# 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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1920 October 16

Cincinnati, OH - Campaign Speech

EXTRACTS FROM SPRRCH OF HONF.D.ROOSIEVELT
CINCIHIATI, OHIO., OCT. 16, 1920

There is one phase of the present oampaign that is likely to be overlooked in the intensive days fust preceding the election, but the effects of which will be far-eaching. I refer to the continued and persistont efforts of the Republican camcatering paign managers in whedtag to that type of voter which is not yet fully Americanize. Under a guise of patriotism, with a great waving of flags and trite phrases of petty oratory, Republian spell-binders for weeks have been making an appeal to racial hatreds and projudices.

By these appeals, in many instances based on false promises and misstatoments of fact, they are atirring up a tumult of hostile fealing 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, oreating onemity toward those countires 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 confronte the civilized natione in rebuilding the world after the storins of the great war.

Wild charges are banded about by Republican orators, who, whik raving with "internationalism", would lead the ill-informed to bolieve that all other countries are plotting against us. Foolish appeals are made for us to live our own life and let Burope 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 suoh a national existence in the present age is too apparent to require any explanation, but carried out to its logieal conclusion, the present Republican anti-ergue policy would lead to just that.

It is hardly conceivable how the more progressive element anong tho Republiean Party Leaders can continue their support of Senator Harding. Were he even a standpatter - a conservative of conservatives, it soems to me it would be easior for them to follow him. His apparent inability to say what he moans, or to moan what he says, should make him aboolutely 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 yolded openly to to Borah's threats ond came out flatly against the League of Hations, 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 desperste has it become that there are signs that near panic reigns in the Republican eamp. Desertions from the Republican ranks by independent thinking voters, disgucted with the straddifng policy of their standard-bearer, has brought a forceful realization to the Republican Leaders of the tremendous spread of sentiment from fronstwgy Cosit to Coast for Cox and the League. So marked is this turn in the tide as reports ame in from s.ll arts of the Country, the leaders in esperation 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 reitarating their intention to support Harding. On record es being unalterably opposed to the League of Wations, Senator Harding last night, evidentiy 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 Borah and his "scrap the league" plan that it is impossible for him to again fool his followers by meaninglesa phrases that oan be interpreted any way the reader desires.

In this oonnection I want to call your attention to a good turn which young Mr. Will Hays and the Republicen National Comittee have done for us. In fact, they have done us stand a good turn that I am inclined to think "somothing wes put over" on them from the inside. It looks as though some good Denocrat might have been working around their headquarters. I refer, of course, to the numberless hutge signboards, erected from the apparentily limitless fund which the Republicans have, which are seattered all over the Country. They bear the likeness of Senator Harding and his rumaingmate and alongside of the Senator's pleture are thes vords which ve 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 tio weeks in his attitude on the League of Nations, it is highly fitting that we Demoorats should ory 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 cut there can be no more
question about it, whother the United States shall enter the existing League of Hations or not, it seems that the paramount question that the American voting public then would have to deoide would be - Is Senator Harding fitted for the Fresidency of the United States? Is a man who reverses his position on the maxt most vital issue before the American public twelve times in as many days the type of man the Amerioan public wants as its Chief Bxeoutive? Is a man who after eight years in the United States Senato and two years a member of the Foreign Affairs Commttee admits that he has no definite constructive foreign mpitcy programme, though he espires to the highest opfice in the land, fitted to be the people'g choice? Is a man who has proven before election vacillating and weak enough to yiold to the opportmities of the last influence brought to bear upon him, fitted to be chosen to guide the destinies of a hundred million poople.

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-oupt, straight fron the shoulder fighter, and that it does not like men in public lifo who say one thing and mean another - who take an attituce one day and "flip-flop" out of it the next. Senator Harding has made his ovm bed, and to him goes much of the oredit for the influx of independent Republiean voters wh to the Demoaratic camp. Friends of the League among the Republicans, realizing the supreme importance of the issue and eppreciating that they can regain their party affiliationa after thie election, are flying by the thousands to the support of Governor Cox, disgusted with Senator Haraing's alignment with

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

> RXXRACTS FROM gDREGH OP HOHF.D.ROOSEVEJT CIHCIMBATX, OHIO., OCT. 16. 1980

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SPEECH BY THE

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSFVELT
Cincinnati, Ohio
October 16
1920

SPEÉCH? HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELL, Cino1nnat1, O., October 16, 1920.

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 1esues of this oampaign in person before every man and woman voter ifi every State of the Union. I have not got any real doubt that there is plenty of time left in the next twoo 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 atates 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 Oh1o 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 gocd 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 twnetys, 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 poople 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 baok to the old fashioned kind of Americanism, the real kind that sxisted 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. Thera 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 Franctico, and had been 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 antil 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 1t 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 thoery 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 hollday at home. I pioked up an old volume containing the messages of President Washington to the Congress of the United States, and in thes mesages was paragraph after paragraph with reference to the duty minch this country owes to other nations The partioular examples I happened to read of in those early ninetys, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795, related to the freedom of the aeas, and it was George

Waehington who in advocating to Congress the oreation of a Navy, we had none then, based it not merely upon the protection of American shores and Arerican 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 h1s polioy in his first and second administrations, that our Navy was created and fought its first war down in the Weat Indies for the suppression of piracy, not for the protection of just our ehipa, 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 Statea for the same principle, not just the protection of our comerce, 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 gauntiet to the great power of England and fought the war of 1812 for the freedom of the seas. And by the successfull 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 fo the first time a doctrine based on Christainity, 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 swall and weak, in danger of being attacked by the greater nations of the world, and the United States proposes from now on that these nati ns shall live their national life in freedom, that they shall maintain
their independence, work out their own aystem 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. D1d 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 faot that this a direct quotation from Article Ten of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article Ten, that dangerous thing, that bogle, that ghost that has been calledup 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 cauge of the League of Nations, but I did not know how her fusband was going to vote, ans 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 of $f$ 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 wile that dangerous Corenant 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 readit 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 1 ssues 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 Republioans 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, tiux 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 oan get a copy -- that paraliel with the League itself are quotations from eminent gentlemen who have been trying, 1ike 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 oampaign, that our quarrel is not this year against the rank and file of the Republioan 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 almays alll be with the type of men whom Theodore Rocsevelt fought in 1912, the type of min, my friends, who remainat absolutely and unequivocally in tix control of the machinery of the Republican Party today. And so in view of the fatt that they are odl acquaintanoes of ours along this line, we know pretty weal what each new move $w i l l$ 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 Amerioa 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 Statea But we can go back and recite numerous things that have been ald about the League. It was not so long ago that a maxammaxkex 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 newa." And she whispered, "Haven't you heard"? And I said, No, I haven't heard." And she said, "Why last night, Mrs. Brow, 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 belleved it. And a lot of other good women in this country would believe campaign propoganda like that and if a lot of good momen believe a thing like that just think of the vast army of men sho would, too. That is only one example efx 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 Samon 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 oome 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 Erperor 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 guggest to
my good friends in Kentuoky 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 isbased on an appeal to the baser elements in our nature. It is based on an appeal to our fears rather than our faith. What woyld have happened if we had pursued a course like that all through our history. What would have happend 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 sattelites. I will tell you a story about Senator Lodge in just a minute. He would have gone around in 1821, with his sattelites, and he would have said to the good women of this oountry, 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 tivetx there to Brazil, Uraguay, 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 farm in telling it. gif. 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 Wadom of Lodge. So when he arrived, he looked up Lodge and had a friend introduce him. The Senator came out and chatted with fim for about five minutes and then Senator Lodge was called away. His friend said, "You have seen Lodge, what do you think of him". "Tell", 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 miasion in the world. Wi care about the rights of the downtrodien people, we care about the rights of small nations that cannot defend themselves against aggeession." We carried it out in 1898, down there in Cuba. When we went into that war, we todl the old world powers that when we had finished inning from Spain, we were going to make Cuba a free Republic, and they would not believe us on the otherside. I mean the timehardened statesmen of the old waorld diplomacy, they would not believe us, und they said cynically, "Nouba 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. there are
I do not say the statesmen, beoause thag still some cynics left in the old school of diplomacy, but the peoples of the worid know today that we are a ration that keeps its international obligations. And so when the world war oame, 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 viotory. They talked about an association of nations, and they told the people that out of all that carnage a peace would come, a peace reaulting 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 agreenent between the nations which for the first time in history put internationsal relations on the same scale and plane that the relations between individuals had been since the days of Chriatainity. And the peoples of the wozld 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 whon we went into the war, when we got in, all the world knew that we were going to see to 1 t , to use every effort as an honest nation that had always kept its word to ontain 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 havehappened 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, stood had unke up in the Senate of the United Stated and preached this gospel. Suppose he had sald on elther of those days, "The mission of the United $\mathrm{s}^{t}$ ates, the purpose of tis nation in the war is merely to defeat the German armies, and the very second we have accomplised 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 was has seased, 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 whathappens to them, and for all it comerns 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 $M^{\circ}$ ndays, Wednesday and Dridays 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 Senaterof the United States. I do not know how much longer this thing oan 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 grought home the first draft of the League, when he landed in Boston and when Governor Codlige of Massachusetts welcomed h1m to wassachusetts 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 aupport in the future as you have in the past." I hope that my friend, Calvin Colidge, often remembers that remark in this camapgin. Yes, and the President went to Washington with the dratt of the Covenant of the League and the members of the opposition, the Lodges, the Hardinge and the Tafts, had an opportunity to see it and offer suggestions. And they offered them and the President went baok to Paris and the suggestions made by the opposition were incorporated in the final draft of the Le gue of Nations. I hold in my hand a program Indianapolis of a great meeting held in Mimanpmitn a year ago, May 38, 1919, a great meeting for the ratification of the Lague of Nations Covenant. The meeting was called by an equal number of prominent Republioans and Democrats 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 frienda, notice that Doctor Lowetl was one of the signers, one of the thirty one who signed that docunent 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 ********************* ******* girtixamyxixtentiny 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 greattost 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 tp put party shead 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 aent 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 pat of Artle 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. Tou 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 normaliy would have with other nations, boyoott 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 $b 1 g$ powers and four smaller powers. The five larger powera 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 firends, in the governing body of the League? And in case of threatened aggression, those nine representatives in the Council have got to aggree unanimously, the American representative
has to agree to it, too, beoause if he stayed out there would be no zecommendation. And then the recomendation 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 syster, it would have to be approsed 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 aho are just oonstitutionally doubting Thomases. I do not know what the female term 1s, 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 Contisution 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 dow 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 1tself that "nothing contained therein shall in any way weaken or lessen or change our rights under cur 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 oitizens that Governor Cox and I want to go into that League and insist on going in without any reservation or any anendment; just in the same way they tell you that President Filson declined to change the orossing 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 nce but a dozen times, all the way through the debate in the Senate, that he was willing to accept even the Hitchoook 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
reat will try by November seoond to pursuade you that if you eleot a Democrat, in apite of the fact that Cox and I stand on the Democratio platform which desires the inclusion in our ratifioation of the Treaty of Peace of the sinple plain statement that no American righta 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 taiking about. And the country is swinging to us by the hundrede and thousands. It is a curious thing to me, and I hope you will excuse a little bit of phiddsophy, it is a curious thing to me the more $I$ am in public life, to see men who are obherwise excellent citizens, sbsolutely seal themselves out for a political reason. It is queer that great men, really great men, I mean men of ability who have ocoupied high positions in our nations isie, 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 60 into a thing called politica, they will get mixed up with a thing oalled a campaign, and in their eagerness to win they will not only misstate things, but they will justify it to themselves, for you cannot pursuade me that the gentlemen, wost of those who signed that article yesterday morning, 31 of them, you cannot pursuade me that they did not really know they were really mistepresenting 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 conneoted/that Republican campaign about this b1g 1ssue 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 28 th . August 28 th !! I do not know how many different positions he has had aince then. Why, it was
back on August 28th that he intimated, or at least the 31 gentiemen thought they could twist the language around to the intimation, intimated he was in favor of the existing League with certain modifioations. August 28th, and they quoted him that way on Ootober 13 th. And what has happened in the meantine? Why, the Baltimore speech for instance, two weeks ago last Monday, the firat time he got loose on a public platform, th.t 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 anawered the question right out of his own head, when he said in reply to the question as to what his foreigh policy was, said, Frankly, I ar at the present without any constructive specific polioy in foreign affairs." Think of 14 , a man six years a Senator, a man two years a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, a man for three month the standard bearer of a great party, and he tells this nation he bes 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 DesMoines, 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 Naticns, 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, tif the eminent 31 gentlemen have gone back to August 28 th deliberately, oh, I hope not deliberately, I hope accidentally, they have belleved th:t 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 gentilemen of something very thgentlemanly. 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 onadidate, first without any specific construotive tintaty foreign polioy, and secondiy 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. Etxiex I do not believe that it is necessary for me to go into a longwinded discussion of the fact that today we are the partners of the Bolshiviks of Fussia, the Turks and the Mexicans -- a charming company we are keeging 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. Haxding called it a failure, he called it a "monumental fraud" in a speech before some GAR veterans. And while he as 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 omership of some islands had agreed that the League should decide the matter. That was Sênator Harding's fallure and fraud. Later on -- the League had not only prevented a war. Poland and Lituanis 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 questinn 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 th that for this will affect not merely yuman 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 carring out our purpose for which this country went to war, insofar as through out 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 aitting at the table muixgtxtagxamment, a common council, and they are carrying out the covenant in a spirit of high purpose. The same kind a a pirit that Ameriosns 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 spresd of disease and epidemios from one nation to the other, taking up the questions of woman's slavery, chlldren's slavery in many backward nations of the world. They ate doing it, and we are absent. We started 1t, we told the others. Well, what did we tell them? Mou go on, after we have fought ut our own little quarrel over here, maybe, if we win, wh will hurry along the road and catch you up: And the nations said, "We sish 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 alowly as they oan 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 article, 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 an argue it all night. Is that the purpose of this campaing, my friends? These 41 nations have seen more clearly than we have. Not one of them, not even Switzerland, the nations which has for centuries kept out of entangling alliances, Switzerland, more jealous of ber 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 Swtizerland 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 moxix were bound up thete 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 powerz could rise up in the future and threaten the peace of dther nations. I wont go into the queation 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 pessersby. The result is that every other citizen goes heeled. And it is only when a community has got to the point of oivilization that men do not aarxy 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/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 Natiors. 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 Lesgue of Nations, and I an tx as much in lavor of disarmament as any, I will go around this country as an advanced militaris begging you to build not two but ten battleahipa 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 ahell 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 norld we do not care what they do, you can go into 1t, 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 pooketbooks, in our own homes. The farmers out West in Kansas and Nebraska realize the effect of the foreign on the prioe of their grain, their corn, their wheat and so on with everything. And in the manufacturins 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 he who believer for a minute if Senator Harding is eleoted 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 sone fact about an Massociation of nations" to end war. Amsxa 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 sorap the present League, that they will tear down the structure they have built up. Do you think they 111 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 shay out; a vote for Cox is a vote to go in with every Amerion 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 tz 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 willfind 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 wome who cannot forget the great purpose of the war, men and women who lost things that were sacred in that war. A man care up to me the other day in West Virginia and reached up to the platform of my car and toak 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 underatand. D1d 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, wnet to France and one day was mounded. He soon got well and went baok into aotion 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 mast 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 nienty. She came to me and pressed my hand and there were two stips of ribbon. I looked at them and one was the Croix de Guerre and the other was our ow Distinguished Service Cross. MThey are sll 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 herøism, 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 thelr little grandsons for their grandmothers and grandfathers to know that their children and their grandchildren may live their lifes, grow up to be useful citizens and die tri 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 Nas 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 historj should be decided right by the American people when they have a true opportunity. That is what November second will mean. It is for yous to
decide, for you to decide whether 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 moralal force of America, restore this nation to the leadershpp of the world. The tmakx 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 $x=$ 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 weeka, 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, 18120. Reported by R. F. Camalier that same night.

EXTRACTS SPEECH OF HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Cincinnati, 0., Oct. 16, 1920

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 avalable by Republicans for the voters of America. I have repeatedily called attention to this, and eapecially to the fact that in the Campaign Book itself, issued by the Republican National Committee, the most important single issue before the Amertcan people is practically ignored and the Covenant is not printed. I see this morning that the Republican National Comittee 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 $R$ pubiican managers will contain a repatition of the deliberate falsehoods which have ben bandied back and forth throughtout the nation by Rewblican speakers. For instance, I am almost ready to guarantee that the Republican explanation of the Lea ue will contain the oft-repeated assertion that Governor Cox and I indist that the United Sुtates 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 propheay 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 bogles which Republioan orators have been trotting out for the past two months. If only the Republican managers would continue theif present campaign not one single voter will be deceived.

America is a pretty hardheaded nation. In a very true sense we are all "from Misatouri", 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 nati is have looked over the League and joined with the full consciousness that they have not given up any aik of their soverdignty or their rights.

Furthermore, Americans will wonder about all this talk of the League promoting war when they reflect that the whole prupose of the Lesue is to prevent war. When $a, 11$ is said and done, when every Republican is finished talking for campaign purposes, and when they have all finished publishing the untruthful statenents, the average voter is not going to be very much worried about any danger to the United States in doing what 41 other independent natis have already done. The only dreadful thing about it is that men who are getting out this disgusting propoganda 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 focced to take the side of opposing our going into the League of Nations because of a few overbearing members of theix 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 socalled leaders should put party above nation?

There are two types of these socalled 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 mands 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 $D_{\text {mocratic Administration had something to do with the }}$ sativen 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 senturies. It is an objective towards which the United States has pointed the way. It is one whioh the other nations have finnsinamaxixxrazix come to recognize, largely because of American leaiership. Here we have it within our grasp and at the eleventh hour we find men in our own country who are of such iittleness that they try to make of it an issue in a mere election. What after all is the election in comparison with this greatest morel issue of modern times?

I want to repeat the declaration made by me at Chicago on August ilth, In the opening gun of the campaign. II said then that our fight was not against the rank and file fo the Republican party, but rather against the pesent 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 thesmelves to be wholly unfit to conduct the affairs fmxxt 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 elae, and that they are wiling 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 wixtmgx 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 Republioans who care more for the future of their country than they do for the mere winning of the election of 1820.

## BXTRAOTS FROM SPKach OF HONF.D.ROOBEVELT OLHCLHEATX, OHIO., OCT. 16, 1980

There is one phase of the prosent eampaign that is likely to the overlooked in the intensive days fust preceding the election, but the offeete of whioh whll be far-eaching. I refer to the continued and persiatent efforts of the Ropublican canatering paign managere in afineting to that type of voter which is not get fully Amoricanige. Under a guise of patriotima, with a sreat vaving of flage and trith phrases of potty oratory, Ropublican apell-bindera for weeks have bean making an appeal to raalal hatrode anâ prejudices.

By these appoale, in many instancos based on false pronaleas and misatatoannts of flet, they are stirring up a twault of hestile folling toward other countries that will continue to baar ovil fruit long after the presont election hes become a mewory. In many instances these apoekers are doliberatoly inflam ing the passions of their hearers, oreating onomity toward those countires with whose seldiers our boys fought wide by elde in the lete war, countries that are still our Allisw, and countrios that will, God wililing, continue to be our Allies in the graat work that oonfronte the elvilized nationt in robuilding the world aftor the stoms of the grost war.

Wila oherges are banded about by Repubiican oretors, who, setat raving with "intornationsilism", would load the 111-informod to bellove that all othor countries are plotting against us. Foolish apposis are made for us to live our own lifo and lot Kurope go hangs to attend to our oun affairs and not medale with those of othor countries, fust as though it were possible for us

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or any other nation to live a life of national isolation. How utteriy impossible suoh a national oxiatence in the present age Is too appervent to require any explanation, but oarried out to Its legioal conciusion, the preaent Ropublican axti-league policy would lead to just that.

It is hardiy conceivable how the more progresaive element axong the Ropublioan Party Leaders can continue their suppert of Senator Harding. Were he oven a gtandpatter - a conservative of conservetives, it seems to me it would be asier for them to follow him. His apperent inability to say what he means, or to moan what he sayg, should make him absolutely hopeless as a mtandard bearer from a progresaive point of view. Day after day his indecision and vacillation becomes more apparent. Since the tire he first yblded openly to to Borah's thrasts and aame out ilatiy against the League of Hations, the Sonator's troubles have been inoreasing daily and his task of keeping the pro and anti-leaguers of his own party in Ine has become a desperate problem - In fact so deaperate has it become that there are signs that near panio reigns in the Republioan eamp. Demertions from the Ropublioan ranks by indopendent thinking voters, dieguated pith the etraddifing polioy of their standard-bearer, has brought a forceful realigation to the Bepubliean Leaders of the tremendous epread of sentiment from thandagati Coast to coast for Cox and the League. So marked is this turn in the tide aa reperts arme in from all parte of the Country, the leaders in desperstion have takon a now teok and are making a frantic appeal to the hundreds of thousands of pro-leaguers in their ranks to stand fixm for Harding. This is illustrated by the statement a couplo of days ngo of thirty-
one prominent Ropublicang in reiterating their intention to suppert Harding, On record as boing unalterably opposed to the League of IHations, Sonstor Harding last night, evidently under pressure from another aourae, tried to hodge a ilttle on hie. "irreconoilahle" stand, but so doopiy has he conmitted. himeele to an opon eupport oi Bornh and his "Berap the league" plan that it is impossible for him to again fool his followers by maaningless phrases that can he interpreted any way the reader desires.

In this ommeotion I want to oali your attention to a good turn whioh young wr. Vill Hays and the Republiean Hational cormittee have done for ua. In fact, they have done us stand a good turn that $I$ am inclined to think "gomething was put over" on thom from the inside. It looks as though some good Denoerat might have been working around their headquarters. I refor, of course, to the numberlems hutge signboardm, erected from the apparentiy limitlese fund which the Ropublicans have, Which are soattered all over the country. They bear the likeness of Sonstor Harding and hia ranningmate and alongaide of the Senatoris pieture are thes vorde which we can decided to adopt as one of the Democratio alogans ~ "Let us have dome with wiggle and wobble". With Sonator Harding roveraing himmelf more a dosen times auring the past two wesks in his attitude on the Ioague of Mations, it is highiy iftting that we Demooxats should ary from the house-tops - "Let us have done with wiggle and wobble".

Were we willing even for a moment to bidetrack the great isave of the aaropaiga now so alaan out there oan be no more
question about it, whothor the Unitod States shall enter the existing League of Mistions or not, it seems that the paramount cuention that the American voting publia then would have to decide would be - Is Senator lyarding fitted for the presideney of the United States Is a man who reverses his position on the mat most vital ivene before the American publie twelva times in as many days the type of man the American public wants as its Chief Bxeoutive? Is a man who arter eight yeare in the united States Senate and two years a meqber of the Foreign Affaire Cocmittee admita that he has no dofinite conatruetive foreign ratiag programme, though he aspires to the highoat opfice in the land, iftted to be the people "is choiee? Is a men who has proven before election vecillating and woak onough to giold to the opportunities of the lset influence brought to bear upon him, fitted to be ohosen to guide the destinies of a hundred rililion people.

Senator Harding has done more in the past two woeks to injure his own aauas. sfost of um realize that the American publie likes a elean-oupt, stralght froa the shouldor fighter, and that it flos not like men in publia lifo who say one thing and mean another - who tako an attitule one day and "xilp-niop" out of it the next. Senator Haxding has made his own bed, and to him goes much of the areait for the influx of indepenient ropubliaans voters sh to the Demooratio camp. Friends or the League among the Ropublicans, realizing the anpreme importance of the issue and approalating that thoy an regain thoir perty affiliations after this olection, are flying oy the thousanas to the suppert of Governer Cox, digguated with Senator Haraing'白 aligument with

Senator Borah and the "irroeoneilablas" and his subsequent attearpts to pleoate the enc pro-league aentiaent in his party, although unwiling or afraid to throw overboard Borah's plans to "sorap" the League.

## SPEECH BY THE

HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Cincinnati, Ohio
October 16
1820

SPEEOH? HONORABLE FRAKKLIT D, ROOSEVELT, Cincinnat1, O., Ootober 26, 1920.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:
After that introduotion 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 pleagure to oome here to Cinoinnati, even though I have left part of my voice on the trails of Indians 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 monthe 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 if every State of the Union. I have not got any real doubt that there 19 plenty of time left in the next twoo weeks to bring it home to enough Amerioans not merely to insure the result but to insure the carrying out of the great principle of this oaropaign by a tremendous majority in favor of your great Governor. I have travelled now in woll over thirty statea of the Union, and I have begun to wonder, now that I have some baok 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 Oh10, there is not any question. I knew sbout your Governor and have known for a good many years, but frankly I was surprised in my travels to dind out through the Mest, far off in the distant oorners of the East, the extraordinary knowledge that men and women had of the thing whioh he had done for your State. They know about the detalls of logialation, they knew about the things whioh he had promised the people of the State if elected and they know 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 intelligenoe, a vote that will get away from the old fashioned nystem of blindly following a party, right or wrong. It was a Faval Offioer baok in the twnetys, Stopien Deoatur, Commodore Deoatur, who proposad the famous toast, "My oountry, right or wrong". And in the days of atrennous party strife that followed, the
days preceding the Civil War, that tosat of the Naval Offioer was taken and twisted for partiaan 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 statea and get baok to the old fashioned kind of Amariosn/ha, the real kind that existed in the days whon we had but a aingle thought. It has taken time, but we have socomplished the result, and today the vote of this country, as expressed in Kovember, is going to be a vote of intelligenoe, one, thank Heavens, that will place country first and party second. There have been many momentous thinge that have occurred in this oanpaign. I suppose that even I in the beginning of the eampaign felt very much like a partisan candidate. I had been out there to that great oonvention at San Franctico, and had teen them at work in the open, every move before your oyes and nothing in a locked room of a hotel. And I had come back perhaps feeling that the Damooratic Party just as a name, juat as an organization, was the greatest thing in the country, and I think I maintained that point of viow for several weeka intil I began to get out campaigning and rubbing elbows, not with just Damoorate, but with Republioans, Independents, Prohibitionists and Socialiats in these alfferent

States of oura. 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 disoussing issues that were bigger than party. And as the oampaign has gone on, those issues seem to have become conoentrated into something that is so far above party that it is a veritable orime that it was ever made the football of polition. I am talking, of course, about the great moral issue, about a thing that stated in this country nay baok, I take it, in the days of the Revolution, the thoery that this nation had aomething to do with the goodness and the future happiness of all the world. I was aurprised the other day whon I got just one day's holiday at home. I pioked up an old volume containing the mesaages of President Washington to the Congress of the United States, and in thoe mesaages was paragraph after paragraph with reference to the duty which this country owes to other nationa The partioular examples I happened to read of in those early ninetys, 2793, 1793, 1784 and 1795, rolated to the freedom of the seas, and it was George

Washingtion who in advooating to Congrese the oreation of a Mavy, we had mone then, based it not merely upon the protection of Amezioan shoree and American commerce, but based 1 t also on the preservation of the right of peoples to sail with theic comeroe the seven seas in gefety and happinese. And it was due to Washington's example, to his policy in his ifrgt and second administrations, that our Navy was oreatad and fought its f1rat war dow 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 trose seas. And our second war, झthat againgt the Barbary Powers, over on the coast of Afrios a hundred and fifteen yesrs ago, that was fought by the United States for the ame principle, not just the proteotion of our commeros, but to make the Mediterranean Sea safe for the commerce of the world. We, in 2805, 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 noxth coast of Africa and the south ehore of the Mediterranean. And it was only aeven years later that this nation, taking the greatest ohanoe almost that it could, threw down the gauntiot to the grest power of England and fought the war of 1022 for the freedom of the sess. And by the successfull conclugion of that was, the prinoiple was established. for sll nations for all time that no one nation, just beoause it had the power and the Navy oapable of doing it, could have the right to imprese the seamon, 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 senge for a l humanity. Oh, I could go on down through history this way, but the greatest stop of all was taken ninety nine years ago, when James Monros, the President of the United States, onunciatad fo the firat time a dootrine based on Christainity, for he ssid to the nstions of the world in effect, Down there in South and Central Arerios are iftile republics, amall peoples, ifttle able to take oare of thereselves, weak in numbera and power, and they won their independence just the way we did, by force of arms, but thoy are amall and weak, in danger of being attacked by the greater mations of the world, and the United states proposes from now on that these nati ns chall live their national $21 f$ e in freadom, that they ohall maintain
their independence, work out thile own system of government." Why, my friends, is it not in modern language, the right of aelf-determination. Let me put it in another phrase and see how many of you recognize the words. Did not James Yomroe say to the world in 2822, we guarantee the territorial integrity of those nations againat external aggression".

Thers are still some poople in this audience that still do not know the fact that this a direot quotation from Article Ten of the Covenant of the League of Mations, Article Ten, that dangerous thing, that bogie, that ghost that has been calledup before our eyes for monthg. Why let ne tell you about the telegram that ame to me yesterday, from Yew England. I will read it to you, and it is from a woman an independent voter back in my own county on the Hudeon River. I had know all along that she was favorable to the cause of the league of Mations, but I did not know how her fusband was going to vote, ans she sent me this telegram, and it explains itself. She aays, My huaband **************** I left him alone". I taks off my hat to that moman, I take off my hat to any woman who has the courage and the nerve to leave her beloved husband all slone with a copy of the League of Nations' Covenant. It was taking great ohanoes, but I will end your suspense and tell you that it all ended well, for while that dangerous Corenant won out against hubby, he survived, too, and the next morning - it goee on and says, "nothing more was asid until this morning, when he quietly remarked, 'I guess I will have to vote for Cox and Roosevelt'.

That aimply confirmed what I have been saying, and what Governor Cox has been saying for weeks and montha, 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 oountry. It is oniy about four columns long. Anybody oan readit in fifteen minutes. We have printed all the copies we could with the limited funds, but oven the gentlemen who have more money, the gentlemen on the other bide, did not have nerve enough to put it in thoir oampaign toxt book. What it was I do not know, beoause after all from the very beginning it has been one of the paramount lasues of the oampagn, snd as suoh men and women of
both parties wanted to read it and they oould not get a oopy, and in State after State I have sosrched and asked whether any Republiosns could get me a oopy through their headquartars, and invariably I have been told that it was not being published this year by the Republican Headquartere. And so I was very glad to rend this morning that the Repubilasn National Headquarters in Chicago announoed that it had had printed several thousand or rather mililon sopies. I am glad of it, but I would be wiling to make the assertion, what without having seen any of thone 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 1f. it is not verified if you oan 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 propheoy beosuse I have been somewhat eoquainted with the osmpalgn the Republican managers are waging againat the League of Nations. I want to emphasige the point, as I did at the very outiget of this oampaign, that our quarrel is not this year against the rank and file of the Republioan Party, our campaign is not against the men and women who have done so much to make the Republioan Party in the past a great party, a. progresaive party, but our quarrel is and always yill be with the type of men whom Theodore Rocsevelt fought in 2912, the type of min, my friende, who remainet absolutely and unequavooally in tix control of the machinery of the Republioan Party today, And so in view of the fatt that they are odl acquaintanols of ours along this line, we know pretty weal what eaoh new move will be and wo have not been surprised in this oampaign that dating baok over a year ago, there has bean a syatematio effort made to frighten Amerios out of the League, frighten her so muoh that we would wigh to maintain a position of isolation, frighten her so muoh that we could take that stand long enough to enable Republican politiaians to win an eleotion, and thereby disoredit the Preaident of the United States But we can go baok and reoite numerous thinge that have been said about the League. It 39 not so long sgo that a maxeramxax moman oame to me
nd said, Mr. Roosevelt, I cannot vote for Cox and you". I sald, "Why". And she aaid, "Why, because of what has happended in Canade." And I asid, "For goodnese sake, what has happened to poor old Canada, tell we the terrible news." And she whispered, "Haven't you heard"? And I sald, "HO, I haven't heard." And she said, Why last night, Mrs. Brow, the wifa of the Republioan County Chaimman, oame szound to a meeting and she eaid a lot of things. She said that Canada had sent out telagrams 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 belleved it. And a lot of other good women in this country would believe campaign propoganda like that and if a lot of good momen believe a thing like that just think of the vast army of men who would, too. That is only one example axx and I could go on an quote dozens of them. I could tell you about the deliberste untruths that have been handed out by Ur. Will Hays and his organization in Chicago, a pamphlet of poor old Uncle Samon the verge of a precipice being firmly pushed over the edge by six dangerous characters labeled England, Austraila, Canada, New Zealand, Indis and South Africa. Poor old Uncle Sam, he was in a dangerous plase, and one felt sorry for him in suoh oompany, and on top, not matisfied with the lying picture, they printed a lying titie, ENGLAND HAS SIX VOTES TO OUR ONE IN THE LEAGUE OF EATIONS". I Will come back to that pratty soon and some of the details of these lies. How I an trying to tell you what the lies were. I could go on an o1te dozons of instances. And this taik about our boys being lifil out of our homes and sent across the ocean to fight somebody eles's batties Why, the Governor of the State just aoross the river, Governor Morrow of Kentucky, adiressed an audience in a small place the othe day - I suppose beoause it was a small place he thought he could get away with it -- ho tol an audience in his own State that if we ment into the League of Nationg we would have to send an army over there to take part in the war between the King of Siam ard the Emperor of Timbuotoo. 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 friende in Kentuaky that they should give him an opportunity of going to sohool and learning geography. But you know this whole campaign is based on an appeal to ignorance, it isbased on an appal to the baser elemente in our nature. It in based on an appeal to our feare rather than our faith. What woyld hove happened if we had prasued a courae like that all through our history. That would have happend in 1882, when James Monroe announced that we were going to guarantee the territorial integrity of those amall nations down to the south. Suppeas Senator Lodge had been living at that time. Why, he would have gone around, he snd his sattelites. I will tell you a story about Senstor Lodge in just a minute. He would have gone around in 2821, with his eattelites, and he would have seid to the good woren of this ountry, the mothers, "My good woman, pulling a long faoe, do you realize the awful dangers in the Monroe Doctrine, what would happen to your dear boy. Do you realige that under this Monroe Doctrine, they can take him out of your howe, send him down twatz there to Brasil, Uraguay, 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 besn no such thing as the Monroe Doctrine. But, thank God, the Senators of 1822 were made of aterner stuff that they are today. I was going to tell you a story; I see no farm in telling it. 位 It has not much to do with the thing wo are talking about. I heard it in Kangse City. The Rev. Burris Jenkins told me, it was an old story in Kaness City, but I had never heard it. There was a very delightful oharacter from Xansas who went down to Washington as Senator, Sonator 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 Thadom of Lodge. So when he arrived, he looked up Lodge and had a friend introduce him. The Senator oame out and ohatted with fim for about five minutes and then Senstor Lodge was oalled away. His friond asid, FYu have seen Lodge, what do you think of him". "Wel2", said Ingalis, "I have met Lodge. I should say it is a oase of thin soil intensively cultivated." But to get baok to the point.

Through all of our hiatory we have fought for prinoiple. We have establiahed over the yesra the right to say to the world, "We are an uncelfigh nation, With a mission in the world. Fi oare about the rights of the downtrodien people, we asre about the rights of amall nationg that oannot defond themselves againat aggeesaion." We carried it out in 2898, down there in Gubs. When we went into that war, we todl the old world powers that when we had finighed Hinning from Spain, we were going to make Cuba a free Republio, and they would not belleve us on the otherside. I mean the timehardened statesmen of the old waorld diplomacy, they would not believe us, and they sald oyniosily, "Cuba will ond 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. there are I do not say the statemmen, because thep etill some oynios left in the old sohool of diplomacy, but the peoples of the world know today that we are a mation that keeps its international obligations. And so when the world war oame, and the graat catastrophe spread over Europe, the peoples of the old worla looked to us for an expression of somotining they had in thoix hearts. And the United States, thru its leaders, it leaders of both partien, expreseed 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 oarnage a peace would come, a peace regulting 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 firat time in history put internstionsal relations on the same soale and plane that the relations between individuals had been since the days of Christainity. And the peoples of the wozld listened to out great men, Taft, and Rooseve2t, for they were all preaching this gospel and they

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decided it was worth while going on with the war to obtain this thing and at last wo got in ourselves, and when we wont into the war, when we got 1 n , all the world knew that we were going to see to $1 t$, to use overy offort as an honest nation that had always kopt its word to ontain for all the nations thie groat principle, and we oalled it "a war to ond war".

That nas on everybody's tongue back in the daye of 2917, and I have wondered very often aince then what mould Lavehappened on April 6, 1917, or even on November 11, 2918, the opening day we got into the war and the closing day of the war, if Senator Harding, of this State, atood had astik up in the Senate of the United Stated and preaohed this gospe2. Suppose he had sald on either of those days, The mission of the United gitates, the purpose of tis nation in the war is merely to defeat the German armien, and the very second we have socomplised that purpose 敞 will bring our troops homs, and as aoon as we have done that, negotiate a separate peaoe with Germany and we will deolare by resolution of Congreas that the was has sessed, and then wo will draw a ohinese wall around this country, and we will tell the other nations of the world that we oare nothing of whathappens to them, and for all it corverns us they, the people we fought with shoulder to shoulder, sil the peoples of the world may go to the Devil." And yet is not that exaotly what Senator Harding has been saying on K ndays, Wednesday and Dricass for the 2ast two monthe. Or perhaps I am wrong, 1t may be Tuesdaya, Thuredaye and Saturdsys. However, that is what has been handed out to you, my friends, and if Senator Harding had said baok there in 1917 and 1918 what he has been asying in the past two months he would have ceased long ago to be allowed on the floor of the Senaterof the United States. I do not know how much longer this thing oan go on, but we have talked about it for a whole year and तe have talked about it until we ought to know the purpose of the Leqgue. Why, baok there a year ago, when the Prosident of the United States brought home the first draft of the League, when he landed in Boston and when Governor Collige of Massachusetts weloomed him to Massaghusetts and on the publio platform, and in my presence, said, \#Mr. President,
the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetta 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 Coalidge, often remembers that remark in this camapgin. Yes, and the President went to Washington with the draft of the Covenant of the League and the membera 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 baok to Paris and the suggestions made by the opposition were incorporated in the final draft of the Le gue of Natione. I hold in my hand a program Indianapolis of a great meeting held in Ytaxiaplatim a yoar ago, May 38, 2918, a great meeting for the ratifiaation of the Lague of Nationg' Covenant. The meeting was called by an equal number of prominent Republiaans and Democrats *n of Indianapolis. The speakers st the meeting were the Honorable William Howard Tait, Dootor A. Lawrence Lowell, Dr. Anns Howard Shaw, Rabbi Steven S. Wise, and on the back was printed a atatement of the League to Enforce Peace, of whioh tho se people were members. I belleve the spoakers that night authorized that statement just over a year ago. And now, my friende, notice that Doctor Lowezl was one of the signers, one of the thirty one who signed that document day before yesterday, and that Mx. Taft has taken substantially the same position as Doctor Lowell. Here is what they endorsed a year ago:

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The covenant for a league of nations *********************
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    none."
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That, my friends, is the most convinoing proof that can be offered any audience, anywhere, of the greateat somersault ever committed in Amerioan publio 21fe. So we oome right back to the fundamental proposition wich I have stated, and which is now clear, thank Heavens, to the whole Amerioan people. The opposition to the League, on the part of nine out of ten, is due to a wilful desire tp put party shead 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 audionce some of these oharges. I can hardly bear doing it, beoause I have read the

Covenant so often I oan see no resson 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 Abbysinnis, Timbuotioo or Slam, as my old friend, Governor Morrow, has said, using Artiole Ton for a basis for his statement. I have quoted a pa $t$ of Artie Ten, " "guarantes the territorial integrity of the League members against external aggression." That, my friends, is an extension of the Yonroe Doctrine, the purpose is to prevent from happening again the thing whioh happened to Belgium in 1914. Instead of the United States being the guarantor, the maker of the note of protection againat external aggression, we have all the world as signers of this same note. Tou have increased the security behind these powers, a hundred fold almost. And the rest of Article Ten, the thing that sounde so dangerous, is this, in case of aggreseion, or the threat of aggression, that then the Council of the League of Nations will reoommend such steps as may be necessary, find suoh stope as may be necessary to stop, to prevent the aggression. The Council of the League recommends to the nations what ahould be done, and your Chairman has so well said the first and greatest weapon the League has to stop aggression is the outting off that nation from relations they normally would have with other nations, boyoott it; kiok it out of polite society for anille until they have come to their senses. But that oan only be done after you have gone through two ateps. The Counoil has got to recormend and how? They have got to got a unanimous vote in the Council before they can recommend. That meane nine, for there are only nine members in the Counoil. Who is in the Council -here is the nasty lie - there are five big powers and four amaller powers. The five larger powers are Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States; ( 11 we go inl; and the smaller powers in the Council are Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greoce. They are the nine; where are the aix votes, my firends, in the governing body of the League? And in case of threatened aggression, those nine representatives in the Counoil have got to aggree unanimousiy, the Amerioan representative
has to agree to $1 t$, too, because if he stayed out there would be no secommendation. 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 aotion, in view of the fact that all the nations have oonstitutional government, neariy all republios based on our own gytem, it would have to be approsed by the Congreas 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 aho are just oonstitutionally doubting Thomases. I do not know what the femsle 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 Contiaution of the United Statea is superior to any kind of a treaty or a League that can posaibly be entered into, Cox and I have been going up and down this country telling the people of slmost every state removing the doubts and doubting Thomases and others. We are wiling to put it down in black snd white, in plain Englieh, not Marion, Ohio, English, and atate right in the instrument of ratification of the League itself that "nothing contained therein shall in any way weaken or lessen or ohange our rights under our Constitution or the righta of our Congress to deolare war or to send our boys overseas. And yet, day after day, you will find Republioan candidates, yos the ohiof of them all, Senator Harding and others, going around this country talking about the Demooratio position, deliberately misrepresenting it, and teling the oitizeng 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 toll you that President Wilson declined to change the orossing of as "TV" or the dotting of an "I". And the man who does that is poilitioally dishonest. It has been made clear by Governor Cox, and 1 t has been made clear by president Wilson, not noe but a dosen times, all the way through the debate in the Senate, that he was willing to scoept even the Hitchoook reservations, and yot is Senator Harding admitting that. Why, no, it would spoil the whole plan of their oampaign. And he will try, and the
rest will try by November second to purauade you that if you eleot a Democrat, in spite of the fact that Cox and I stand on the Demooratio platform which desires the inolusion in our ratifioation of the rresty of Peace of the aimple plain staterent that no Amerioan rights oan 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 ourious thing to me, and I hope you will excuse a lititie bit of phicisophy, it is a ourious thing to me the more I an in publio $21 f 0$, to see men who are obherwise excellent oftizens, sbsolutely sell themselves out for a politioal reason. It is queer that great men, really great men, I mean men of ability who have oocupied high positions in our nations iste, men who are looked up to and respected in their homes and their communties and who would not think of stealing a cont, men who are almost beyond question as far as their honor and their honest goes, and yet they will go into a thing oallod politios, they will get mixed up with a thing oalled a campaign, and in theix eagerneas to win they will not only misatate thinge, but they will justify it to themaelves, for you cannot purauade me that the gentlemen, most of those who signed that artiole yeaterday morning, 31 of then, you cannot pursuade we that they did not really know they wore really mistepresenting things. In that atatement that came out yosterday, they again rapeated the old staje 110 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 catoh that germ. Almost everything with
connected/that Republioan campaign about this b1g issue has been a deliberate attempt to pervert the truth. In their pamphlets, in their posters and in alroost everything, they have gone back and have overlooked this or that, and have quoted only the parts helping them. Why, these gentlemen in Now 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 epesoh 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 32 gentlemen thought they could twist the language around to the intimation, intimated he was In favor of the existing League with certain modifioations. August 28th, and they quoted him that way on Ootober 23th. And what has happened in the meantime? Why, the Baltimore speeoh for inatance, two weoks ago last Honday, the ilrat time he got loose on a public platform, the famous time that a man in the audience ssked a question and got thrown into jail for doing 1t. 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 forelgh polioy was, aaid, mFrankiy, I am at the preaent without any conatructive apeoifio policy in foreign affalrs." Think of $1 t$, a man six years a Senator, a man two years a wember of the Forign Relationa Committee, a man for three monthe the standard bearer of a great party, and he tells this nation he bee is without any construotive speoifio policy in foreign affairs. Now wait, this s.il happened since August 28th, which is the reference that these 32 ominent gentiemen give, the reason they give, for aupporting Senator Harding; afterwards he kept on going, wade a lot more speeches and up in DesMoines, Iowa, a week ago last Thurgasy he made the fanous speech in which he told the nation, "Governor Cox is in favor of going into the League of Naticne, I am in favor of staying out and I turn my baok on any reservations or amendments." Is that olear, yes. It is as olear, olearer than anything else except that attempt in Baltimore, and the result is, my frisnds, two fold: first, an the eminent 31 gentlemen have gone back to August 28th deliberately, oh, I hope not deliberately, I hope socidentally, they have belleved thit 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 ister, I would be accusing these 31 eminent gentlemen of something veyy tagentlemanly. And the othov big tining is this, that is brought out olearly, so clearly, that nothing oan be said, that Senator Harding etande convioted as a onsdidate, first without any specific construotive tatatgh foreign polloy, and secondiy 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. Exxisex I do not believe that it is neoessary for me to go into s longwinded discussion of the fact that today we are the partners of the Bolohiviks of Russia, the Turks and the Kexicans -- a ohsrming 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 Natione and it is a going concern. Harding called it a failure, he called it a "monumentel fraud" in a speech before some GAR veterans. And while he as seying that, within 24 hourg of his speech, the news came that the Council of the League of Nations had averted its fixst war -- Sweden and Finland about totake up arms over the queation of ownership of some islands had agresd that the League should decide the matter. That wes Sfinator Harding's failure and fraud. Later on -- the League had not only prevented a war. Poland and Lituania had been fighting. The League had stepped in and said to them "Cant we settle it for you. Cant you end the fithting". Poland and Lithuania ended that war. That is Senator Harding's failure and ixatu.

So we are down to the simple questinn of what we are going to do in November. This is the biggest thing that has come before the people since 2860, and in many ways a bigger thing thit that for this will affact not merely fuman slavery in a small section of the earth, but will save the lives of countless human beinge, boys and girls, all over the world in the generations to come. We have done our part in earring out our purpose for which this country went to war, ingofar as through out leadership we have brought the nations of the earth around the table in this solemn oovenant. Yes, we have done that much, and today they axe sitting
 out the covenant in a spirit of high purpose. The same kind of a ppirit that Americans had carried out what our fathers sought to obtain in the Constitution of the United States in 2788 . Why, the nati ns 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 opldemios from one nation the the other, taking up the questions of moman's alavery, ohildren's slavery in many backward nation of the morld. They are doing it, and we are absent. We started it, we told the others. Well, what did wo tell them? "You go on, after we have fought ut our own little quarrel over hore, maybe, if we min, wt will hurry along the road and eatoh you up! And the nations said, We wish we could wait fior you, but we must keep on the road to destiny. We expeot you, the people of the United States, to oatch 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 arok. Here we are baok here talking and wrangling, talking about the orossing of a "T ${ }^{\text {n }}$ or the dotting of an "I", quarreling about the interpretation of worde, quarreling about this artiole and that article and the other artiode, telling the women of the oountry 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 an argue it all night. Is that the purpose of this campaing, my friends? These 41 nation have seen more clearly than we have. Not one of them, not even Switaerland, the nations which has for conturies kept out of entangling alliances, Switzorland, wore jealous of her own right to run her own international relations in her own way, Switzerland, the other dsy, held a referendum on the League of Nations and the men and women of Swtizeriand voted two to one to go into the League and today Switzerland ia a momber beoause the people of Switzerland realize that the two great purposes of the Swiss Repubilo waxa were bound up thete in the League itself, first of those, the respect of and the protection to the rights of the emaller peoples of the world, and secondiy, the keoping down of the armaments of the world, so that no great military powers could rise up in the futurs and threation the pesce of ther nations. I wont go into the question of disarmament. Do you think for a minute that the morld is going to disarm its members if other nations wtay out and keop $\dagger \mathrm{n}$. What would happen? What happens in any community when two or three dangeroue oharactera are permitted to roam the streets with six shooters on their hipe firing them
at oocasional peasersby. The result is that every other aitizen goes heeled. And it is only when a community has got to the point of oivi11 zation that men do not oarry guns around with them all the time that they are all abla to go unarmed. You oannot have a part armod and a part unarmed. And so with the opportunity in this oountry to vote it from the salfiah point of View. You have the opportunity to think in termg of dollara as to What it will coat you to keep up a navy, not geoond, but a navy greater than any other navy in the world, if we do not join the League of Natiom. 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 advanosd militaria begging you to build not two but ton battleships overy year. In the same way, if you want your army to coat you half billion dollars a year to keop it going up and up and up, and shell factories and powder factories and military preparations on every side, then adopt your polioy of ataying with Ruasia, Mexioo and Turkey, and tell the rast of the world we do not care what they do, you can go into $2 t$, but not us. But most of us realize, I think, that the thing ia if we go on and stay outaide, it will come back home here in our own pooketbooks, in our own homes. The farmers out West in Kansas and Nobracka realize the effect of the foreign on the prioe of their grain, their corn, their wheat and so on with everything. And in the manufaoturing dietriota, too, we having beoome a nation that trades with all the world. We are beginning to underatand that our daily life is wrapped up in the daily life of other peoples. So from the selfigh point of view you can build a Chinese Fall if you want to.

Tou have got to go into the Assooiation. I will ask you a simple question. Is there a man or woman he who believes for a minute if Senator Harding is oleoted Pregident, if he oould oarry out what some of thoee 31 eminent gentlemen think he oould do apparently, that 1s, work up into the form of a written dooument sone fact about an massooiation of nations" to end war. Axdxs An association of nations to restore barmony

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among the nations, something entizely different from the existing league, of course. Do you think Senator Harding, having reduoed that mholly undefined emothing to paper, could go to the other natione and gay, "Gentlemen, I hereby" - no, not 'notify', the word Senator Harding ueed the other day in Kansas City when he was trying to put across something nebuious like thet. He sald he wanted to 'diotate' --get it--an Amerioan assooiation to the rest of the world. And do you think that the reat of the world wili take it. Do you think they will sorap the present Lesgue, that they will tear down the struoture they have bullt up. Do you think they will forget the tolls of paris of this year and last yoar, and socumulate and sell the machinery, and at the diotation of the President of a nation outside the League accept what he puts up. The more you come down to $1 t$, the more you have got to reslize the a simple one. A vote for Harding is to stay out; a vote for Cox is a vote to go in with every Amerion right proteoted. The men and women of the United States are seeing that more olearly every day. They are seeing it because they know the grest moral influenoe of the country are behind it. The churches are behind ts this movement, and over there the other day Pope Benediot himself issued an enoyolical letter to the Catholio Churohes giving his support to the League of Nations. How about the teaohers? Go the universities and the aolleges, the normal sohool, the higa sohools, the primary sohools, take a poll of the men and women of education who are bringing up our boys and giris, and you whllifind 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 woll as the churohes. But if that is not onough, I wish you could have been with me in these cities and seen and talked with the men and wome who cannot forget the great purpose of the war, men and women who lost things that were aaored in that war. A man oame up to me the other day in Weat Virginis and reaohed up to the platforw of my oar and todk hold of wy hand with both of his and said, Mhr. Roosevelt, God bless youn. And that is all he said and for a mimute I could not understand. And then I
looked down and on the lapel of his coat was a 21 ttle pin, on that pin were two gold starn. I aaid, I think I oan underatand. D1d you 20 ese two boygi" And he said, "Yea". And I asid, "Where". And he told me, "One on the Navy ahip 'Cyolops', that ship that laft port and never returned. And the other boy was in the Army, whet to France and one day was wounded. He soon got well and went baok into aotion and then was ordersd out over the enemy's linea (he was in the aviation aervioe) and never returned," "That/, Hr. Roosevelt", he asid, "is why I say to you, 'God blesz you's. MI want you to go round telling the mothers and fathers of this country that the aarifice of their boys and my boye muat not be in vain. " Before that -- oh, everyday somebody comes up. Over in Minneapolis in the early part of the oampaign, an old woman tottered up on the stage, she must have been over nienty. She came to me and pressed my hand and there were two stips of ribbbn. I looked at them and one was the Croix de Guerre and the other was our om Diatinguished Service Crose. WThey are all I have left in the world. My own ohildren were dead, and all I had left was one boy, my grandaon. He went over and I told him to go, and he went into battle and was decorated for herbiam, and the next time he was killed. I want you, Mr. Roosevelt, to have these and carry thom around in the oampaign beoause I want it made possible for poor old grandmothers in the days to come to keap their 2ittle grandsons for their grandwothers and grandfathors to know that their children and their grandchildren may live their lifes, grow up to be useful oitizens and die twk in thelr beds without going through the horrors of war."

And so I think you will gee 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 osmpaign. I think you will eee a little how deeply I feel, but not in my eleotion, not Governor Cox's eleotion, beoause it is not a question of individuals, but how deeply I feel that the great purpose for wioh we fought, that this oountry has atood for all through its history should be deoided right by the Ameriosn poople when they have a true opportunity. That is what November second will mean. It isfor yous to


#### Abstract

deo1de, for you to deo1de whether are of 2914 , back to the days of axmament and bloodshed of generation after generation, or whether you want to take this now stop and by the splendid force of Amerion, the moral foroe of Amerion, restore this nation to the leadershlp of the world. The tamiz otier nations are just waiting for un. We can be the keystone of the aroh, and we can make that aroh endure thry all the years to come if wo will have just falth, not the kind of fear tht some of the otherpeople are appealing to, the kind of falth that ta has brought us thru all our national life; the kind of faith Amerioa means to you and me. So, my friende, I am very oertain that you will justify that faith in ourselves when you have the chance. That is why, as the daya go by, I oniy wish we had an opportianity for more time, just a fow more weeks, to lot every man and woman in the United States understand the truth, for the truth shall make us frse.


## END

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

