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**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”**

**The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945**

**Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension**

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**File No. 212**

**1920 October 16**

**Cincinnati, OH - Campaign Speech**

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT  
CINCINNATI, OHIO., OCT. 16, 1920

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By these appeals, in many instances based on false promises and misstatements of fact, they are stirring up a tumult of hostile feeling toward other countries that will continue to bear evil fruit long after the present election has become a memory. In many instances these speakers are deliberately inflaming the passions of their hearers, creating enmity toward those countries with whose soldiers our boys fought side by side in the late war, countries that are still our Allies, and countries that will, God willing, continue to be our Allies in the great work that confronts the civilized nations in rebuilding the world after the storms of the great war.

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It is hardly conceivable how the more progressive element among the Republican Party Leaders can continue their support of Senator Harding. Were he even a standpatter - a conservative of conservatives, it seems to me it would be easier for them to follow him. His apparent inability to say what he means, or to mean what he says, should make him absolutely hopeless as a standard bearer from a progressive point of view. Day after day his indecision and vacillation becomes more apparent. Since the time he first yielded openly to Borah's threats and came out flatly against the League of Nations, the Senator's troubles have been increasing daily and his task of keeping the pro and anti-leaguers of his own party in line has become a desperate problem - in fact so desperate has it become that there are signs that near panic reigns in the Republican camp. Desertions from the Republican ranks by independent thinking voters, disgusted with the straddling policy of their standard-bearer, has brought a forceful realization to the Republican Leaders of the tremendous spread of sentiment from ~~Harding's~~ Coast to Coast for Cox and the League. So marked is this turn in the tide as reports come in from all parts of the Country, the leaders in desperation have taken a new tack and are making a frantic appeal to the hundreds of thousands of pro-leaguers in their ranks to stand firm for Harding. This is illustrated by the statement a couple of days ago of thirty-

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In this connection I want to call your attention to a good turn which young Mr. Will Hays and the Republican National Committee have done for us. In fact, they have done us stand a good turn that I am inclined to think "something was put over" on them from the inside. It looks as though some good Democrat might have been working around their headquarters. I refer, of course, to the numberless huge signboards, erected from the apparently limitless fund which the Republicans have, which are scattered all over the Country. They bear the likeness of Senator Harding and his runningmate and alongside of the Senator's picture are ~~the~~ words which we can decided to adopt as one of the Democratic slogans - "Let us have done with wiggle and wobble". With Senator Harding reversing himself more a dozen times during the past two weeks in his attitude on the League of Nations, it is highly fitting that we Democrats should cry from the house-tops - "Let us have done with wiggle and wobble".

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HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Cincinnati, Ohio

October 16

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SPEECH; HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Cincinnati, O., October 16, 1930.  
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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After that introduction by my old friend, Bob Marx, I think I must feel a good deal the way Mark Twain did after hearing his own obituary. But I can assure you that I am not dead by a long shot. It is a very great pleasure to come here to Cincinnati, even though I have left part of my voice on the trails of Indiana during the past week. I have come here full of fighting spirit, fully able to go through with this campaign, not merely for the next two weeks but even if it were to last for two months to come. In many ways, I wish it could last two months. I would like to be able, in my small way, to help in bringing the great issues of this campaign in person before every man and woman voter in every State of the Union. I have not got any real doubt that there is plenty of time left in the next two weeks to bring it home to enough Americans not merely to insure the result but to insure the carrying out of the great principles of this campaign by a tremendous majority in favor of your great Governor. I have travelled now in well over thirty States of the Union, and I have begun to wonder, now that I have come back to Ohio. I was thinking today on the train how much does Ohio appreciate the man who has been her Governor three terms? Outside of Ohio, there is not any question. I knew about your Governor and have known for a good many years, but frankly I was surprised in my travels to find out through the West, far off in the distant corners of the East, the extraordinary knowledge that men and women had of the things which he had done for your State. They knew about the details of legislation, they knew about the things which he had promised the people of the State if elected and they knew the way he carried out those pledges. I was glad of that, because I think it confirmed my opinion that the vote in this Year of Grace is going to be more and more a vote of intelligence, a vote that will get away from the old fashioned system of blindly following a party, right or wrong. It was a Naval Officer back in the twentys, Stephen Decatur, Commodore Decatur, who proposed the famous toast, "My country, right or wrong". And in the days of strenuous party strife that followed, the

days preceding the Civil War, that toast of the Naval Officer was taken and twisted for partisan advantage, and people began to say, "My party, right or wrong". And it has taken a generation or two to get over that in the States and get back to the old fashioned kind of Americanism, the real kind that existed in the days when we had but a single thought. It has taken time, but we have accomplished the result, and today the vote of this country, as expressed in November, is going to be a vote of intelligence, one, thank Heavens, that will place country first and party second. There have been many momentous things that have occurred in this campaign. I suppose that even I in the beginning of the campaign felt very much like a partisan candidate. I had been out there to that great convention at San Francisco, and had seen them at work in the open, every move before your eyes and nothing in a locked room of a hotel. And I had come back perhaps feeling that the Democratic Party just as a name, just as an organization, was the greatest thing in the country, and I think I maintained that point of view for several weeks until I began to get out campaigning and rubbing elbows, not with just Democrats, but with Republicans, Independents, Prohibitionists and Socialists in these different States of ours. And then I began to get back to normal again, and I began to realize that there was something bigger than party, and the people in this campaign were discussing issues that were bigger than party. And as the campaign has gone on, those issues seem to have become concentrated into something that is so far above party that it is a veritable crime that it was ever made the football of politics. I am talking, of course, about the great moral issue, about a thing that stated in this country way back, I take it, in the days of the Revolution, the theory that this nation had something to do with the goodness and the future happiness of all the world. I was surprised the other day when I got just one day's holiday at home. I picked up an old volume containing the messages of President Washington to the Congress of the United States, and in those messages was paragraph after paragraph with reference to the duty which this country owes to other nations. The particular examples I happened to read of in those early ninetys, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795, related to the freedom of the seas, and it was George

Washington who in advocating to Congress the creation of a Navy, we had none then, based it not merely upon the protection of American shores and American commerce, but based it also on the preservation of the right of peoples to sail with their commerce the seven seas in safety and happiness. And it was due to Washington's example, to his policy in his first and second administrations, that our Navy was created and fought its first war down in the West Indies for the suppression of piracy, not for the protection of just our ships, but for the good of all the vessels that traded in those seas. And our second war, that against the Barbary Powers, over on the coast of Africa a hundred and fifteen years ago, that was fought by the United States for the same principle, not just the protection of our commerce, but to make the Mediterranean Sea safe for the commerce of the world. We, in 1805, as a nation were thanked by Holland and Spain and Genoa and Venice for having put an end forever to the pirates that infested the north coast of Africa and the south shore of the Mediterranean. And it was only seven years later that this nation, taking the greatest chance almost that it could, threw down the gauntlet to the great power of England and fought the war of 1812 for the freedom of the seas. And by the successful conclusion of that war, the principle was established for all nations for all time that no one nation, just because it had the power and the Navy capable of doing it, could have the right to impress the seamen, to drag human beings out of the ships of other nations and put them into virtual slavery. We did that, yes, for ourselves, but in the larger sense for all humanity. Oh, I could go on down through history this way, but the greatest step of all was taken ninety nine years ago, when James Monroe, the President of the United States, enunciated for the first time a doctrine based on Christianity, for he said to the nations of the world in effect, "Down there in South and Central America are little republics, small peoples, little able to take care of themselves, weak in numbers and power, and they won their independence just the way we did, by force of arms, but they are small and weak, in danger of being attacked by the greater nations of the world, and the United States proposes from now on that these nations shall live their national life in freedom, that they shall maintain

their independence, work out their own system of government." Why, my friends, is it not in modern language, the right of self-determination. Let me put it in another phrase and see how many of you recognize the words. Did not James Monroe say to the world in 1821, "We guarantee the territorial integrity of those nations against external aggression".

There are still some people in this audience that still do not know the fact that this a direct quotation from Article Ten of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article Ten, that dangerous thing, that bogie, that ghost that has been called up before our eyes for months. Why let me tell you about the telegram that came to me yesterday, from New England. I will read it to you, and it is from a woman an independent voter back in my own county on the Hudson River. I had known all along that she was favorable to the cause of the League of Nations, but I did not know how her husband was going to vote, and she sent me this telegram, and it explains itself. She says, "My husband \*\*\*\*\* I left him alone". I take off my hat to that woman, I take off my hat to any woman who has the courage and the nerve to leave her beloved husband all alone with a copy of the League of Nations' Covenant. It was taking great chances, but I will end your suspense and tell you that it all ended well, for while that dangerous Covenant won out against hubby, he survived, too, and the next morning -- it goes on and says, "nothing more was said until this morning, when he quietly remarked, 'I guess I will have to vote for Cox and Roosevelt'".

That simply confirmed what I have been saying, and what Governor Cox has been saying for weeks and months, that we had no doubt as to the result being overwhelming if we could get a copy of this Covenant in the hands of every man and woman of the country. It is only about four columns long. Anybody can read it in fifteen minutes. We have printed all the copies we could with the limited funds, but even the gentlemen who have more money, the gentlemen on the other side, did not have nerve enough to put it in their campaign text book. What it was I do not know, because after all from the very beginning it has been one of the paramount issues of the campaign, and as such men and women of

both parties wanted to read it and they could not get a copy, and in State after State I have searched and asked whether any Republicans could get me a copy through their headquarters, and invariably I have been told that it was not being published this year by the Republican Headquarters. And so I was very glad to read this morning that the Republican National Headquarters in Chicago announced that it had had printed several thousand or rather million copies. I am glad of it, but I would be willing to make the assertion, ~~that~~ without having seen any of those copies, that you will find that fully two thirds of the front part of those pamphlets is filled with an explanation of the dangers of the League and that the League is printed at the end, and furthermore, I venture the suggestion - and see if it is not verified if you can get a copy -- that parallel with the League itself are quotations from eminent gentlemen who have been trying, like Borah and Johnson, to put every known kind of objection in its way. I make this prophecy because I have been somewhat acquainted with the campaign the Republican managers are waging against the League of Nations. I want to emphasize the point, as I did at the very outset of this campaign, that our quarrel is not this year against the rank and file of the Republican Party, our campaign is not against the men and women who have done so much to make the Republican Party in the past a great party, a progressive party, but our quarrel is and always will be with the type of men whom Theodore Roosevelt fought in 1912, the type of men, my friends, who remain absolutely and unequivocally in ~~the~~ control of the machinery of the Republican Party today. And so in view of the fact that they are old acquaintances of ours along this line, we know pretty well what each new move will be and we have not been surprised in this campaign that dating back over a year ago, there has been a systematic effort made to frighten America out of the League, frighten her so much that we would wish to maintain a position of isolation, frighten her so much that we could take that stand long enough to enable Republican politicians to win an election, and thereby discredit the President of the United States. But we can go back and recite numerous things that have been said about the League. It was not so long ago that a ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ woman came to me

and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, I cannot vote for Cox and you". I said, "Why". And she said, "Why, because of what has happended in Canada." And I said, "For goodness sake, what has happened to poor old Canada, tell me the terrible news." And she whispered, "Haven't you heard"? And I said, "No, I haven't heard." And she said, "Why last night, Mrs. Brown, the wife of the Republican County Chairman, came around to a meeting and she said a lot of things. She said that Canada had sent out telegrams to all her service men who fought in the war summoning them back to the colors, because Canada had received orders from the League of Nations to send an army to Poland." And do you know she believed it. And a lot of other good women in this country would believe campaign propoganda like that and if a lot of good women believe a thing like that just think of the vast army of men who would, too. That is only one example ~~and~~ and I could go on an quote dozens of them. I could tell you about the deliberate untruths that have been handed out by Mr. Will Hays and his organization in Chicago, a pamphlet of poor old Uncle Sam on the verge of a precipice being firmly pushed over the edge by six dangerous characters labeled, England, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India and South Africa. Poor old Uncle Sam, he was in a dangerous place, and one felt sorry for him in such company, and on top, not satisfied with the lying picture, they printed a lying title, "ENGLAND HAS SIX VOTES TO OUR ONE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS". I will come back to that pretty soon and some of the details of these lies. Now I am trying to tell you what the lies were. I could go on an cite dozens of instances. And this talk about our boys being lift out of our homes and sent across the ocean to fight somebody else's battles. Why, the Governor of the State just across the river, Governor Morrow of Kentucky, addressed an audience in a small place the other day -- I suppose because it was a small place he thought he could get away with it -- he told an audience in his own State that if we went into the League of Nations we would have to send an army over there to take part in the war between the King of Siam and the Emperer of Timbuctoo. And that is a Governor, a Governor of one of the 48 States in the Union, and not a new State at that. I hope that Kentucky is ashamed of its Governor, and I would suggest to

my good friends in Kentucky that they should give him an opportunity of going to school and learning geography. But you know this whole campaign is based on an appeal to ignorance, it is based on an appeal to the baser elements in our nature. It is based on an appeal to our fears rather than our faith. What would have happened if we had pursued a course like that all through our history. What would have happened in 1821, when James Monroe announced that we were going to guarantee the territorial integrity of those small nations down to the south. Suppose Senator Lodge had been living at that time. Why, he would have gone around, he and his satellites. I will tell you a story about Senator Lodge in just a minute. He would have gone around in 1821, with his satellites, and he would have said to the good women of this country, the mothers, "My good woman, pulling a long face, do you realize the awful dangers in the Monroe Doctrine, what would happen to your dear boy. Do you realize that under this Monroe Doctrine, they can take him out of your home, send him down ~~there~~ there to Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia and all the rest of the world to fight somebody else's battles." Why, my friends, if we had only known that there would have been no such thing as the Monroe Doctrine. But, thank God, the Senators of 1821 were made of sterner stuff than they are today. I was going to tell you a story; I see no harm in telling it. ~~It~~ It has not much to do with the thing we are talking about. I heard it in Kansas City. The Rev. Burris Jenkins told me, it was an old story in Kansas City, but I had never heard it. There was a very delightful character from Kansas who went down to Washington as Senator, Senator Ingalls, and he never had been in Washington before. He had heard of the great sages and solons who ran our Government, he had heard of the wisdom of Lodge. So when he arrived, he looked up Lodge and had a friend introduce him. The Senator came out and chatted with him for about five minutes and then Senator Lodge was called away. His friend said, "You have seen Lodge, what do you think of him?". "Well", said Ingalls, "I have met Lodge. I should say it is a case of thin soil intensively cultivated." But to get back to the point.



Through all of our history we have fought for principle. We have established over the years the right to say to the world, "We are an unselfish nation, with a mission in the world. We care about the rights of the downtrodden people, we care about the rights of small nations that cannot defend themselves against aggression." We carried it out in 1898, down there in Cuba. When we went into that war, we told the old world powers that when we had finished winning from Spain, we were going to make Cuba a free Republic, and they would not believe us on the otherside. I mean the time-hardened statesmen of the old world diplomacy, they would not believe us, and they said cynically, "Cuba will end up as a colony of the United States." But it was because in that case, and in other cases, we have kept our word and done what we said we would do, that the peoples of the other countries have come to trust us.

I do not say the statesmen, because ~~there are~~ <sup>there are</sup> still some cynics left in the old school of diplomacy, but the peoples of the world know today that we are a nation that keeps its international obligations. And so when the world war came, and the great catastrophe spread over Europe, the peoples of the old world looked to us for an expression of something they had in their hearts. And the United States, through its leaders, its leaders of both parties, expressed that hope in simple language, and they talked to all the peoples of the world. They talked about something to be gained from the war, something besides a military victory. They talked about an association of nations, and they told the people that out of all that carnage a peace would come, a peace resulting not merely in a treaty, something to last ten years or a generation, something apparent for the old treaties that had been going on for centuries, but they would get something greater than that, they would obtain an agreement between the nations which for the first time in history put international relations on the same scale and plane that the relations between individuals had been since the days of Christainity. And the peoples of the world listened to our great men, Taft, and Roosevelt, for they were all preaching this gospel and they

decided it was worth while going on with the war to obtain this thing and at last we got in ourselves, and when we went into the war, when we got in, all the world knew that we were going to see to it, to use every effort as an honest nation that had always kept its word to obtain for all the nations this great principle, and we called it "a war to end war".

That was on everybody's tongue back in the days of 1917, and I have wondered very often since then what would have happened on April 6, 1917, or even on November 11, 1918, the opening day we got into the war and the closing day of the war, if Senator Harding, of this State, had ~~said~~<sup>stood</sup> up in the Senate of the United States and preached this gospel. Suppose he had said on either of those days, "The mission of the United States, the purpose of this nation in the war is merely to defeat the German armies, and the very second we have accomplished that purpose we will bring our troops home, and as soon as we have done that, negotiate a separate peace with Germany and we will declare by resolution of Congress that the war has ceased, and then we will draw a Chinese wall around this country, and we will tell the other nations of the world that we care nothing of what happens to them, and for all it concerns us they, the people we fought with shoulder to shoulder, all the peoples of the world may go to the Devil." And yet is not that exactly what Senator Harding has been saying on Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays for the last two months. Or perhaps I am wrong, it may be Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. However, that is what has been handed out to you, my friends, and if Senator Harding had said back there in 1917 and 1918 what he has been saying in the past two months he would have ceased long ago to be allowed on the floor of the Senate of the United States. I do not know how much longer this thing can go on, but we have talked about it for a whole year and we have talked about it until we ought to know the purpose of the League. Why, back there a year ago, when the President of the United States brought home the first draft of the League, when he landed in Boston and when Governor Coillige of Massachusetts welcomed him to Massachusetts and on the public platform, and in my presence, said, "Mr. President,

the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are behind you in the great work which you are accomplishing in Paris, and you may count on their support in the future as you have in the past." I hope that my friend, Calvin Coolidge, often remembers that remark in this campaign. Yes, and the President ~~is~~ went to Washington with the draft of the Covenant of the League and the members of the opposition, the Lodge, the Harding and the Taft, had an opportunity to see it and offer suggestions. And they offered them and the President went back to Paris and the suggestions made by the opposition were incorporated in the final draft of the League of Nations. I hold in my hand a program of a great meeting held in ~~Indianapolis~~ <sup>Indianapolis</sup> a year ago, May 28, 1919, a great meeting for the ratification of the League of Nations' Covenant. The meeting was called by an equal number of prominent Republicans and Democrats ~~in~~ of Indianapolis. The speakers at the meeting were the Honorable William Howard Taft, Doctor A. Lawrence Lowell, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Rabbi Steven S. Wise, and on the back was printed a statement of the League to Enforce Peace, of which those people were members. I believe the speakers that night authorized that statement just over a year ago. And now, my friends, notice that Doctor Lowell was one of the signers, one of the thirty one who signed that document day before yesterday, and that Mr. Taft has taken substantially the same position as Doctor Lowell. Here is what they endorsed a year ago:

"The covenant for a league of nations \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\* ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The issue now is the League or none."

That, my friends, is the most convincing proof that can be offered any audience, anywhere, of the greatest somersault ever committed in American public life. So we come right back to the fundamental proposition which I have stated, and which is now clear, thank Heavens, to the whole American people. The opposition to the League, on the part of nine out of ten, is due to a wilful desire to put party ahead of the good of the nation. But, yes, it is due to ignorance on the part of some. I will have to explain for the sake of some people in the audience some of these charges. I can hardly bear doing it, because I have read the

Covenant so often I can see no reason for doubt. On the question of the lady who heard that Canada had been ordered to send troops to Poland, we have not sent troops to Abyssinnia, Timbuctoo or Siam, as my old friend, Governor Morrow, has said, using Article Ten for a basis for his statement. I have quoted a part of Article Ten, "guarantee the territorial integrity of the League members against external aggression." That, my friends, is an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the purpose is to prevent from happening again the thing which happened to Belgium in 1914. Instead of the United States being the guarantor, the maker of the note of protection against external aggression, we have all the world as signers of this same note. You have increased the security behind these powers, a hundred fold almost. And the rest of Article Ten, the thing that sounds so dangerous, is this, in case of aggression, or the threat of aggression, that then the Council of the League of Nations will recommend such steps as may be necessary, find such steps as may be necessary to stop, to prevent the aggression. The Council of the League recommends to the nations what should be done, and your Chairman has so well said the first and greatest weapon the League has to stop aggression is the cutting off that nation from relations they normally would have with other nations, boycott it, kick it out of polite society for awhile until they have come to their senses. But that can only be done after you have gone through two steps. The Council has got to recommend and how? They have got to get a unanimous vote in the Council before they can recommend. That means nine, for there are only nine members in the Council. Who is in the Council -- here is the nasty lie -- there are five big powers and four smaller powers. The five larger powers are Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States; (if we go in); and the smaller powers in the Council are Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece. They are the nine; where are the six votes, my friends, in the governing body of the League? And in case of threatened aggression, those nine representatives in the Council have got to agree unanimously, the American representative

has to agree to it, too, because if he stayed out there would be no recommendation. And then the recommendation would go to the different nations as to the steps to be taken and then after it got to the nations before action, in view of the fact that all the nations have constitutional government, nearly all republics based on our own system, it would have to be approved by the Congress of every nation. Now, if you are in doubt -- there are some people in this country who have been out of school a long time, there are some people who are just constitutionally doubting Thomases. I do not know what the female term is, but it must exist. There are people of both sexes who are from Missouri, they want to be shown. And although most school children in the country know that the Constitution of the United States is superior to any kind of a treaty or a League that can possibly be entered into, Cox and I have been going up and down this country telling the people of almost every State removing the doubts and doubting Thomases and others. We are willing to put it down in black and white, in plain English, not Marion, Ohio, English, and state right in the instrument of ratification of the League itself that "nothing contained therein shall in any way weaken or lessen or change our rights under our Constitution or the rights of our Congress to declare war or to send our boys overseas." And yet, day after day, you will find Republican candidates, yes the chief of them all, Senator Harding and others, going around this country talking about the Democratic position, deliberately misrepresenting it, and telling the citizens that Governor Cox and I want to go into that League and insist on going in without any reservation or any amendment; just in the same way they tell you that President Wilson declined to change the crossing of a "T" or the dotting of an "I". And the man who does that is politically dishonest. It has been made clear by Governor Cox, and it has been made clear by President Wilson, not once but a dozen times, all the way through the debate in the Senate, that he was willing to accept even the Hitchcock reservations, and yet is Senator Harding admitting that. Why, no, it would spoil the whole plan of their campaign. And he will try, and the

rest will try by November second to persuade you that if you elect a Democrat, in spite of the fact that Cox and I stand on the Democratic platform which desires the inclusion in our ratification of the Treaty of Peace of the simple plain statement that "no American rights can be or shall be violated or changed thereby", you will be doing a terrible thing. Why, the position is so clear that at least the country knows what it is talking about. And the country is swinging to us by the hundreds and thousands. It is a curious thing to me, and I hope you will excuse a little bit of philosophy, it is a curious thing to me the more I am in public life, to see men who are otherwise excellent citizens, absolutely sell themselves out for a political reason. It is queer that great men, really great men, I mean men of ability who have occupied high positions in our nations life, men who are looked up to and respected in their homes and their communities and who would not think of stealing a cent, men who are almost beyond question as far as their honor and their honest goes, and yet they will go into a thing called politics, they will get mixed up with a thing called a campaign, and in their eagerness to win they will not only misstate things, but they will justify it to themselves, for you cannot persuade me that the gentlemen, most of those who signed that article yesterday morning, 31 of them, you cannot persuade me that they did not really know they were really misrepresenting things. In that statement that came out yesterday, they again repeated the old stale lie that the President wanted the Treaty ratified without a single change. It must be a queer mental disease in public life -- I hope I will never catch that germ. Almost everything with connected/that Republican campaign about this big issue has been a deliberate attempt to pervert the truth. In their pamphlets, in their posters and in almost everything, they have gone back and have overlooked this or that, and have quoted only the parts helping them. Why, these gentlemen in New York, thirty one of them, the other day have said that they stood absolutely in line with Senator Harding as Senator Harding expressed himself in his speech of August 28th. August 28th!! I do not know how many different positions he has had since then. Why, it was

back on August 28th that he intimated, or at least the 31 gentlemen thought they could twist the language around to the intimation, intimated he was in favor of the existing League with certain modifications. August 28th, and they quoted him that way on October 13th. And what has happened in the meantime? Why, the Baltimore speech for instance, two weeks ago last Monday, the first time he got loose on a public platform, that famous time that a man in the audience asked a question and got thrown into jail for doing it. That famous time when Senator Harding answered the question right out of his own head, when he said in reply to the question as to what his foreign policy was, said, "Frankly, I am at the present without any constructive specific policy in foreign affairs." Think of it, a man six years a Senator, a man two years a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, a man for three months the standard bearer of a great party, and he tells this nation he ~~has~~ is without any constructive specific policy in foreign affairs. Now wait, this all happened since August 28th, which is the reference that these 31 eminent gentlemen give, the reason they give, for supporting Senator Harding; afterwards he kept on going, made a lot more speeches and up in Des Moines, Iowa, a week ago last Thursday he made the famous speech in which he told the nation, "Governor Cox is in favor of going into the League of Nations, I am in favor of staying out and I turn my back on any reservations or amendments." Is that clear, yes. It is as clear, clearer than anything else except that attempt in Baltimore, and the result is, my friends, two fold: first, ~~is~~ the eminent 31 gentlemen have gone back to August 28th deliberately, oh, I hope not deliberately, I hope accidentally, they have believed that August 28th was the last utterance of Mr. Harding on the subject. I like to be charitable and if I said anything else than I hope he had said anything later, I would be accusing these 31 eminent gentlemen of something very ungentlemanly. And the other big thing is this, that is brought out clearly, so clearly, that nothing can be said, that Senator Harding stands convicted as a candidate, first without any specific constructive ~~foreign~~ foreign policy, and secondly as being opposed to the United States entering into the League of Nations. Have

you ever realized that forty one nations are in the League, that Germany and Austria will soon become members of the League.? That will be forty three then, and four outside. I think you know that quartet of nations. ~~xxxxx~~ I do not believe that it is necessary for me to go into a long-winded discussion of the fact that today we are the partners of the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Turks and the Mexicans -- a charming company we are keeping today. But I do want you to think, to take home with you the thought that 41 nations of the earth are today in the League of Nations and it is a going concern. Harding called it a failure, he called it a "monumental fraud" in a speech before some GAR veterans. And while he was saying that, within 24 hours of his speech, the news came that the Council of the League of Nations had averted its first war -- Sweden and Finland about to take up arms over the question of ownership of some islands had agreed that the League should decide the matter. That was Senator Harding's failure and fraud. Later on -- the League had not only prevented a war. Poland and Lithuania had been fighting. The League had stepped in and said to them "Cant we settle it for you. Cant you end the fighting". Poland and Lithuania ended that war. That is Senator Harding's failure and fraud.

So we are down to the simple question of what we are going to do in November. This is the biggest thing that has come before the people since 1860, and in many ways a bigger thing than that for this will affect not merely human slavery in a small section of the earth, but will save the lives of countless human beings, boys and girls, all over the world in the generations to come. We have done our part in carrying out our purpose for which this country went to war, insofar as through our leadership we have brought the nations of the earth around the table in this solemn covenant. Yes, we have done that much, and today they are sitting at the table ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~, a common council, and they are carrying out the covenant in a spirit of high purpose. The same kind of a spirit that Americans had carried out what our fathers sought to obtain in the Constitution of the United States in 1788. Why, the nations of the world are meeting almost every day and they are taking up problems for the benefit of mankind, they are taking up labor questions, questions of



sanitation and the spread of disease and epidemics from one nation to the other, taking up the questions of woman's slavery, children's slavery in many backward nations of the world. They are doing it, and we are absent. We started it, we told the others. Well, what did we tell them? "You go on, after we have fought out our own little quarrel over here, maybe, if we win, we will hurry along the road and catch you up!" And the nations said, "We wish we could wait for you, but we must keep on the road to destiny. We expect you, the people of the United States, to catch us on the highway." They are going as slowly as they can in the hopes that we will come along and help them. They want us to be the keystone of the arch. Here we are back here talking and wrangling, talking about the crossing of a "T" or the dotting of an "I", quarreling about the interpretation of words, quarreling about this article and that article and the other articles, telling the women of the country that it is going to take their sons to war in the face of the fact that the League, the whole purpose of the League, is to prevent war. We could go on and argue it all night. Is that the purpose of this campaign, my friends? These 41 nations have seen more clearly than we have. Not one of them, not even Switzerland, the nation which has for centuries kept out of entangling alliances, Switzerland, more jealous of her own right to run her own international relations in her own way, Switzerland, the other day, held a referendum on the League of Nations and the men and women of Switzerland voted two to one to go into the League and today Switzerland is a member because the people of Switzerland realize that the two great purposes of the Swiss Republic ~~were~~ were bound up ~~there~~ in the League itself, first of those, the respect of and the protection to the rights of the smaller peoples of the world, and secondly, the keeping down of the armaments of the world, so that no great military power ~~could~~ could rise up in the future and threaten the peace of other nations. I won't go into the question of disarmament. Do you think for a minute that the world is going to disarm its members if other nations stay out and keep on. What would happen? What happens in any community when two or three dangerous characters are permitted to roam the streets with six shooters on their hips firing them

at occasional passersby. The result is that every other citizen goes heeled. And it is only when a community has got to the point of civilization that men do not carry guns around with them all the time that they are all able to go unarmed. You cannot have a part armed and a part unarmed. And so today <sup>with</sup> this question of disarmament. You have the opportunity in this country to vote it from the selfish point of view. You have the opportunity to think in terms of dollars as to what it will cost you to keep up a navy, not second, but a navy greater than any other navy in the world, if we do not join the League of Nations. And I know something about the relative power among the navies of the world. And I tell you if we do not go into the League of Nations, and I am ~~is~~ as much in favor of disarmament as any, I will go around this country as an advanced militarist begging you to build not two but ten battleships every year. In the same way, if you want your army to cost you half billion dollars a year to keep it going up and up and up, and shell factories and powder factories and military preparations on every side, then adopt your policy of staying with Russia, Mexico and Turkey, and tell the rest of the world we do not care what they do, you can go into it, but not us. But most of us realize, I think, that the thing is if we go on and stay outside, it will come back home here in our own pocketbooks, in our own homes. The farmers out West in Kansas and Nebraska realize the effect of the foreign on the price of their grain, their corn, their wheat and so on with everything. And in the manufacturing districts, too, we having become a nation that trades with all the world. We are beginning to understand that our daily life is wrapped up in the daily life of other peoples. So from the selfish point of view you can build a Chinese Wall if you want to.

You have got to go into the Association. I will ask you a simple question. Is there a man or woman here who believes for a minute if Senator Harding is elected President, if he could carry out what some of those 31 eminent gentlemen think he could do apparently, that is, work up into the form of a written document some fact about an "association of nations" to end war. ~~And~~ An association of nations to restore harmony

among the nations, something entirely different from the existing League, of course. Do you think Senator Harding, having reduced that wholly undefined something to paper, could go to the other nations and say, "Gentlemen, I hereby" -- no, not 'notify', the word Senator Harding used the other day in Kansas City when he was trying to put across something nebulous like that. He said he wanted to 'dictate' --get it--an American association to the rest of the world. And do you think that the rest of the world will take it. Do you think they will scrap the present League, that they will tear down the structure they have built up. Do you think they will forget the toils of Paris of this year and last year, and accumulate and sell the machinery, and at the dictation of the President of a nation outside the League accept what he puts up. The more you come down to it, the more you have got to realize the a simple one. A vote for Harding is to stay out; a vote for Cox is a vote to go in with every American right protected. The men and women of the United States are seeing that more clearly every day. They are seeing it because they know the great moral influences of the country are behind it. The churches are behind ~~ix~~ this movement, and over there the other day Pope Benedict himself issued an encyclical letter to the Catholic Churches giving his support to the League of Nations. How about the teachers? Go the universities and the colleges, the normal school, the high schools, the primary schools, take a poll of the men and women of education who are bringing up our boys and girls, and you will find nine out of ten are for the League. And they have read the League and have thought of it in terms of history. They have studied it in the light of splendid education. Does that mean anything to you, that the teachers of the land are behind it as well as the churches. But if that is not enough, I wish you could have been with me in these cities and seen and talked with the men and women who cannot forget the great purpose of the war, men and women who lost things that were sacred in that war. A man came up to me the other day in West Virginia and reached up to the platform of my car and ~~took~~ hold of my hand with both of his and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, God bless you". And that is all he said and for a minute I could not understand. And then I

looked down and on the lapel of his coat was a little pin, on that pin were two gold stars. I said, "I think I can understand. Did you lose two boys?" And he said, "Yes". And I said, "Where". And he told me, "One on the Navy ship 'Cyclops', that ship that left port and never returned. And the other boy was in the Army, went to France and one day was wounded. He soon got well and went back into action and then was ordered out over the enemy's lines (he was in the aviation service) and never returned." "That", Mr. Roosevelt, he said, "is why I say to you, 'God bless you'". "I want you to go round telling the mothers and fathers of this country that the sacrifice of their boys and my boys must not be in vain." Before that -- oh, everyday somebody comes up. Over in Minneapolis in the early part of the campaign, an old woman tottered up on the stage, she must have been over ninety. She came to me and pressed my hand and there were two strips of ribbon. I looked at them and one was the Croix de Guerre and the other was our own Distinguished Service Cross. "They are all I have left in the world. My own children were dead, and all I had left was one boy, my grandson. He went over and I told him to go, and he went into battle and was decorated for heroism, and the next time he was killed. I want you, Mr. Roosevelt, to have these and carry them around in the campaign because I want it made possible for poor old grandmothers in the days to come to keep their little grandsons for their grandmothers and grandfathers to know that their children and their grandchildren may live their lives, grow up to be useful citizens and die ~~in~~ in their beds without going through the horrors of war."

And so I think you will see a little of my feeling that this is above party. I do not believe that I am as good a party man as I was in the beginning of this campaign. I think you will see a little how deeply I feel, but not in my election, not Governor Cox's election, because it is not a question of individuals, but how deeply I feel that the great purpose for which we fought, that this country has stood for all through its history should be decided right by the American people when they have a true opportunity. That is what November second will mean. It is for you to

decide, for you to decide whether we <sup>are</sup> going to go back to the conditions of 1914, back to the days of armament and bloodshed of generation after generation, or whether you want to take this new step and by the splendid force of America, the moral force of America, restore this nation to the leadership of the world. The ~~many~~ other nations are just waiting for us. We can be the keystone of the arch, and we can make that arch endure thry all the years to come if we will have just faith, not the kind of fear tht some of the otherpeople are appealing to, the kind of faith that ~~is~~ has brought us thru all our national life; the kind of faith America means to you and me. So, my friends, I am very certain that you will justify that faith in ourselves when you have the chance. That is why, as the days go by, I only wish we had an opportunity for more time, just a few more weeks, to let every man and woman in the United States understand the truth, for the truth shall make us free.

END

Delivered by Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt at Cincinnati, Ohio, Saturday night, October 16, 19120. Reported by R. F. Camalier that same night.

*Full*

In my travels during the past two months into almost every State of the Union, I have sought in vain to find any copy of the Covenant of the League of Nations made available by Republicans for the voters of America. I have repeatedly called attention to this, and especially to the fact that in the Campaign Book itself, issued by the Republican National Committee, the most important single issue before the American people is practically ignored and the Covenant is not printed. I see this morning that the Republican National Committee has finally waked up to the fact that the League is the paramount issue of the campaign. In response to insistent demands by Governor Cox and myself, they have at last, at the eleventh hour, announced that they are issuing a large number of copies. I have not seen any of these copies yet, and am most anxious to do so.

I desire, however, to make this prediction, that the Covenant of the League of Nations as printed by the Republican managers will contain a repetition of the deliberate falsehoods which have been bandied back and forth throughout the nation by Republican speakers. For instance, I am almost ready to guarantee that the Republican explanation of the League will contain the oft-repeated assertion that Governor Cox and I insist that the United States enter the League without any amendments or reservations, and also that President Wilson has at no time been willing to accept ratification in any form but the original. That sort of misstatement will not fool the voters, because they know for themselves by this time that Governor Cox and I are perfectly willing that it be made clear in the instrument of ratification that every American right be wholly safeguarded. Furthermore, I am willing to prophesy that the Republican text will contain the same old appeals to the fears of the nation. It will tell about the horrors of our having to send troops to Turkey, Siam and Timbuctoo without our consent.

It will repeat the lie about England having six votes against our one. It will repeat that the League is founded on force.

I sincerely hope that the Republican text will omit none of the ghosts and bogies which Republican orators have been trotting out for the past two months. If only the Republican managers would continue their present campaign not one single voter will be deceived.

America is a pretty hardheaded nation. In a very true sense we are all "from Missouri", we want "to be shown". We are not easily terrified by ghosts and bogies, especially in view of the fact that we know that 41 other independent nations have looked over the League and joined with the full consciousness that they have not given up any ~~xxx~~ of their sovereignty or their rights.

Furthermore, Americans will wonder about all this talk of the League promoting war when they reflect that the whole purpose of the League is to prevent war. When all is said and done, when every Republican is finished talking for campaign purposes, and when they have all finished publishing the untruthful statements, the average voter is not going to be very much worried about any danger to the United States in doing what 41 other independent nations have already done. The only dreadful thing about it is that men who are getting out this disgusting propaganda are not in their hearts worried either. They are doing it purely for campaign purposes. They have been jockeyed into the wrong corner. They have been forced to take the side of opposing our going into the League of Nations because of a few overbearing members of their own party.

Does it not seem disgusting that men cannot be honest with themselves when a great national question is at stake. Does it not seem strange that men who have had hitherto honorable careers in public life should for the mere sake

of standing by a political party turn a complete somersault from the position they held but one year ago. Does it not seem sad that any so-called leaders should put party above nation?

There are two types of these so-called leaders; one class which opposes our going into the League of Nations or any other kind of an association of nations under any conditions for the sole reason that the Democratic Party has favored the United States joining hands with the other civilized nations in a association to prevent war in the future. The other type of Republican leaders are in favor of our going into an association but oppose our going into the existing League solely on the ground that a Democratic President and a Democratic Administration had something to do with the ~~action~~ actual drawing up of the covenant.

Oh, the pity of it all! Here is a great objective to be gained, the greatest one in the relations between nations for many centuries. It is an objective towards which the United States has pointed the way. It is one which the other nations have ~~joined hands with~~ largely come to recognize, largely because of American leadership. Here we have it within our grasp and at the eleventh hour we find men in our own country who are of such littleness that they try to make of it an issue in a mere election. What after all is the election in comparison with this greatest moral issue of modern times?

I want to repeat the declaration made by me at Chicago on August 11th, in the opening gun of the campaign. I said then that our fight was not against the rank and file of the Republican party, but rather against the present leaders of that party. That holds true today with redoubled force because the present campaign managers of the Republican Party, and the present nominee for the Presidency have shown themselves to be wholly unfit to conduct the affairs ~~in~~ of this nation during the coming four years by their policy of trying to ride two horses at the same time, of



their policy of misrepresentation. They have proved that they care more for political power than for anything else, and that they are willing to sacrifice to that end their good judgment, their sound principles and the ultimate good even of their own party. It is this fact that som many Republicans are ~~waking~~ coming to recognize. While these Republicans have no leader like Theodore Roosevelt to turn to this year as they did in 1912, they will again rebuke a party management that represents the same selfish purposes as the regular Republican machine did ~~in~~ 1912. This rebuke will be expressed by voting against Senator Harding, which will be joined in by thousands of other Republicans who care more for the future of their country than they do for the mere winning of the election of 1920.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT  
CINCINNATI, OHIO., OCT. 16, 1920

There is one phase of the present campaign that is likely to be overlooked in the intensive days just preceding the election, but the effects of which will be far-reaching. I refer to the continued and persistent efforts of the Republican campaign managers in ~~appealing~~ <sup>catering</sup> to that type of voter which is not yet fully Americanized. Under a guise of patriotism, with a great waving of flags and trite phrases of petty oratory, Republican spell-binders for weeks have been making an appeal to racial hatreds and prejudices.

By these appeals, in many instances based on false premises and misstatements of fact, they are stirring up a tumult of hostile feeling toward other countries that will continue to bear evil fruit long after the present election has become a memory. In many instances these speakers are deliberately inflaming the passions of their hearers, creating enmity toward those countries with whose soldiers our boys fought side by side in the late war, countries that are still our Allies, and countries that will, God willing, continue to be our Allies in the great work that confronts the civilized nations in rebuilding the world after the storms of the great war.

Wild charges are bandied about by Republican orators, who, ~~with~~ raving with "internationalism", would lead the ill-informed to believe that all other countries are plotting against us. Foolish appeals are made for us to live our own life and let Europe go hang; to attend to our own affairs and not meddle with those of other countries, just as though it were possible for us

or any other nation to live a life of national isolation. How utterly impossible such a national existence in the present age is too apparent to require any explanation, but carried out to its logical conclusion, the present Republican anti-league policy would lead to just that.

It is hardly conceivable how the more progressive element among the Republican Party Leaders can continue their support of Senator Harding. Were he even a standpatter - a conservative of conservatives, it seems to me it would be easier for them to follow him. His apparent inability to say what he means, or to mean what he says, should make him absolutely hopeless as a standard bearer from a progressive point of view. Day after day his indecision and vacillation becomes more apparent. Since the time he first yielded openly to to Berah's threats and came out flatly against the League of Nations, the Senator's troubles have been increasing daily and his task of keeping the pro and anti-leaguers of his own party in line has become a desperate problem - in fact so desperate has it become that there are signs that near panic reigns in the Republican camp. Desertions from the Republican ranks by independent thinking voters, disgusted with the straddling policy of their standard-bearer, has brought a forceful realization to the Republican Leaders of the tremendous spread of sentiment from ~~Washington~~ Coast to Coast for Cox and the League. So marked is this turn in the tide as reports come in from all parts of the Country, the leaders in desperation have taken a new tack and are making a frantic appeal to the hundreds of thousands of pro-leaguers in their ranks to stand firm for Harding. This is illustrated by the statement a couple of days ago of thirty-

one prominent Republicans in reiterating their intention to support Harding. On record as being unalterably opposed to the League of Nations, Senator Harding last night, evidently under pressure from another source, tried to hedge a little on his "irreconcilable" stand, but so deeply has he committed himself to an open support of Bernh and his "scrap the league" plan that it is impossible for him to again fool his followers by meaningless phrases that can be interpreted any way the reader desires.

In this connection I want to call your attention to a good turn which young Mr. Will Hays and the Republican National Committee have done for us. In fact, they have done us stand a good turn that I am inclined to think "something was put over" on them from the inside. It looks as though some good Democrat might have been working around their headquarters. I refer, of course, to the numberless huge signboards, erected from the apparently limitless fund which the Republicans have, which are scattered all over the Country. They bear the likeness of Senator Harding and his runningmate and alongside of the Senator's picture are ~~the~~ words which we can decided to adopt as one of the Democratic slogans - "Let us have done with wiggle and wobble". With Senator Harding reversing himself more a dozen times during the past two weeks in his attitude on the League of Nations, it is highly fitting that we Democrats should cry from the house-tops - "Let us have done with wiggle and wobble".

Were we willing even for a moment to sidetrack the great issue of the campaign now so clean out there can be no more

question about it, whether the United States shall enter the existing League of Nations or not, it seems that the paramount question that the American voting public then would have to decide would be - Is Senator Harding fitted for the Presidency of the United States? Is a man who reverses his position on the most vital issue before the American public twelve times in as many days the type of man the American public wants as its Chief Executive? Is a man who after eight years in the United States Senate and two years a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee admits that he has no definite constructive foreign policy programme, though he aspires to the highest office in the land, fitted to be the people's choice? Is a man who has proven before election vacillating and weak enough to yield to the opportunities of the last influence brought to bear upon him, fitted to be chosen to guide the destinies of a hundred million people.

Senator Harding has done more in the past two weeks to injure his own cause. Most of us realize that the American public likes a clean-cut, straight from the shoulder fighter, and that it does not like men in public life who say one thing and mean another - who take an attitude one day and "flip-flop" out of it the next. Senator Harding has made his own bed, and to him goes much of the credit for the influx of independent Republican voters to the Democratic camp. Friends of the League among the Republicans, realizing the supreme importance of the issue and appreciating that they can regain their party affiliations after this election, are flying by the thousands to the support of Governor Cox, disgusted with Senator Harding's alignment with

Senator Borah and the "irreconcilables" and his subsequent attempts to placate the SHS pro-league sentiment in his party, although unwilling or afraid to throw overboard Borah's plans to "scrap" the League.

SPEECH BY THE

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Cincinnati, Ohio

October 16

1930

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SPEECH; HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Cincinnati, O., October 16, 1920.  
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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After that introduction by my old friend, Bob Marx, I think I must feel a good deal the way Mark Twain did after hearing his own obituary. But I can assure you that I am not dead by a long shot. It is a very great pleasure to come here to Cincinnati, even though I have left part of my voice on the trails of Indiana during the past week. I have come here full of fighting spirit, fully able to go through with this campaign, not merely for the next two weeks but even if it were to last for two months to come. In many ways, I wish it could last two months. I would like to be able, in my small way, to help in bringing the great issues of this campaign in person before every man and woman voter in every State of the Union. I have not got any real doubt that there is plenty of time left in the next two weeks to bring it home to enough Americans not merely to insure the result but to insure the carrying out of the great principles of this campaign by a tremendous majority in favor of your great Governor. I have travelled now in well over thirty States of the Union, and I have begun to wonder, now that I have come back to Ohio. I was thinking today on the train how much does Ohio appreciate the man who has been her Governor three terms? Outside of Ohio, there is not any question. I knew about your Governor and have known for a good many years, but frankly I was surprised in my travels to find out through the West, far off in the distant corners of the East, the extraordinary knowledge that men and women had of the things which he had done for your State. They knew about the details of legislation, they knew about the things which he had promised the people of the State if elected and they knew the way he carried out those pledges. I was glad of that, because I think it confirmed my opinion that the vote in this Year of Grace is going to be more and more a vote of intelligence, a vote that will get away from the old fashioned system of blindly following a party, right or wrong. It was a Naval Officer back in the twenties, Stephen Decatur, Commodore Decatur, who proposed the famous toast, "My country, right or wrong". And in the days of strenuous party strife that followed, the



days preceding the Civil War, that toast of the Naval Officer was taken and twisted for partisan advantage, and people began to say, "My party, right or wrong". And it has taken a generation or two to get over that in the States and get back to the old fashioned kind of Americanism, the real kind that existed in the days when we had but a single thought. It has taken time, but we have accomplished the result, and today the vote of this country, as expressed in November, is going to be a vote of intelligence, one, thank Heavens, that will place country first and party second. There have been many momentous things that have occurred in this campaign. I suppose that even I in the beginning of the campaign felt very much like a partisan candidate. I had been out there to that great convention at San Francisco, and had seen them at work in the open, every move before your eyes and nothing in a locked room of a hotel. And I had come back perhaps feeling that the Democratic Party just as a name, just as an organization, was the greatest thing in the country, and I think I maintained that point of view for several weeks until I began to get out campaigning and rubbing elbows, not with just Democrats, but with Republicans, Independents, Prohibitionists and Socialists in these different States of ours. And then I began to get back to normal again, and I began to realize that there was something bigger than party, and the people in this campaign were discussing issues that were bigger than party. And as the campaign has gone on, those issues seem to have become concentrated into something that is so far above party that it is a veritable crime that it was ever made the football of politics. I am talking, of course, about the great moral issue, about a thing that stated in this country way back, I take it, in the days of the Revolution, the theory that this nation had something to do with the goodness and the future happiness of all the world. I was surprised the other day when I got just one day's holiday at home. I picked up an old volume containing the messages of President Washington to the Congress of the United States, and in those messages was paragraph after paragraph with reference to the duty which this country owes to other nations. The particular examples I happened to read of in those early ninetys, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795, related to the freedom of the seas, and it was George

Washington who in advocating to Congress the creation of a Navy, we had none then, based it not merely upon the protection of American shores and American commerce, but based it also on the preservation of the right of peoples to sail with their commerce the seven seas in safety and happiness. And it was due to Washington's example, to his policy in his first and second administrations, that our Navy was created and fought its first war down in the West Indies for the suppression of piracy, not for the protection of just our ships, but for the good of all the vessels that traded in those seas. And our second war, that against the Barbary Powers, over on the coast of Africa a hundred and fifteen years ago, that was fought by the United States for the same principle, not just the protection of our commerce, but to make the Mediterranean Sea safe for the commerce of the world. We, in 1805, as a nation were thanked by Holland and Spain and Genoa and Venice for having put an end forever to the pirates that infested the north coast of Africa and the south shore of the Mediterranean. And it was only seven years later that this nation, taking the greatest chance almost that it could, threw down the gauntlet to the great power of England and fought the war of 1812 for the freedom of the seas. And by the successful conclusion of that war, the principle was established for all nations for all time that no one nation, just because it had the power and the Navy capable of doing it, could have the right to impress the seamen, to drag human beings out of the ships of other nations and put them into virtual slavery. We did that, yes, for ourselves, but in the larger sense for all humanity. Oh, I could go on down through history this way, but the greatest step of all was taken ninety nine years ago, when James Monroe, the President of the United States, enunciated for the first time a doctrine based on Christianity, for he said to the nations of the world in effect, "Down there in South and Central America are little republics, small peoples, little able to take care of themselves, weak in numbers and power, and they won their independence just the way we did, by force of arms, but they are small and weak, in danger of being attacked by the greater nations of the world, and the United States proposes from now on that these nations shall live their national life in freedom, that they shall maintain

their independence, work out their own system of government." Why, my friends, is it not in modern language, the right of self-determination. Let me put it in another phrase and see how many of you recognize the words. Did not James Monroe say to the world in 1821, "We guarantee the territorial integrity of those nations against external aggression".

There are still some people in this audience that still do not know the fact that this a direct quotation from Article Ten of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article Ten, that dangerous thing, that bogie, that ghost that has been called up before our eyes for months. Why let me tell you about the telegram that came to me yesterday, from New England. I will read it to you, and it is from a woman an independent voter back in my own county on the Hudson River. I had known all along that she was favorable to the cause of the League of Nations, but I did not know how her husband was going to vote, and she sent me this telegram, and it explains itself. She says, "My husband \*\*\*\*\* I left him alone". I take off my hat to that woman, I take off my hat to any woman who has the courage and the nerve to leave her beloved husband all alone with a copy of the League of Nations' Covenant. It was taking great chances, but I will end your suspense and tell you that it all ended well, for while that dangerous Covenant won out against hubby, he survived, too, and the next morning -- it goes on and says, "nothing more was said until this morning, when he quietly remarked, 'I guess I will have to vote for Cox and Roosevelt'".

That simply confirmed what I have been saying, and what Governor Cox has been saying for weeks and months, that we had no doubt as to the result being overwhelming if we could get a copy of this Covenant in the hands of every man and woman of the country. It is only about four columns long. Anybody can read it in fifteen minutes. We have printed all the copies we could with the limited funds, but even the gentlemen who have more money, the gentlemen on the other side, did not have nerve enough to put it in their campaign text book. What it was I do not know, because after all from the very beginning it has been one of the paramount issues of the campaign, and as such men and women of

both parties wanted to read it and they could not get a copy, and in State after State I have searched and asked whether any Republicans could get me a copy through their headquarters, and invariably I have been told that it was not being published this year by the Republican Headquarters. And so I was very glad to read this morning that the Republican National Headquarters in Chicago announced that it had had printed several thousand or rather million copies. I am glad of it, but I would be willing to make the assertion, ~~that~~ without having seen any of those copies, that you will find that fully two thirds of the front part of those pamphlets is filled with an explanation of the dangers of the League and that the League is printed at the end, and furthermore, I venture the suggestion - and see if it is not verified if you can get a copy -- that parallel with the League itself are quotations from eminent gentlemen who have been trying, like Borah and Johnson, to put every known kind of objection in its way. I make this prophecy because I have been somewhat acquainted with the campaign the Republican managers are waging against the League of Nations. I want to emphasize the point, as I did at the very outset of this campaign, that our quarrel is not this year against the rank and file of the Republican Party, our campaign is not against the men and women who have done so much to make the Republican Party in the past a great party, a progressive party, but our quarrel is and always will be with the type of men whom Theodore Roosevelt fought in 1912, the type of men, my friends, who remain ~~absolutely~~ absolutely and unequivocally in ~~the~~ control of the machinery of the Republican Party today. And so in view of the fact that they are old acquaintances of ours along this line, we know pretty well what each new move will be and we have not been surprised in this campaign that dating back over a year ago, there has been a systematic effort made to frighten America out of the League, frighten her so much that we would wish to maintain a position of isolation, frighten her so much that we could take that stand long enough to enable Republican politicians to win an election, and thereby discredit the President of the United States. But we can go back and recite numerous things that have been said about the League. It was not so long ago that a ~~man~~ woman came to me

nd said, "Mr. Roosevelt, I cannot vote for Cox and you". I said, "Why". And she said, "Why, because of what has happended in Canada." And I said, "For goodness sake, what has happened to poor old Canada, tell me the terrible news." And she whispered, "Haven't you heard?" And I said, "No, I haven't heard." And she said, "Why last night, Mrs. Brown, the wife of the Republican County Chairman, came around to a meeting and she said a lot of things. She said that Canada had sent out telegrams to all her service men who fought in the war summoning them back to the colors, because Canada had received orders from the League of Nations to send an army to Poland." And do you know she believed it. And a lot of other good women in this country would believe campaign propoganda like that and if a lot of good women believe a thing like that just think of the vast army of men who would, too. That is only one example ~~six~~ and I could go on an quote dozens of them. I could tell you about the deliberate untruths that have been handed out by Mr. Will Hays and his organization in Chicago, a pamphlet of poor old Uncle Sam on the verge of a precipice being firmly pushed over the edge by six dangerous characters labeled England, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India and South Africa. Poor old Uncle Sam, he was in a dangerous place, and one felt sorry for him in such company, and on top, not satisfied with the lying picture, they printed a lying title, "ENGLAND HAS SIX VOTES TO OUR ONE IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS". I will come back to that pretty soon and some of the details of these lies. Now I am trying to tell you what the lies were. I could go on an cite dozens of instances. And this talk about our boys being lift out of our homes and sent across the ocean to fight somebody else's battles. Why, the Governor of the State just across the river, Governor Morrow of Kentucky, addressed an audience in a small place the other day -- I suppose because it was a small place he thought he could get away with it -- he tol an audience in his own State that if we went into the League of Nations we would have to send an army over there to take part in the war between the King of Siam and the Emperer of Timbuctoo. And that is a Governor, a Governor of one of the 48 States in the Union, and not a new State at that. I hope that Kentucky is ashamed of its Governor, and I would suggest to

my good friends in Kentucky that they should give him an opportunity of going to school and learning geography. But you know this whole campaign is based on an appeal to ignorance, it is based on an appeal to the baser elements in our nature. It is based on an appeal to our fears rather than our faith. What would have happened if we had pursued a course like that all through our history. What would have happened in 1821, when James Monroe announced that we were going to guarantee the territorial integrity of those small nations down to the south. Suppose Senator Lodge had been living at that time. Why, he would have gone around, he and his satellites. I will tell you a story about Senator Lodge in just a minute. He would have gone around in 1821, with his satellites, and he would have said to the good women of this country, the mothers, "My good woman, pulling a long face, do you realize the awful dangers in the Monroe Doctrine, what would happen to your dear boy. Do you realize that under this Monroe Doctrine, they can take him out of your home, send him down ~~thence~~ there to Brasil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia and all the rest of the world to fight somebody else's battles." Why, my friends, if we had only known that there would have been no such thing as the Monroe Doctrine. But, thank God, the Senators of 1821 were made of sterner stuff than they are today. I was going to tell you a story; I see no harm in telling it. ~~It~~ It has not much to do with the thing we are talking about. I heard it in Kansas City. The Rev. Burris Jenkins told me, it was an old story in Kansas City, but I had never heard it. There was a very delightful character from Kansas who went down to Washington as Senator, Senator Ingalls, and he never had been in Washington before. He had heard of the great sages and solons who ran our Government, he had heard of the wisdom of Lodge. So when he arrived, he looked up Lodge and had a friend introduce him. The Senator came out and chatted with him for about five minutes and then Senator Lodge was called away. His friend said, "You have seen Lodge, what do you think of him". "Well", said Ingalls, "I have met Lodge. I should say it is a case of thin soil intensively cultivated." But to get back to the point.

Through all of our history we have fought for principle. We have established over the years the right to say to the world, "We are an unselfish nation, with a mission in the world. We care about the rights of the downtrodden people, we care about the rights of small nations that cannot defend themselves against aggression." We carried it out in 1898, down there in Cuba. When we went into that war, we told the old world powers that when we had finished winning from Spain, we were going to make Cuba a free Republic, and they would not believe us on the otherside. I mean the time-hardened statesmen of the old world diplomacy, they would not believe us, and they said cynically, "Cuba will end up as a colony of the United States." But it was because in that case, and in other cases, we have kept our word and done what we said we would do, that the peoples of the other countries have come to trust us.

I do not say the statesmen, because <sup>there are</sup> ~~that~~ still some cynics left in the old school of diplomacy, but the peoples of the world know today that we are a nation that keeps its international obligations. And so when the world war came, and the great catastrophe spread over Europe, the peoples of the old world looked to us for an expression of something they had in their hearts. And the United States, thru its leaders, its leaders of both parties, expressed that hope in simple language, and they talked to all the peoples of the world. They talked about something to be gained from the war, something besides a military victory. They talked about an association of nations, and they told the people that out of all that carnage a peace would come, a peace resulting not merely in a treaty, something to last ten years or a generation, something apparent for the old treaties that had been going on for centuries, but they would get something greater than that, they would obtain an agreement between the nations which for the first time in history put international relations on the same scale and plane that the relations between individuals had been since the days of Christainity. And the peoples of the world listened to our great men, Taft, and Roosevelt, for they were all preaching this gospel and they

decided it was worth while going on with the war to obtain this thing and at last we got in ourselves, and when we went into the war, when we got in, all the world knew that we were going to see to it, to use every effort as an honest nation that had always kept its word to obtain for all the nations this great principle, and we called it "a war to end war".

That was on everybody's tongue back in the days of 1917, and I have wondered very often since then what would have happened on April 6, 1917, or even on November 11, 1918, the opening day we got into the war and the closing day of the war, if Senator Harding, of this State, <sup>stood</sup> had ~~sat~~ up in the Senate of the United States and preached this gospel. Suppose he had said on either of those days, "The mission of the United States, the purpose of this nation in the war is merely to defeat the German armies, and the very second we have accomplished that purpose we will bring our troops home, and as soon as we have done that, negotiate a separate peace with Germany and we will declare by resolution of Congress that the war has ceased, and then we will draw a Chinese wall around this country, and we will tell the other nations of the world that we care nothing of what happens to them, and for all it concerns us they, the people we fought with shoulder to shoulder, all the peoples of the world may go to the Devil." And yet is not that exactly what Senator Harding has been saying on Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays for the last two months. Or perhaps I am wrong, it may be Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. However, that is what has been handed out to you, my friends, and if Senator Harding had said back there in 1917 and 1918 what he has been saying in the past two months he would have ceased long ago to be allowed on the floor of the Senate of the United States. I do not know how much longer this thing can go on, but we have talked about it for a whole year and we have talked about it until we ought to know the purpose of the League. Why, back there a year ago, when the President of the United States brought home the first draft of the League, when he landed in Boston and when Governor Coillige of Massachusetts welcomed him to Massachusetts and on the public platform, and in my presence, said, "Mr. President,



the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are behind you in the great work which you are accomplishing in Paris, and you may count on their support in the future as you have in the past." I hope that my friend, Calvin Coolidge, often remembers that remark in this campaign. Yes, and the President ~~is~~ went to Washington with the draft of the Covenant of the League and the members of the opposition, the Lodges, the Hardings and the Tafts, had an opportunity to see it and offer suggestions. And they offered them and the President went back to Paris and the suggestions made by the opposition were incorporated in the final draft of the League of Nations. I hold in my hand a program of a great meeting held in <sup>Indianapolis</sup> ~~Minneapolis~~ a year ago, May 28, 1919, a great meeting for the ratification of the League of Nations' Covenant. The meeting was called by an equal number of prominent Republicans and Democrats ~~in~~ of Indianapolis. The speakers at the meeting were the Honorable William Howard Taft, Doctor A. Lawrence Lowell, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Rabbi Steven S. Wise, and on the back was printed a statement of the League to Enforce Peace, of which those people were members. I believe the speakers that night authorized that statement just over a year ago. And now, my friends, notice that Doctor Lowell was one of the signers, one of the thirty one who signed that document day before yesterday, and that Mr. Taft has taken substantially the same position as Doctor Lowell. Here is what they endorsed a year ago:

"The covenant for a league of nations \*\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*\* ~~That my friends~~ The issue now is the League or  
 none."

That, my friends, is the most convincing proof that can be offered any audience, anywhere, of the greatest somersault ever committed in American public life. So we come right back to the fundamental proposition which I have stated, and which is now clear, thank Heavens, to the whole American people. The opposition to the League, on the part of nine out of ten, is due to a wilful desire to put party ahead of the good of the nations. But, yes, it is due to ignorance on the part of some. I will have to explain for the sake of some people in the audience some of these charges. I can hardly bear doing it, because I have read the

Covenant so often I can see no reason for doubt. On the question of the lady who heard that Canada had been ordered to send troops to Poland, we have not sent troops to Abbysinnia, Timbuctoo or Siam, as my old friend, Governor Morrow, has said, using Article Ten for a basis for his statement. I have quoted a part of Article Ten, "guarantees the territorial integrity of the League members against external aggression." That, my friends, is an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, the purpose is to prevent from happening again the thing which happened to Belgium in 1914. Instead of the United States being the guarantor, the maker of the note of protection against external aggression, we have all the world as signers of this same note. You have increased the security behind these powers, a hundred fold almost. And the rest of Article Ten, the thing that sounds so dangerous, is this, in case of aggression, or the threat of aggression, that then the Council of the League of Nations will recommend such steps as may be necessary, find such steps as may be necessary to stop, to prevent the aggression. The Council of the League recommends to the nations what should be done, and your Chairman has so well said the first and greatest weapon the League has to stop aggression is the cutting off that nation from relations they normally would have with other nations, boycott it; kick it out of polite society for awhile until they have come to their senses. But that can only be done after you have gone through two steps. The Council has got to recommend and how? They have got to get a unanimous vote in the Council before they can recommend. That means nine, for there are only nine members in the Council. Who is in the Council -- here is the nasty lie -- there are five big powers and four smaller powers. The five larger powers are Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States; (if we go in); and the smaller powers in the Council are Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece. They are the nine; where are the six votes, my friends, in the governing body of the League? And in case of threatened aggression, those nine representatives in the Council have got to agree unanimously, the American representative

has to agree to it, too, because if he stayed out there would be no recommendation. And then the recommendation would go to the different nations as to the steps to be taken and then after it got to the nations before action, in view of the fact that all the nations have constitutional government, nearly all republics based on our own system, it would have to be approved by the Congress of every nation. Now, if you are in doubt -- there are some people in this country who have been out of school a long time, there are some people who are just constitutionally doubting Thomases. I do not know what the female term is, but it must exist. There are people of both sexes who are from Missouri, they want to be shown. And although most school children in the country know that the Constitution of the United States is superior to any kind of a treaty or a League that can possibly be entered into, Cox and I have been going up and down this country telling the people of almost every State removing the doubts and doubting Thomases and others. We are willing to put it down in black and white, in plain English, not Marion, Ohio, English, and state right in the instrument of ratification of the League itself that "nothing contained therein shall in any way weaken or lessen or change our rights under our Constitution or the rights of our Congress to declare war or to send our boys overseas." And yet, day after day, you will find Republican candidates, yes the chief of them all, Senator Harding and others, going around this country talking about the Democratic position, deliberately misrepresenting it, and telling the citizens that Governor Cox and I want to go into that League and insist on going in without any reservation or any amendment; just in the same way they tell you that President Wilson declined to change the crossing of a "T" or the dotting of an "I". And the man who does that is politically dishonest. It has been made clear by Governor Cox, and it has been made clear by President Wilson, not once but a dozen times, all the way through the debate in the Senate, that he was willing to accept even the Hitchcock reservations, and yet is Senator Harding admitting that. Why, no, it would spoil the whole plan of their campaign. And he will try, and the

rest will try by November second to persuade you that if you elect a Democrat, in spite of the fact that Cox and I stand on the Democratic platform which desires the inclusion in our ratification of the Treaty of Peace of the simple plain statement that "no American rights can be or shall be violated or changed thereby", you will be doing a terrible thing. Why, the position is so clear that at least the country knows what it is talking about. And the country is swinging to us by the hundreds and thousands. It is a curious thing to me, and I hope you will excuse a little bit of philosophy, it is a curious thing to me the more I am in public life, to see men who are otherwise excellent citizens, absolutely sell themselves out for a political reason. It is queer that great men, really great men, I mean men of ability who have occupied high positions in our nation's life, men who are looked up to and respected in their homes and their communities and who would not think of stealing a cent, men who are almost beyond question as far as their honor and their honest goes, and yet they will go into a thing called politics, they will get mixed up with a thing called a campaign, and in their eagerness to win they will not only misstate things, but they will justify it to themselves, for you cannot persuade me that the gentlemen, most of those who signed that article yesterday morning, 31 of them, you cannot persuade me that they did not really know they were really misrepresenting things. In that statement that came out yesterday, they again repeated the old stale lie that the President wanted the Treaty ratified without a single change. It must be a queer mental disease in public life -- I hope I will never catch that germ. Almost everything connected with that Republican campaign about this big issue has been a deliberate attempt to pervert the truth. In their pamphlets, in their posters and in almost everything, they have gone back and have overlooked this or that, and have quoted only the parts helping them. Why, these gentlemen in New York, thirty one of them, the other day have said that they stood absolutely in line with Senator Harding as Senator Harding expressed himself in his speech of August 28th. August 28th!! I do not know how many different positions he has had since then. Why, it was

back on August 28th that he intimated, or at least the 31 gentlemen thought they could twist the language around to the intimation, intimated he was in favor of the existing League with certain modifications. August 28th, and they quoted him that way on October 13th. And what has happened in the meantime? Why, the Baltimore speech for instance, two weeks ago last Monday, the first time he got loose on a public platform, that famous time that a man in the audience asked a question and got thrown into jail for doing it. That famous time when Senator Harding answered the question right out of his own head, when he said in reply to the question as to what his foreign policy was, said, "Frankly, I am at the present without any constructive specific policy in foreign affairs." Think of it, a man six years a Senator, a man two years a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, a man for three months the standard bearer of a great party, and he tells this nation he ~~has~~ is without any constructive specific policy in foreign affairs. Now wait, this all happened since August 28th, which is the reference that these 31 eminent gentlemen give, the reason they give, for supporting Senator Harding; afterwards he kept on going, made a lot more speeches and up in Des Moines, Iowa, a week ago last Thursday he made the famous speech in which he told the nation, "Governor Cox is in favor of going into the League of Nations, I am in favor of staying out and I turn my back on any reservations or amendments." Is that clear, yes. It is as clear, clearer than anything else except that attempt in Baltimore, and the result is, my friends, two fold: first, ~~as~~ the eminent 31 gentlemen have gone back to August 28th deliberately, oh, I hope not deliberately, I hope accidentally, they have believed that August 28th was the last utterance of Mr. Harding on the subject. I like to be charitable and if I said anything else than I hope he had said anything later, I would be accusing these 31 eminent gentlemen of something ~~very~~ ungentlemanly. And the other big thing is this, that is brought out clearly, so clearly, that nothing can be said, that Senator Harding stands convicted as a candidate, first without any specific constructive ~~indefinite~~ foreign policy, and secondly as being opposed to the United States entering into the League of Nations. Have

you ever realized that forty one nations are in the League, that Germany and Austria will soon become members of the League.? That will be forty three then, and four outside. I think you know that quartet of nations. ~~xxxx~~ I do not believe that it is necessary for me to go into a long-winded discussion of the fact that today we are the partners of the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Turks and the Mexicans -- a charming company we are keeping today. But I do want you to think, to take home with you the thought that 41 nations of the earth are today in the League of Nations and it is a going concern. Harding called it a failure, he called it a "monumental fraud" in a speech before some GAR veterans. And while he was saying that, within 24 hours of his speech, the news came that the Council of the League of Nations had averted its first war -- Sweden and Finland about to take up arms over the question of ownership of some islands had agreed that the League should decide the matter. That was Senator Harding's failure and fraud. Later on -- the League had not only prevented a war. Poland and Lithuania had been fighting. The League had stepped in and said to them "Can't we settle it for you. Can't you end the fighting". Poland and Lithuania ended that war. That is Senator Harding's failure and fraud.

So we are down to the simple question of what we are going to do in November. This is the biggest thing that has come before the people since 1860, and in many ways a bigger thing than that for this will affect not merely human slavery in a small section of the earth, but will save the lives of countless human beings, boys and girls, all over the world in the generations to come. We have done our part in carrying out our purpose for which this country went to war, insofar as through our leadership we have brought the nations of the earth around the table in this solemn covenant. Yes, we have done that much, and today they are sitting at the table ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~, a common council, and they are carrying out the covenant in a spirit of high purpose. The same kind of a spirit that Americans had carried out what our fathers sought to obtain in the Constitution of the United States in 1788. Why, the nations of the world are meeting almost every day and they are taking up problems for the benefit of mankind, they are taking up labor questions, questions of

sanitation and the spread of disease and epidemics from one nation to the other, taking up the questions of woman's slavery, children's slavery in many backward nations of the world. They are doing it, and we are absent. We started it, we told the others. Well, what did we tell them? "You go on, after we have fought out our own little quarrel over here, maybe, if we win, we will hurry along the road and catch you up? And the nations said, "We wish we could wait for you, but we must keep on the road to destiny. We expect you, the people of the United States, to catch us on the highway." They are going as slowly as they can in the hopes that we will come along and help them. They want us to be the keystone of the arch. Here we are back here talking and wrangling, talking about the crossing of a "T" or the dotting of an "I", quarreling about the interpretation of words, quarreling about this article and that article and the other articles, telling the women of the country that it is going to take their sons to war in the face of the fact that the League, the whole purpose of the League, is to prevent war. We could go on and argue it all night. Is that the purpose of this campaign, my friends? These 41 nations have seen more clearly than we have. Not one of them, not even Switzerland, the nation which has for centuries kept out of entangling alliances, Switzerland, more jealous of her own right to run her own international relations in her own way, Switzerland, the other day, held a referendum on the League of Nations and the men and women of Switzerland voted two to one to go into the League and today Switzerland is a member because the people of Switzerland realize that the two great purposes of the Swiss Republic ~~were~~ were bound up ~~there~~ in the League itself, first of those, the respect of and the protection to the rights of the smaller peoples of the world, and secondly, the keeping down of the armaments of the world, so that no great military powers could rise up in the future and threaten the peace of other nations. I went go into the question of disarmament. Do you think for a minute that the world is going to disarm its members if other nations stay out and keep on. What would happen? What happens in any community when two or three dangerous characters are permitted to roam the streets with six shooters on their hips firing them

at occasional passersby. The result is that every other citizen goes heeled. And it is only when a community has got to the point of civilization that men do not carry guns around with them all the time that they are all able to go unarmed. You cannot have a part armed and a part unarmed. And so today <sup>with</sup> this question of disarmament. You have the opportunity in this country to vote it from the selfish point of view. You have the opportunity to think in terms of dollars as to what it will cost you to keep up a navy, not second, but a navy greater than any other navy in the world, if we do not join the League of Nations. And I know something about the relative power among the navies of the world. And I tell you if we do not go into the League of Nations, and I am ~~in~~ as much in favor of disarmament as any, I will go around this country as an advanced militarist begging you to build not two but ten battleships every year. In the same way, if you want your army to cost you half billion dollars a year to keep it going up and up and up, and shell factories and powder factories and military preparations on every side, then adopt your policy of staying with Russia, Mexico and Turkey, and tell the rest of the world we do not care what they do, you can go into it, but not us. But most of us realize, I think, that the thing is if we go on and stay outside, it will come back home here in our own pocketbooks, in our own homes. The farmers out West in Kansas and Nebraska realize the effect of the foreign on the price of their grain, their corn, their wheat and so on with everything. And in the manufacturing districts, too, we having become a nation that trades with all the world. We are beginning to understand that our daily life is wrapped up in the daily life of other peoples. So from the selfish point of view you can build a Chinese Wall if you want to.

You have got to go into the Association. I will ask you a simple question. Is there a man or woman here who believes for a minute if Senator Harding is elected President, if he could carry out what some of those 31 eminent gentlemen think he could do apparently, that is, work up into the form of a written document some fact about an "association of nations" to end war. ~~And~~ An association of nations to restore harmony



among the nations, something entirely different from the existing League, of course. Do you think Senator Harding, having reduced that wholly undefined something to paper, could go to the other nations and say, "Gentlemen, I hereby" -- no, not 'notify', the word Senator Harding used the other day in Kansas City when he was trying to put across something nebulous like that. He said he wanted to 'dictate' -- get it -- an American association to the rest of the world. And do you think that the rest of the world will take it. Do you think they will scrap the present League, that they will tear down the structure they have built up. Do you think they will forget the toils of Paris of this year and last year, and accumulate and sell the machinery, and at the dictation of the President of a nation outside the League accept what he puts up. The more you come down to it, the more you have got to realize the a simple one. A vote for Harding is to stay out; a vote for Cox is a vote to go in with every American right protected. The men and women of the United States are seeing that more clearly every day. They are seeing it because they know the great moral influence of the country are behind it. The churches are behind ~~it~~ this movement, and over there the other day Pope Benedict himself issued an encyclical letter to the Catholic Churches giving his support to the League of Nations. How about the teachers? Go the universities and the colleges, the normal school, the high schools, the primary schools, take a poll of the men and women of education who are bringing up our boys and girls, and you will find nine out of ten are for the League. And they have read the League and have thought of it in terms of history. They have studied it in the light of splendid education. Does that mean anything to you, that the teachers of the land are behind it as well as the churches. But if that is not enough, I wish you could have been with me in these cities and seen and talked with the men and women who cannot forget the great purpose of the war, men and women who lost things that were sacred in that war. A man came up to me the other day in West Virginia and reached up to the platform of my car and took hold of my hand with both of his and said, "Mr. Roosevelt, God bless you". And that is all he said and for a minute I could not understand. And then I

looked down and on the lapel of his coat was a little pin, on that pin were two gold stars. I said, "I think I can understand. Did you lose two boys?" And he said, "Yes". And I said, "Where". And he told me, "One on the Navy ship 'Cyclops', that ship that left port and never returned. And the other boy was in the Army, went to France and one day was wounded. He soon got well and went back into action and then was ordered out over the enemy's lines (he was in the aviation service) and never returned." "That, Mr. Roosevelt", he said, "is why I say to you, 'God bless you'". "I want you to go round telling the mothers and fathers of this country that the sacrifice of their boys and my boys must not be in vain." Before that -- oh, everyday somebody comes up. Over in Minneapolis in the early part of the campaign, an old woman tottered up on the stage, she must have been over ninety. She came to me and pressed my hand and there were two strips of ribbon. I looked at them and one was the Croix de Guerre and the other was our own Distinguished Service Cross. "They are all I have left in the world. My own children were dead, and all I had left was one boy, my grandson. He went over and I told him to go, and he went into battle and was decorated for heroism, and the next time he was killed. I want you, Mr. Roosevelt, to have these and carry them around in the campaign because I want it made possible for poor old grandmothers in the days to come to keep their little grandsons for their grandmothers and grandfathers to know that their children and their grandchildren may live their lives, grow up to be useful citizens and die ~~xxx~~ in their beds without going through the horrors of war."

And so I think you will see a little of my feeling that this is above party. I do not believe that I am as good a party man as I was in the beginning of this campaign. I think you will see a little how deeply I feel, but not in my election, not Governor Cox's election, because it is not a question of individuals, but how deeply I feel that the great purpose for which we fought, that this country has stood for all through its history should be decided right by the American people when they have a true opportunity. That is what November second will mean. It is for you to

decide, for you to decide whether <sup>are</sup> we going to go back to the conditions of 1914, back to the days of armament and bloodshed of generation after generation, or whether you want to take this new step and by the splendid force of America, the moral force of America, restore this nation to the leadership of the world. The ~~is~~ other nations are just waiting for us. We can be the keystone of the arch, and we can make that arch endure thry all the years to come if we will have just faith, not the kind of fear tht some of the otherpeople are appealing to, the kind of faith that ~~is~~ has brought us thru all our national life; the kind of faith America means to you and me. So, my friends, I am very certain that you will justify that faith in ourselves when you have the chance. That is why, as the days go by, I only wish we had an opportunity for more time, just a few more weeks, to let every man and woman in the United States understand the truth, for the truth shall make us free.

END

Delivered by Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt at Cincinnati, Ohio, Saturday night, October 16, 19180. Reported by R. F. Camalier that same night.