
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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ing to the people our interpretation of the issues that now confront the Nation, and at the same time of getting from the people a better ~~understanding~~ understanding of the needs of the Nation so as to be better fitted if chosen to service them.

The Democratic program is a progressive one; the standard bearer of the Party is a Progressive. We are proud of the accomplishments of the Democratic Party during the last eight years, for a tremendous amount of constructive legislation has been passed and the Nation has taken long strides forward. Now the people are called upon to decide whether the Country will continue this march of progress under a Democratic Administration or accept the new leadership offered by the Republicans, who base their claim to support on promises that may all be summed up in two words - "A Change". Their candidate is a reactionary. Their platform likewise holds out no promise of a movement toward better things.

This Fall the people are called upon to pass upon question of tremendous import. Their decision should not be given along purely partisan lines, for the issues are so vital that they should be ~~carefully~~ studied and met along broad, patriotic, national lines. Personally, I believe that never before in the history of our Country has there been so much independent thinking in politics, and so little adhesion to strict party lines as there is now. This viewpoint must be shared somewhat by Senator Harding who, reactionary to the core, shudders with horror at the spread of independence in political thinking. In a statement made a couple of days ago to the Women's Harding Club of New York, Mr. Harding said - "Too much is heard of independence in politics *** The fashion of parading independence is to be deplored." No doubt this solemn utterance of the Republican candidate for the Presidency, the highest gift in the

hands of the American people, made after due deliberation, must have been read with great astonishment and possibly a touch of disgust by that great body of Independents who, scattered through the country, have held the balance of power in our political life and have kept the nation true to that idealism which made possible its foundation and its present foremost station among the nations of the world.

Those familiar with the career of Senator Harding probably were not greatly astonished for they naturally would expect from him ~~him~~ open approval of a blind party allegiance. Never in his entire career has he ever shown the slightest indication of independence, either in action or in thought. On the contrary, he has stood side by side with the political bosses, not only in his own State but in the Senate. Alongside of his declaration against independence among the voters, is his telegram of congratulation to your own Senator Brandegee, one of the leaders of that clique which has controlled the Senate of the United States whenever the Republicans have had a majority. Only recently in an interview he stated that the proudest moment of his life was when he nominated Senator Foraker of Ohio, a man whom Theodore Roosevelt proved received \$50,000 from the Standard Oil Company while a member of the United States Senate. Senator Harding not only nominated Foraker for the Senate, but he nominated as delegate-at-large to a Republican National Convention, with false praise, the man who has been called the most corrupt boss in America - Boss George B. Cox, of Cincinnati. Under all the circumstances, Senator Harding could hardly be expected to endorse independence among others.

His confession of political faith in so far as independence

was concerned doubtless was prompted by the disquieting reports he was receiving of how the progressive thinking voters of the West and Northwest, whose vote proved so decisive in 1916, are planning to vote again this year.

I do not wonder, after my trip through each of the Western States, that Senator Harding should have been horrified to think that the people of the West are so "independent" that, although normally Republicans, they are going to vote for progressive men and progressive principles this year, and not for a reactionary Senate "syndicate" which has seized the Republican Party machinery, but which does not represent the rank and file of the Republican Party.

The difference between Senator Harding and ourselves upon this important principle of American political thought is fundamental and vastly more vital than it may sound at first. Governor Cox and I glory in the fact that America is becoming more and more independent in its thinking and its voting. We glory in the fact that the voter who votes a ticket regardless of the nominees or the principles, merely because "grandfather" voted that ticket is fast becoming extinct.

Unlike Senator Harding, I do not think too much is heard of independence in politics, but that not enough is heard of independence in politics. I look with confidence to the day when each party will go before the people and base its appeal solely upon the merits of the issues and the character of the candidates, with a knowledge that there are so many independents in America that their decision will determine the result. I have faith that this day is not only coming, but that it is here. I believe that it is the independents who are going to decide

the result this Fall.

Men who call themselves Independents or who call themselves members of either of the great parties or of the lesser parties, will do well to study not only the statement of Candidate Harding that there is too much independence in our Nation, but to study the record of the Candidates themselves for independence in public life. Governor Cox and myself never hesitated to break with the kind of political thought with which we disagreed, regardless of whom we might offend in our party by so doing. Governor Cox proved his independence when he broke with the old organization in Ohio and came out for a new ideal in public life, for a new Constitution and for a new program for popular rule, human welfare and social justice in that State.

Here is a straw in the wind. A successful businessman from Southern Indiana came to me a few days ago on the train and said this: "I am a Hebrew, and have always been a Republican. I didn't even vote for Mr. Wilson in 1912 nor in 1916, but during the last year I have been in favor of the League of Nations. I have watched this campaign develop. I have seen clear-cut purposes on the one side, and vacillation and party politics on the other. I was in doubt at first, but now I have made up my mind to vote for Governor Cox because a vote for him is a vote for the League of Nations. I consider that issue far greater than any party question could ever be. I recognize in the League a practical carrying out of the doctrine of the Ten Commandments which were received by Moses, and more than that, I consider it a practical fulfilment of the great purposes of the teaching of Christ. I am with you this year because a failure of the League of Nations would be a real crime and would put back the cause of true religion and moral standards a thousand years. To defeat the League at this time means a lowering of national and individual standards in every nation for generations to come."

THE LEAGUE COVENANT is the paramount issue of this campaign. We need to be in the league; duty requires us to be; We cannot be unless we elect our Democratic Nominees. The League will be useless unless we clothe it with power. The Senate Amendments weaken it. The League is planned after our Federal Constitution. Our Federal Constitution was made under a call issued by Washington and his compatriots from Mount Vernon in 1785. Our Constitution clothes the Government with sovereign power over everything delegated to it by the Constitution. It was planned and its objects set out in the call in 1785, made to the different Colonies when they were in a worse condition than they had been under British rule. It has worked successfully for 130 years, and ~~has been adopted~~ and the plan of our Constitution has been adopted by several Republican Governments and has worked beneficially in all cases. If the Constitution had not delegated to the Federal Government supreme power to enforce its provisions it would have been of no value. We could not have suppressed the Whiskey Rebellion; Attempted State Nullification, or saved the Nation at the time of the Civil War if it had the provisions in it that ~~have~~ ^{have} been suggested by the Senate Amendments. It takes an agreement of all nations involved in a treaty as to the stipulations that are to go into the Treaty. No man doubts that President Wilson got the best terms in the Treaty that it was possible to procure, or that we have power to ratify the League Covenant. The question is do we desire to ratify it. Its provisions were planned by Wilson and the Representatives of all the Allied Powers. These men had met under a call to prepare a document for submission for ratification by the most intelligent men of all the Allied Powers. They came to an agreement and signed it and the Legislatures of 29 Nations have

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ratified it. All these vast assemblages had one object in view; the avoidance of future wars and to do justice to the weaker powers that had helped us to win the War, and we cannot do justice to these weaker powers if we strike out all of Article Ten(10,) which the Senate Republican Majority demanded, and we will leave these weaker powers a prey to the stronger nations with no Tribunal to adjust the matters by peaceable means that are covered by Article Ten, and thus avoid War in relation to such matters. The intelligence of these 29 nations that planned the League Covenant, and the intelligence of the Legislative Bodies that ratified it is pitted against the Senate opposition to the League.

When the call was made by Washington in 1785 to the various Colonies to take steps to create a Federal Government, the credit of the Colonies was worthless. Their debts which they had made for independence were unpaid. The Federal Government assumed those debts and paid them in full. When the Convention met to frame the Constitution there were differences that had to be compromised, and but for those compromises, nothing could have been accomplished. New England had the Shipping Interests and was engaged in the Slave Trade. Her delegates demanded that the slave trade should not ^{be} interfered with by the Congress to be created.

It was provided in the plan constitution that the slave trade should not be disturbed prior to 1808. The small states insisted that they should have as great a representation in the Congress as the greater and more populous ^{be} states. This was settled by creating two branches of Congress, a Senate and a House, and that the small States should have an equal representation in the Senate Body with the larger States. As to the House that was fixed on the

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basis of population . These provisions are in force at the present time. No serious consequences have come from them, nor is their any likelihood of any serious trouble over the representation provided in the League Covenant for each power.

The Slave Holding Interests demanded that this equal representations in the House should include their slaves. That matter was compromised by giving the slaves three-fifths representation, altho he had no vote and was simply property. Notwithstanding the extreme condition of the Colonies and the extreme need of a Federal Government that would bind all the Colonies together as one Nation, the adoption of the Federal Constitution was bitterly opposed. It was two years after it was proposed before nine states voted to join the league. In the meantime a paper was started known as 'The Federalist' to teach the people the advantages of a Federal Government and answer the objections to it. Those objections were about the same as those now urged by the Senate majority. As soon as nine states had adopted the Constitution, the Federal Government proceeded to organize, leaving out the other four Colonies that had rejected the Constitution. These later changed their mind and applied ^{for} admission to the New League of Nations. Had they not changed their minds they would be in the same position we are now, and certain to be in the future as a world power until we join the League of Nations.

It is said The League Covenant would be opposed now by Washington and by Lincoln were they living, and that it does not savor of Civil War Republicanism. The World conditions have changed since Washingtons time. Inventions have made it possible for any power to construct air-craft and produce high explosives to be

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carried in such air-crafts over any city and destroy it by dropping the explosives into the city, and to build submarines to blow up any vessel on the sea, and it needs a world league to be clothed with police power to visit any and every nation and sea what is going on to preserve the safety of the World. Hence Washington if he had been living would have favored the League. The League Covenant is not an entangling alliance with foreign powers for conquest, which is what Washington referred to but it is a league to preserve the Peace of the World, and add to our own safety.

As to Lincoln Republicanism, Mr. Lincoln in the darkest hour of the Civil War drew up his Emancipation Proclamation without consulting his own Cabinet. The Republican Party at that period made three amendments to the Constitution to make good the promises contained in that Proclamation that the freedom of the slaves should be maintained. They could not have done less in point of honor after the negro population emancipated had entered our Army and helped us to subdue the Confederate Forces. This disposes of the claim that former Republicanism teaches us to oppose the League, and that Washington would have opposed it.

During the World War we loaned to our allies over Ten Billions of Dollars with the consent of the Republicans now in Congress opposing the League. We need to relieve these allies from their heavy assessments for armies and navies in order for them to make it possible for them to repay us. As to the claim that we should insist in the League Covenant that Ireland should be free from England that is a matter of local concern. If we had insisted on it the League Covenant would not have been signed.

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We sympathize with all efforts to establish free and independent governments based on the suffrage of the people, but had we insisted on dictating to England what she should do with Ireland we would have had to surrender the control of our local affairs to the league. As it is now a unanimous Supreme Court composed of democrats and republicans has decided that North Dakota is free to adopt State Socialism by changing their Constitution so as to own and operate public utilities and conduct State stores for the good of the people. This establishes the precedent for all states to do the same thing, and hence we could not afford to introduce the Irish question into the League without surrendering our local independence.

As to Shantung, it is a principle of International Law recognized everywhere that when one country takes over a portion of another country, that existing private rights that have been acquired under the preceding government shall be continued in force, and this rule has been applied by our Congress and all our courts in respect to French, Spanish and Mexican grants taken over from these countries prior to the session by them to us.

About fifteen years before the World War began China had ceded Shantung to Japan. Japan had given license to railways and mine investments to procure developments in Shantung. Mr. Wilson could not have handled the Shantung question in preparing the League Covenant. The delegates from Japan had no authority under the call to bind ~~China~~ ^{Japan} in any manner about Shantung matters, and to have attempted it would have been defeated any treaty agreement. China will not be placed in any worse condition over the Shantung matter by our ratification of the Treaty, but she will be benefited in this respect.

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We will be on the League Board and use our influence to protect China, and any other power from conquest.

around and planning for the Naval stations which we maintained throughout the War.

Have people forgotten already the tremendous sensation caused by the German submarines after 1914? Here again is a slice of history. When the European War broke out in 1914 news came through from German sources that they expected the submarines to be a serious menace to the British control of the seas. In the Navy Department in Washington it was the general rule among the older officers to minimize the potentialities of the submarine, and to discredit any thought of their exercising a very large effect on allied commerce or supplies. Many of the younger officers, however, saw in the German submarines a real threat and with them I agreed. We believed, ~~however~~ nevertheless, that if the German submarines were temporarily successful in destroying a large allied tonnage some answer to the submarine would eventually be found. This also proved to be correct, and by the autumn of 1918 submarine operation had been in a broad sense placed under control.

This is but a proof of the old, historical fact that every new offensive weapon meets, in time, a defensive weapon which neutralizes its power. Back at the beginning of the war between the States, enthusiasts believed that the new high powered rifled guns would end naval warfare because no wooden ship could withstand them. We know, however, that almost simultaneously the use of armor plate on ships neutralized the added power of the new guns. So with submarines. They have become one of the many weapons of offensive warfare, and various forms of defense are now used against them.

Another controversy is now raging - whether the airplane

has, or has not, put the older weapons wholly out of existence. Judging by history it has not. For instance, the torpedo boat of 40 years' ago was going to render all battleships obsolete. 10 years' ago the submarine was going to do the same thing. Today the prophecy is made for the airplane, but the probability is that aircraft will merely take their place as additional weapons in warfare and not as new weapons which supersede and drive out of existence all the old ones.

This, however, brings up the most serious phase of future wars. Airplanes can reach portions of an enemy's country hitherto safely "behind the lines". In the recent war many hundreds of people were killed and wounded - men women and children - by airplane bombs far back of the lines in France, Germany and England. Since the war ended great discoveries have been made in the use of fatal gases, it being claimed that whole ~~city~~ city population could be destroyed by a single enemy plane.

If that be true the world faces a problem far greater than the mere limitation of armament. L

Largely as a result of the writings of the great Dutchman Grotius 300 years' ago, the treatment of enemy civilian population in time of war became more humane and more civilized throughout Europe. With few exceptions the so-called "rules of war" then laid down were maintained fairly well until the World War. Then, largely because of the German doctrine of terrorism civilian populations were treated as incompetents would be. If in the next war nations feel themselves at liberty to destroy and injure the enemy civilian populations ~~in~~ outside of the actual fighting zone, we shall go back to the unlimited and horrible conditions of war fare in the Dark and

Middle Ages.

It would seem to be more important than this tremendous subject be discussed fully and frankly by the civilized nations now, in time of peace, than that there should be a mere international conference to plan for the scrapping of a few more battleships .

What is the United States going to do about it? Our position as a leader in such a great cause is clearer than that of any other nation. We are separated by thousands of miles of ocean from any other power, formidable as a military antagonist. We seek no aggrandizement of territory. The world as a whole will follow our lead more readily than that of any other nation. Yet the present government in Washington mouths around about "entangling alliances" and a "hands off" policy. No American of course wants any entangling alliance, but every American wants to see this country play the part of a man and lead in the advancement of civilization as a whole and the lessening, not only of the horrors of war, but of the chances of war itself. Are you satisfied, by the way, that America is today ~~taxi~~ doing its full duty to mankind?

Franklin D. Roosevelt

On the first day of my New York campaign I uncovered the appeal that is being made by Senator Harding and his associate members of the Senate syndicate to the hyphenated American vote. At the very moment that I was making these disclosures, my every charge was confirmed by both Senator Harding and Senator Lodge who publicly voiced their approval of the formation of an Italian-American Republican Club in New York City upon the same night that I began my campaign in the Empire State. Not only the name of this organization but the purpose of its formation placed the name ~~of~~ ^{and} the interests of a foreign nation first and America and American interests second. Thus, through the instrumentality of the Republican candidate for the Presidency and of the Senate majority leader, there has been brought back into American life that character of divided allegiance which places the interests of a foreign land above the interests of the United States, and which Theodore Roosevelt gave the last years of his life to stamp out. I am glad to see that Governor ~~Woolbridge~~ Coolidge, although requested to be present at the formation of this club with a hyphenated name and purpose, alone among the Republican leaders did not attend or, according to the press reports, send any message of open approval such as those sent by Senators Harding and Lodge. I trust that the press reports are correct and if so, I am glad to publicly commend the stand of the Governor of Massachusetts for his Americansim in refusing even for party purposes to associate himself with an appeal to the foreign vote on un-American grounds. The same solicitation openly made by Senator Harding for the Italian-American vote has been no less openly made by his party managers to the German-American and the Slav-American. When the solidly American people of this republic see the hyphen brought back into National affairs and witness the attempt to divide our people in the interest of foreign aspiration and to ^{re}establish a divided allegiance, they may well beware. When they see arrayed against the standard of Democracy the

same disloyal elements that opposed the nation's course during the war, it is time that Americans of all racial stocks rally to the defense of that standard.

Speaking for myself, and I feel sure for Governor Cox as well, I say quite frankly that we want no Italian-American or German-American or other fifty per cent American votes. We want only ^{"All-American} votes. I ask Senator Harding to join me in this American declaration. I ask him to say with me that he too repudiates the ~~hypoc~~ ^{hypoc} which stands for divided allegiance between America and some foregin land. I publicly call upon Senator Harding to repudiate all of the organizations that have been formed in his behalf with hyphenated names, with ~~a~~ ^{their} names which in its very title place ~~the~~ ^{the name} some ~~under~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{an} alien country before the name of America. I ask him to publicly request these organizations at least to have the decency and the good taste to place the name of America first in their title. Unless he does this he convicts himself and his party of soliciting under an unpatriotic name the disloyal and seditious vote. He stamps with the brand of hypocrisy and duplicity every patriotic utterance that he has voiced.

I ask the American people to reconstruct that spirit of American unity which consecrated our purposes during the great war. Let us paint again that picture which some two years ago thrilled us with pride, the picture of Liberty standing fearlessly before the American flag carrying a shield, and inscribed upon that shield ^{with} the names of men of every foreign land, and along side of their names the fields of honor where they fought and fell, and underneath the names of these men of German, Italian, Irish and Slavic descent ^{this} ~~these~~ simple epitaph "Americans All". I, too, appeal to the men of German descent, to the men of Italian descent and to all of the men and women who have come to our shores from foreign lands. But I appeal to them not as Italians or Germans, Irishmen or Slavs, but I appeal to them first and last as "Americans All". I appeal to them to lay aside the racial prejudices and

passions which have arisen since victory crowned our united effort. I appeal to them to join hands, once more to advance the ideal of liberty and fraternity among the peoples of the world. I know the loyalty of the racial stocks which have melted into the American. I have seen the sons of the German and the Italian and the Slav fight shoulder to shoulder with the descendants of our Revolutionary fathers upon the fields of France for the great ideals of their adopted land. There is no divided allegiance among these men. These men ~~will~~ love America with a deep passion. They know, as none others can, the suffering and the dread of war which has hung for centuries over their mother lands in Europe. The heart and hand of America was stretched out by an unselfish people to help the very lands from which the various races ~~have~~ ^{in America} have come. That hand is still held out; that heart still throbs with the ^{same} spirit of sympathy and of service. The German, the Italian, the Frenchman, the Belgian, the Slav, who sincerely seeks to help the men and women of his own nationality who live in the great and small nations of Europe knows that it is only through America that he can really help. He knows that America will not withdraw that outstretched hand. No, we pledged the honor of this nation to cooperate in a spirit of fraternity with the other nations of the earth to bring into being a new era in civilization. We pledged American honor to help create an association of nations to maintain the principles of American freedom, liberty and democracy in the world. It was the aspiration and longing of humanity that called into being a league of all nations to promote the principles of peace, of justice and of democracy throughout the world. That league was written with American hands and it lives today, but it lives without the soul and without the high ideals which the enlightened spirit of America would breathe into it. The league not only lives, but, incomplete as it is, it grows in power and in righteousness.

Upon a platform in Connecticut I spoke last week with a woman whose home had been in Lithuania. She told in a way that brought tears to the eyes of all who heard the pathetic story, of how for nearly a year her homeland of Lithuania had been the battleground in the war even then being waged between Poland and ~~Lithuania~~ Lithuania. She described how ~~her~~ her own home had been reduced to ruins, how even the ruins had changed hands as the hell of battle swept back and forth like a great broom across the land ~~over~~ five times in as many months. She told of the children dying from lack of nutrition, of the boys of fourteen and sixteen fighting side by side with the women in both Poland and Lithuania. Then she prayed that God would find some way to end this conflict. Even as she spoke her prayers were being answered, and but yesterday there flashed across the cables the dramatic news that the Council of the League of Nations had ordered Poland and Lithuania to lay down their arms, and to submit their cause to the decision of the League of Nations; and the premiers of Poland and of Lithuania accepted the mandate of the League. Paderewski, representing Poland, and Foldemar, representing Lithuania, arose, and amidst the cheers of the spectators and delegates, shook hands, as a pledge of the first peace among nations to secure not by might but by the moral influence of the League of Nations. No military victory crowned the armies of either Poland or Lithuania. Right, not might, ended that war. Peace ^{will soon} exists ~~today~~ in Lithuania. The soldiers, yes, the women ^{will} and the boys who last week were engaged in the hell of battle, have ~~today~~ turned to the work of peace. That is a practical demonstration of the fact that the League lives, and that it not only can but that it ~~has~~ stopped war and brought peace. The League of Nations is worth whatever we may be asked to pay for it if it is capable of stopping just one war.

The Lithuanian-Polish peace is the first war to be stopped by the League, but it has already ~~prevented~~ prevented one war from breaking out. Finland and Sweden came to the parting of the ways over the question of who should possess the Aland Islands. Without a League of Nations, under conditions as they existed in 1914, the only way this dispute could have been settled was by the exercise of force. One or the other of the two nations would unquestionably have used its military or naval power to take forcibly possession of the islands with the result that war, blockade, death, destruction and untold suffering in both lands would have followed. It was just such a small dispute over an incident in Serbia in 1914, that started the flame that finally engulfed the world in fire. Then there was no means of checking the flame. Each nation felt that the fire was not its concern with the result that no one tried to put it out, and it spread from country to country and ~~did not pause even at the~~ ^{finally leaped} ~~the~~ great ocean barriers. Since then each nation has learned that self-preservation and self-interest, as well as the law of humanity, requires cooperation among nations not only to put out the fire^s but also to prevent ~~the~~ fire^s from starting. So, today, there exists a fire department organized by 39 nations of the world, created for the purpose of preventing and of putting out the fires of war. When danger threatened between Finland and Sweden, the League of Nations Fire Department was called into service, and only last week both Finland and Sweden accepted the services of that department and Premier Branting, of Sweden, publicly announced that through the mediation of the League of Nations war between Finland and Sweden had been prevented. The great question before you at this moment is whether we shall join our forces to those of the other nations to prevent and to put out the destructive fires which are sapping the life blood of our brothers across the seas. I believe that ^{our} national safety, that the preservation of our own national

structure from fire as well as the highest dictates of humanity require us to become the fortieth member of the League of Nations Fire Department.

When we ~~went~~^{went} in on April 6, 1917, we went in to accomplish more than a mere military victory. We went in to end war by ending the causes which make war. We went in to substitute justice for diplomacy in the settling^{event} of international disputes. We went in to abolish secret diplomacy and the secret treaties which create distrust. We went in to wipe out the ~~old~~^{old} balances of power which have been at the root of European trouble. We went ~~in~~ in to secure an end to ~~secretive~~ competitive building of armaments, ~~and~~ of naval and military establishments. We went in to substitute right for might in the affairs of the world. Today, although for the moment we stand apart, it is a glorious thing to know that the daunting task we set out to accomplish is on the high road toward accomplishment. It is a glorious thing to know that the great Court of International Justice which will end diplomacy in the settling^{event} of international affairs is in process of formation. As an American, I rejoice in the service which former Senator Root has performed in the perfection of this court, although I ~~regret~~^{regret} that he ~~could not~~^{could not} ~~act~~^{act} officially for America. It is a glorious thing to know that the League Bureau for the ~~open~~^{open} registration of treaties is actually in operation and that no treaty made in the world will ~~any longer~~^{any longer} have any validity until it is openly registered with the League of Nations and published to the whole world. This marks the end of secret alliances between powers. It is a glorious thing to know that a commission of the League is this very moment at work formulating a plan to limit military and naval establishments among the nations ~~in~~ of the world, and that the great load of taxation carried by the peoples of every country to maintain their army and their navy is soon to be lightened. It is a glorious thing to know that commissions of the League are today at work to advance the cause of labor internationally, and

to combat disease and epidemics which know no international boundary lines. Then it is infinitely more glorious to realize that ~~mark~~ above the form of these things, beyond the material achievements, there is the spirit of concord and fraternity which cannot help but ~~build up~~ ^{result} slowly at first, but certainly, as the nations begin to work together around the council table, ~~not~~ ^{or} not only to work together, but to work together for a lofty purpose guided by high principles and in the common cause of humanity and civilization.

What danger can there be to our country in joining ~~in~~ this work. ~~Every~~ ~~sentiment and~~ Every American of all nationalities longs for America to take its place as the leader in the humanitarian purposes translated into fact by the Covenant of the League: It is a source of personal sorrow to me that this issue which transcends the bounds of party should become one of the crucial issues of a political campaign. However, it is through no fault of ours that the American people who sincerely desire to stand shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the earth in putting an end to war can do so in no other way than by voting ~~for~~ the Democratic ticket. At the outset of this campaign, there was some doubt as to where Senator Harding stood. He had voted for the League of Nations with the Lodge Reservations in the United States Senate, and it was not believed that even he would repudiate his own vote. Faced with the danger of a split in his own party, he attempted to cover his own position by words ~~as~~ designed to keep within the ranks of his supporters that element of his party headed by Senator Johnson, who oppose any League of any kind, and also the element headed by President Taft, who want the existing League of Nations, either with ~~various~~ ^{various} reservations or as it was originally drawn. Day by day, it ~~has~~ ^{is} becoming ~~clearer~~ ^{clearer} that this policy of double dealing cannot be continued until Election Day. Gradually we have witnessed Senator Harding being won over by the so-called "bitter-enders" or "irreconcilables"? Their victory is now complete and yester-

day Senator Johnson announced his triumph and Harding's ultimate position as follows: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Besides it is a question of the League of Nations, pure and simple. Harding has already scrapped that and the rest of us will beat it at the election beyond redemption." And on the same day Senator Harding publicly stated to the veterans of the GAR that the League of Nations was "A stupendous fraud."

hardly be any question
 There can be ~~no question any longer~~ of Senator Harding's position. He is on record as repudiating his own vote in the United States Senate, and of today being against any league of any kind. The men and women of America who wish to see this nation take its place as the leaders of the ~~association~~ conscience of the world in the League of the nations of the world have no alternative. They must vote for the Democratic standard bearer this year, otherwise the great opportunity for which men have longed since the dawn of civilization will pass beyond our grasp. There is no other way. That great body of thinking patriotic Americans who organized the League to Enforce Peace, and that great body of conscientious Republicans who have followed the leadership of President Taft in his advocacy of the League of Nations, have no way of securing the League of Nations except by voting for Governor Cox. Many people in this land believe in the League of Nations but want certain reservations. Some of these people call themselves *mod* "reservationists", others call themselves "Lodge Reservationists". These people likewise want the League of Nations with American reservations. They, too, have no alternative. Neither Governor Cox nor I oppose reservations designed to make clear America's obligations. ~~Both Governor Cox and I are for the~~ ^{is} ~~League of Nations with such reservations.~~ Senator Harding ~~has~~ opposed to the League even with the Lodge Reservations. There is no middle ground. The only way to secure the entrance of America into the League at all is not only by voting but by working for the election of a Democratic President who is pledged unequivocally to go in. Only by voting for Governor Cox can we

achieve the victory which we won on the field and wrote into the pages of the peace treaty in France. Senator Harding said during the war that the sentiment about the war was "balderdash". He says today that the Covenant of the League written in the very presence of our sacred dead is "A stupendous fraud". Senator Johnson says that he has "scrapped the League". No, the League is not scrapped. It exists today. America's place at the Council Table is vacant but it will soon be filled. At least, ^{The} people of this nation who want to see America resume the place it held in the estimation of mankind when the war ended. ~~At~~ There is no doubt about where Governor Cox and I stand. We stand where America stood when we went into the war. We stand where Americans stood when we ~~went~~ won the war. We stand where the vast majority of our ~~foreigners~~ fellow countrymen stand today. We stand for America going into the League of Nations as rapidly as the mandate of the American people which will be expressed at the polls in November can be executed by the next President of the United States, Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio.

Here is a straw in the wind. A successful businessman from Southern Indiana come to me a few days ago on the train and said this: "I am a Hebrew, and have always been a Republican. I didn't even vote for Mr. Wilson in 1912 nor in 1916, but during the last year I have been in favor of the League of Nations. I have watched this campaign develop. I have seen clear-cut purposes on the one side, and vacillation and party politics on the other. I was in doubt at first, but now I have made up my mind to vote for Governor Cox because a vote for him is a vote for the League of Nations. I consider that issue far greater than any party question could ever be. I recognize in the League a practical carrying out of the doctrine of the Ten Commandments which were received by Moses, and more than that, I consider it a practical fulfilment of the great purposes of the teaching of Christ. I am with you this year because a failure of the League of Nations would be a real crime and would put back the cause of true religion and moral standards a thousand years. To defeat the League at this time means a lowering of national and individual standards in every nation for generations to come."

Did you ever see a thoroughly scared small boy who has smoked a forbidden cigarette trying to explain to his mother how it is that his breath smells of tobacco smoke? I don't mean the George Washington type of small boy, but the kind who thinks that he can in some way wiggle out of getting spanked.

That picture is brought to my mind by reading the labored two-column effort of Mr. Will H. Hays, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to explain away the definite statements made by Governor Cox and myself in regard to the raising of a huge Republican campaign fund, so big that the presumption must be against the honest use of such a sum. Mr. Hays' explanation is not an answer, and it will not convince this Country that he and his organization do not deserve a thorough-going, old-fashioned spanking.

Mr. Hays has used a lot of words, but he has not denied that the sum of \$700,000 was allotted as the quota for the City of Chicago to raise. He knows that the announcement of this in the Chicago papers came from Chicago Republican Headquarters. I agree that it was a bad break to publish it, but insist that it would be

more manly to own up to it. He knows too that other communities in the Nation have been given quotas to raise for the Republican money pot. For instance, in my own County in upstate New York, Dutchess County, the quota was \$32,000, and many other examples can be given to establish the fact.

There is, of course, no question that Mr. Hays and the Senatorial Managers of the Republican campaign have set out to raise many millions. If the examples cited above are true of the whole Nation, the fund would run up to \$30,000,000, but even half that figure would constitute grave danger to a clean election.

A huge fund is a menace, as Mr. Hays knows in his heart, whether it is spent for buying votes, or for buying newspapers. It is a menace to the kind of popular rule which our forefathers planned.

The only way Mr. Hays can do the American thing is to admit the whole story of their campaign financial plans. It will not do to answer by slinging mud at your opponents, Mr. Hays; it will save the worst of the spanking if you will read again the story of George Washington and the cherry tree, and act accordingly.

The camp will open for the first group of Foresters on July 7th, and close August 4th; for the second group it will open August 6th, and close September 3rd. The charge for the course is \$40.00 for the four weeks; this includes board, instruction, and the use of all forestry and surveying instruments used in the course. Transportation to and from camp by way of the Erie Railway to Tuxedo, N.Y., amounting to about \$5.00, will be additional. A certificate of good health, signed by a doctor, is required of all applicants for the Forestry Camp.

Prizes will be awarded to the best all-round-foresters during the course; and an honor to be sought by every Scout will be "The Forester's Emblem".

There will be no tenderfeet in this crowd; the Boy Scout Foresters will be a picked group of Scouts - and a good time will be had by all.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF HON. F. D. ROOSEVELT

During the past two months I have been travelling all over this Country carrying not only a message of Democracy to the people of the Land, but a message of another sort as well. This message is of so much vaster import to America today, as well as to the generations of Americans yet unborn, that ~~it is impossible to~~ I wish it were possible for me to carry it to every hamlet in this broad Land of ours.

This Fall America's honor is at stake, for the issue between the two candidates is now so clearly defined that there is no excuse for any voter who attempts to evade. Either the Electorate will send Governor Cox into the White House, pledged to swing the United States into the existing League of Nations but with every constitutional right safeguarded, or it will send Senator Harding there, who, after vacillating for weeks in a vain effort to stave off a rupture in his own party, has finally committed himself against our going in.

The responsibility now rests with the individual. Each voter in the United States must take his position squarely for or against the League. Each one of you, it seems to me, should feel the full import~~ance~~ of the responsibility which rests on you. By your vote on November 2nd you will ~~also~~ help to decide what the America of tomorrow will be. One course leads us toward a national isolation, the hermitlike existence that for countless years to come will keep us from the full development of friendly relations with other nations of the globe, that will include a handicap to our ever growing business and an impairment of our standing as one of the great nations of the world.

In direct contrast, the election of Governor Cox means the opening of a new and better era for America - it means an honorable peace in which our allies have a part, and not a separate peace, the ~~scar~~^{stigma} of which will cling to the fair name of our Country after your children and your grandchildren have passed beyond. It means that our beloved country will take her place again where she was on November 11, 1918, at the very forefront of all the great nations, the acknowledged leader of the World.

A year ago the people of this country were practically unanimous in favor of our going into the League. During that year a constant stream of poison propaganda has been poured into their ears by a partisan Press. We have been trying to correct some of the erroneous ideas and the misconceptions of the League made by people who have been either misinformed or who are ill-informed.

It is a remarkable thing to me to what length men will go to attain their end politically. There are scores, yes hundreds, of prominent Republicans who in their private and business life are models of rectitude and who would not stoop to deceive, who are daily making deliberate and malicious misstatements about the League of Nations. They say things that they know are false, and say them with a deliberate intent of fooling the voter. They are what I call "League Liars", and ~~their name is legion~~. You find them in high places. Today they meet with cheers and applause, as their cheap trickery in cloaking their anti-league propaganda under a guise of patriotism for the moment appeals to their hearers. In the tomorrow of the World's History another story will be written, and these same men will share the opprobrium of future generations with that little group of wilful political obstructionists who blocked the passage of

the League in the Senate for petty political gain.

I wonder, my friends, if you realize that this Fall you are actually writing history and that on your decision at the polls hinges the whole future of America. It is for you to decide whether your children and your children's children are to live their lives ~~through~~ free from the titanic tragedy like that the world has just undergone.

It is up to you, men and women alike, individually to face the issue so clear-cut between the two parties; a vote for Cox is a vote for the League; a vote for Harding is a vote against it.

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prophecy in regard to how the States west of the Mississippi would go in the November election. I might have been somewhat concerned if Mr. Hays had confined his prophecy to those states which could normally be placed in the doubtful column, but when Mr. Hays went on to talk about the State of Texas going Republican, he took away any political value from his prophecy and made it merely one of the foolish yarns which belong to the silly season of politics.

I often wonder if it does much good politically to claim everything in sight. For instance, no impartial observer would even mention Texas as a possibility in the Republican column, and at the same time impartial observers have spoken of every other State west of the Mississippi as being in the doubtful column with the exception of Louisiana and Arkansas.

I myself have visited only Missouri, Kansas and Colorado on this trip, but I certainly believe that it is a significant fact that literally hundreds of Republicans and Independents have come to me and told me that on the great issue of the League of Nations they propose to vote the Democratic Ticket. They understand that this is the only way in which they can register their approval of our entrance into the League. As every day goes by, I receive more support of this kind.

People who talk about landlisses and about overwhelming victories in every State of the Union do so either to bolster up their own hopes or with the deliberate intention of trying to deceive the voters. It is on a par with the well-known method of conducting crooked straw ballots for the purpose of having it appear that there is a tremendous swing in the direction desired. This kind of campaign is also on a par with the deliberate attempts to present only ~~one~~ ^{one} side of a question and to refuse any kind of publicity to the other side.

Finally, the American voter sees

Senators.

We have repeatedly said that the result of the election should be and will be regarded by the people of the United States as an expression of opinion as to whether they wish to join the League of Nations or not. Furthermore, we have expressed the conviction that if Governor Cox is elected, Republicans in the Senate of the United States will join with Democrats in carrying out the desire of the majority of voters.

I may add that I am certain that the election of Governor Cox will be followed by a concerted effort of Republicans and Democrats in the Senate to arrive at a proper understanding, and that actual results will be obtained within a very short period after March 4th.

Now I wish to ask the simple question - Which position is the more American, that of Senator Harding or that of Governor Cox? Which position is the more partisan? Which position is the one that seeks the broad good of the Nation?