governor himself that 'the last Legislature has enacted more laws to promote real social welfare than have been proposed even during all the time that agitators and demagogues have been giving lip service to what they call social welfare.' The Governor must know that all the welfare measures of any importance enacted in this State in twenty years were enacted under Democratic administrations, and while he, in his speech, failed to specify, I will enumerate them: The workmen's compensation act, the fifty-four hour law for women, the bills prohibiting child labor in the canneries of the State, the bill prohibiting night work by women, the one day of rest in seven law, the widows pension bill, the child welfare act, the emergency rest laws, the reorganization of the Health Department, making it a live, active agency in the interest of the public health, rather than a bureau of statistics; the bills for better protection from fire in factories, the abolition of female employment in foundries, the compulsory installation of rest rooms for women in factories and mercantile establishments.

### Welfare Attitudes.

"In fact, one of the strongest Republican papers in the State said at the time of the passage of these laws that the Democratic leaders in Albany had made the most substantial contribution to public welfare and public betterment made in a century. The Democratic platform upon which I stand promises to the people of the State the creation of a real bureau of women in industry within the Labor Department, with adequate appropriation to be of genuine benefit to the people of the State to take the place of the existing, so-called division living in name only and destroyed by lack of appropriation and rendered useless in a desire for an economy that economizes the dollars at the sacrifice of the health and well-being of the women who have to work. It promises a minimum wage commission, with power to fix living wages for women and minors in industry; it promises a maximum eight hour day for women and minors and the extension of child welfare legislation instituted under a Democratic administration that will protect the greatest resource that the State has.

"As far as these particular subjects are concerned, the claims of the Miller welfare legislation consist in the compulsory extension of boards of child welfare, already started by the Democratic party, and the extension of children's courts pursuant to an amendment to the Constitution begun in my term. For this he is entitled to no credit. The press bureau in drawing the fancy picture cannot get away from the Governor's own statement in a number of places assembled in Albany in 1921, and primarily in social welfare legislation. He politely, but very firmly, told them that their organization constituted a menace to the community and enunciated in unmistakable terms his attitude toward social welfare generally with the following: 'I assert that it is the duty of the State not to make life comfortable, not to remove these cares which the sentimentalists say afflict the poor working people; not to make it certain that, regardless of their industry or thrift, they will be taken care of whether employed or not.'

"His reactionary mind is unable to see that proper care of the mothers of our future citizens makes for the welfare of the State itself by giving us good, sound, healthy citizens, for, after all, the State, with all its wealth, with all its industry with all its great farmlands; with all its great commercial and industrial centers can never be any stronger than the people who make it up.

### Labor Legislation.

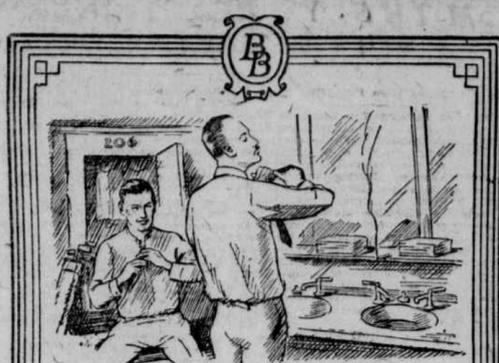
"For a great many years it has been the policy of the State to safeguard by law the health and comfort of men, women and children engaged in industry. Prior to the organization of the State Factory Investigating Commission under Democratic rule in 1911 the Labor Department existed as a department in name only. While many beneficial laws were upon the statute books there was no enforcement of them because of lack of appropriations to make proper inspections. In 1911 the State was made alive to the fact that the laws were not adequate and such as existed were not enforced when, in half an hour at the Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire more than one hundred lives were lost because of a locked door.

"Very rarely every constructive measure to remedy the situation met with bitter Republican opposition from the Senate and the Assembly. It remained for the present Republican administration in Albany to find a way to deprive the factory workers of the State of the protection of the finally enacted laws without repealing the statutes and that was done by paralyzing the whole Labor Department through lack of appropriation, without which it could not and cannot function.

"At the beginning of the present Republican administration in Albany the whole labor code and the entire department charged with its enforcement were thrown into chaos by a so-called reorganization. While the form of organization adopted was desirable and previously recommended by the Reconstruction Commission, the bill providing for it, and especially subsequent bills were used as a cloak to disrupt and disorganize and cripple the whole department. Statements of this kind without facts and figures to back them up would be idle. Let us therefore make a comparison:

"In the last year of my administration there was appropriated to the Department of Labor \$2,638,737. In the first year of Gov. Miller's administration there was appropriated \$1,590,000 in a lump sum, giving to the newly created Industrial Commissioner the absolute power to hire and fire at will. Disregarding entirely popular opinion to the contrary, a further reduction was made in 1922 of \$186,000. This curtailment of appropriation has so far resulted in the dismissal of 114 employees out of a total of 1,147, in which were included eighty-five trained inspectors, one-third of the entire inspecting force.

"Employment offices conducted by the State designed to find employment for men and women out of work were shut down in the very middle of a business



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