

## QUATION ACCORDED TO WM. J. BRYAN.

(Continued from page one.)

the death knell of privilege and means the uprooting of monopoly throughout the land. This gospel teaches that it is more important that all of the people be prosperous than that a few be very rich; that it is better that all of the people should have all of the wealth than that all of the wealth should be in the hands of a few people. The other republics that have lived and died during the flight of time through the ages have been wrecked upon the rocks of privilege. But the hope for the perpetuity of this government is in the hands of the people. It is today, because the people are awakened to the dangers ahead. As long as the people are aroused there will be only safety light for the popular government.

"The ideal republic is one of charity for the study of broadminded among men, of equal rights for all mankind. We may not achieve the ideal at any time soon, but we can strive for it with the assurance that this endeavor will lead us up to the heights of attainment until we are face to face with the ideal and the truth."

### MAYOR JOHNSON INTRODUCED.

Gov. Folk concluded by introducing Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland as chairman of the meeting. The applause was deafening as Mr. Johnson came forward on the speaker's platform. At this same moment William Randolph Hearst entered the box which had been set aside for him. For two minutes the crowd cheered without intermission. Many rose and waved hats and handkerchiefs in the direction of Mr. Hearst's box. Then there were more cheers for Mr. Johnson.

### BRYAN ARRIVES.

When this joint demonstration had but partly subsided, Mr. Bryan, accompanied by his wife, entered the garden and appeared on the platform. The crowd, which had been so free in its cheering before, was now fairly beside itself. The men shouted, jumped on seats and threw their hats into the air. The women waved handkerchiefs and cheered as loudly as they could. For five minutes the crowd howled, cheered and screamed, but eventually Chairman Johnson secured comparative quiet and introduced Augustus Thomas, whose every reference to Mr. Bryan called forth additional cheers.

### THE WELCOME TO BRYAN.

"Col. Bryan, the Anti-Trust League of the Commercial Travelers of the United States, joined by this representative concourse of your countrymen and friends, welcome you home. The commercial travelers are to the nation's quick personal media of communication. These members assume to voice this welcome by the warrant on their early discovery that such welcome was the nation's wish. And the nation will hold that answer to the greeting by in no uncertain tone. The league and its associates therefore know that the sentiments to be uttered demand a rude intimacy that shall transcend the reserve of the private meeting. The representation meant not to put you in the pleasant embarrassment of self satisfaction, but to inform you of that high level of personal conduct which they believe you have reached and to fix upon you the standard of the nation's ideal. The welcome is not to a politician but to the man, not by a party but from a people.

"Therefore in the faith of this kind and as a parent lays her hand upon the shoulders of a boy and speaks her frank approval and fond hope, your country greets you. She feels a pride that an unofficial citizen of the republic has stood in palaces and beside ancient thrones and has been of man's full stature.

Mr. Thomas was cheered for several minutes after he had concluded, and bowed many times in acknowledgment.

### CHAIRMAN JOHNSON THEN AROSE TO INTRODUCE MR. BRYAN.

"We are met to welcome home the first citizen of the republic. Not yet the first official, but the first citizen by common consent.

"He is a Democrat, for he believes in the honesty and the intelligence of the people. He is a republican, for he believes in the republican form of government. Men say he is eloquent, and so he is, but the charm of his eloquence is his sincerity, his strength is his moral courage.

"He has finished the long journey across the world, and now we of America know that we have made no mistake in him, for everywhere the people have seen him as we have seen him, and everywhere they have hailed him as the American leader of ideal democracy. Over that principle the thought of the world is agitated today. In some form or other in all civilized countries democracy is struggling against privilege. Millions of our people have but just begun to learn that this irrepressible conflict is being waged in the United States. They are just beginning to learn that American democracy must abolish special privilege, or special privilege will abolish American democracy. They are just beginning to learn their need for the democratic inspiration of another Jefferson and the democratic leadership of another Lincoln.

"They are learning it fast. And with it they are learning another thing. They are learning that they have among them a simple citizen whose qualities of leadership all the world recognizes. They are learning that for ten years they have had in training an able and sincere leader of the democracy of all political parties, against the entrenched interests of special privilege of every kind and degree. They have come to know for the true man that he is, our guest of tonight, William Jennings Bryan.

"Mr. Bryan, in the name and in the presence of this splendid audience, and in behalf of that great host of American citizens who believe in equal rights and who believe in the republic, in behalf of every democratic Democrat, I welcome you home. We all welcome you as an ideal Democrat who is worthy to lead and competent to lead; we welcome you as an American citizen in whose pre-eminence we have an honorable pride; we welcome you because we trust you; we welcome you because we love you.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Bryan."

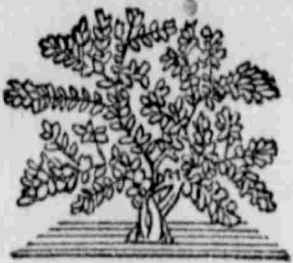
"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, MR. BRYAN."

Mr. Bryan was presented at 8:40 o'clock. The audience was on its feet as one man. The cheering which began at that instant did not end until 8:48, and then only after Mr. Bryan had waved his hands frantically in an effort to still the waves of noise which rolled in from the audience and beat upon the speaker's platform. At first the man for whom the demonstration was planned stood bowing and smiling. Then his attitude was one of appeal. This at last prevailed, and as the cheering died away in reverberating echoes along the gilded roof Mr. Bryan began.

### BRYAN'S SPEECH.

"Like all travelers who have visited other lands, I return with delight to the land of my birth, more proud of its people, with more confidence in its government and grateful to the kind providence that has placed me in the United States. My nation's progress has been increased of abundant evidence I have seen of the altruistic interest taken by Americans in the people of other countries. No other nation can show such evidence of benevolence and disinterested friendship. My love for our form of government has been

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quicker than I have visited castles and towers and peered into dark dungeons, and I am glad that our nation, profiting by the experience of the past and yet unimpaired by traditions and unfettered by caste, has been permitted to form a new center of civilization on new soil and erect here a "government of the people, by the people and for the people." I also return more deeply impressed than ever before with the responsibility which rests upon our nation as an exemplar among the nations and more solicitous that we, avoiding the causes which have led other nations to decay, may present a higher ideal than has ever before been embodied in a national life and carry human progress to a higher plane than it has before reached. I desire, moreover, to acknowledge indebtedness to the American officials who have everywhere shown us all possible courtesy and kindness.

### SOME SUGGESTIONS.

"I do not know that I can better show my appreciation of the welcome accorded me by my countrymen than to submit some suggestions drawn from observations during the past year. A Japanese educator, addressing me through an interpreter, said: 'I wish you would find the worst thing in Japan and tell us about it so that we may correct it.'

"I commended the generous spirit which he manifested, but assured him that I had not visited Japan in search of faults, but rather that I might find the best things in Japan and take them home for the benefit of my own people. Each nation can give lessons to every other, and while our nation is in a position to make the largest contribution, as I believe, to the education of the world, it ought to remain in the attitude of a pupil and be ever ready to profit by the experience of others.

### A MESSAGE OF PEACE.

"The first message that I bring from the old world is a message of peace. The cause of arbitration is making general progress in spite of the fact that the nations most prominent in the establishment of The Hague tribunal have themselves been engaged in wars since that court was organized. There is a perceptible growth in sentiment in favor of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. It was my good fortune to be present at the last session of the inter-parliamentary union which convened in London on the 23rd of July. Six nations were represented, and those included all the leading nations of the world. This Peace congress, as it is generally known, not only adopted resolutions in favor of the limitation of armaments and the arbitration of all questions relating to debts, but unanimously endorsed the proposition that all questions of every nature should be submitted to an impartial tribunal for investigation, or to the mediation of friendly nations before hostilities are commenced. It is not necessary to point out the importance of the position taken. The embodiment of the suggestion in treaties would go a long way toward removing the probability of war. While the idea is of American origin, it was heartily accepted by the representatives of England, France, Germany and other European countries. I believe that if our nation would propose to make with every other nation a treaty providing that all questions in dispute between the parties should be submitted to The Hague court or some other impartial international tribunal for investigation and report before any declaration of war or commencement of hostilities, it would find many nations willing to enter into such a compact. I am sure from the public utterance of the present prime minister of Great Britain, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, that such a treaty could be made between the two great English speaking nations, and their example would be followed until the danger of war would be almost if not entirely removed. To take the lead in such a movement would establish our position as a world power in the best sense of the term. And what argument can be advanced against such action on the part of the United States? Shall we yield to any other nation in the course of the world? Shall we place the value of our lives upon the value of human life? I confess that my aversion to killing increases with the years. Surely the Creator did not so plan the universe as to make the progress of the race dependent upon wholesale blood letting. I prefer to believe that war, instead of being an agency for good, is rather an evidence of man's surrender to his passions, and that one of the tests of civilization is man's willingness to submit his controversies to the arbitration of reason rather than of force.

### HOW TO ADVANCE PEACE.

"Another subject connected with our foreign relations: I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace but also advance our commercial interests by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. While protecting the lives of our citizens everywhere and guaranteeing the personal safety of all who owe allegiance to our flag, we should, in my judgment, announce that persons engaging in business and holding property in other lands for business purposes, must be subject to the laws of the countries in which they engage in business enterprises.

"Many profitable fields of investment are now closed because the people of the smaller nations are afraid that an investment of foreign capital will be made an excuse for a foreign invasion. Several times on this trip this fact has been brought to my attention and I am convinced that for every dollar we could secure to American investors by an attempt to have government back of their private claims we would lose many dollars by closing the door to investment.

### NAVY AS A COLLECTOR.

"Mark the distinction between the protection of the lives of our citizens and the use of the navy to guarantee a profit on investments. We do not im-

prison for debt in the United States, neither do we put men to death because of their failure to pay what they owe, and our moral prestige as well as our commercial interests will be conserved by assuring all nations that American investments depend for protection upon the laws of the country to which the investors go.

### HOW TO DEAL WITH PHILIPPINES.

"Before leaving international politics, let me add that our nation has lost prestige, rather than gained it, by our experience in colonialism. We have given the monarchs a chance to ridicule our Declaration of Independence, and the scuffer has twitted us with the inconsistency. A tour through the Philippine Islands has deepened the conviction that we should lose no time in announcing our purpose to deal with the Philippines as we deal with Cuba. Every consideration, commercial and political, leads to this conclusion. Such ground as we may need for coal-stations and a naval base will be gladly conceded by the Philippines, who simply desire an opportunity to work out their own destiny. Inspired by our example and aided by our advice, so far as our efforts have been directed toward the education of the Philippines we have rendered them a distinct service, but in educating them we recognize that we are making colonialism impossible. If we intend to hold them as subjects, we would not dare to educate them. Self-government with ultimate independence must be assumed if we contemplate universal education in the Philippines. As soon as opportunity offers I shall discuss the Philippine question at length, and I shall also refer to England, for India, for it throws light upon our own problems in the Philippines, but these subjects must be reserved until I can speak more in detail.

### CONGRESS SHOULD MEET EARLIER.

"In several of the nations of Europe the legislative department of government is more quickly responsive to public sentiment than is our Congress. In England, for instance, where the ministry is formed from the dominant party, when an election is held upon any important issue the government proceeds to put into law the will of the people expressed at the polls. While our system is superior in many respects it has one defect, viz., that Congress does not meet in regular session until 12 months after the election. During this period there is uncertainty, which is a disadvantage to the business community is often more damaging than a change of policy promptly carried into effect. Would not the situation be improved by a constitutional amendment convening the first session of Congress within four months after the election and compelling the second session to adjourn several days before the following election? Such a change would not only serve legitimate business interests and give the public the benefit of more prompt legislation, but it would protect the people from the jobs that are usually reserved for the short session, which is now held after the short session, and when many members feel the less responsibility because of their defeat at the polls.

### ELECTION OF SENATORS.

"I return more convinced than before of the importance of a change in the method of electing United States senators. There is noticeable everywhere a distinct sentiment toward democracy in its broadest sense. In all the countries which I have visited, there is a demand that the government be brought nearer to the people. In China a constitution is under consideration. In Japan the people are demanding that the ministry, instead of being chosen by the emperor, from among his particular friends, shall be selected from parliament and be in harmony with the dominant sentiment. In Russia the czar has been compelled to recognize the popular voice in the establishment of a duma and throughout Europe the movement manifests itself in various forms. In the United States the trend toward democracy has taken the form of a growing demand for the popular election of United States senators. It must be difficult to overestimate the strategic advantage of this reform for it would not only remove the sanction of the senate as well as of the house of representatives before it becomes a law, no important legislation of a national character is possible until the senate is brought into harmony with the people. I am within the limits of the probable when I say that the senate has been for some years the bulwark of predatory wealth and that it even now contains so many members who owe their election to favor-seeking corporations and to the subversion of their own master as to prevent needed legislation. So the popular branch of Congress has four times declared in favor of this reform by two-thirds vote and more than two-thirds of the senate have demanded it, and yet the senate arrogantly and impudently blocks the way.

### THE INCOME TAX.

"The income tax, which some in our country have decried as a socialistic attack upon wealth, I am pleased to report, has the endorsement of the most conservative countries in the old world. It is a permanent part of the fiscal system of most of the countries of Europe, and in many places it is the largest tax, the rate being highest upon the largest incomes. England has long depended upon the income tax for a considerable part of her revenues and an English constitution is not to be galled by the proposal to change from a graduated tax to a graded tax. I have been absent too long to speak with any authority on the public sentiment in this country at this time, but I am so convinced of the justice of the income tax that I feel sure that the people will, in the short run, demand an amendment to the Constitution which will specifically authorize an income tax and thus make it possible for burdens of the federal government to be apportioned among the people in proportion to their ability to bear them. It is to their ability to bear them that while it is able to command the lives of its citizens in time of war, it cannot, even in the most extreme emergency, compel wealth to bear its share of the expenses of the government which protects it.

### EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE.

"I have referred to the investigation of international controversies, but a system which does this kind of thing is also a system which settles the disputes between labor and capital, in fact, it was proposed as a means of settling such disputes before it was applied to international controversies. It is as important that we shall have peace as it is that we shall live peacefully with neighboring nations, and peace is only possible when it rests upon justice. In advocating arbitration of differences between large corporate employers and their employees I believe we are defending the highest interests of the three parties to the disputes, viz., the employers, the employees and the public.

"The employee cannot be turned over to the employer to be dealt with as an employer may please. The question some times asked, 'Can I conduct my business as I please?' is a plausible one, but when a man in conducting his business attempts arbitrarily to fix the conditions in which hundreds of employees are to live and to determine the future of thousands of human beings, I answer without hesitation that he has no right to conduct his own business in such a way as to deprive his employees of their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To support this position, there is no need of the laws regulating the safety of mines, the factory laws fixing the age at which children can be employed, and usury laws establishing the rate of interest. The effort of the employer to settle differences without arbitration has done much to embitter him against those who work for him and to estrange them from him—a condition deplorable from every standpoint.

But if it is unwise to make the employer the sole custodian of the rights and interests of the employees, it is equally unwise to give the employees uncontrolled authority over the rights and interests of the employer. The employees are no more to be trusted to act unselfishly and disinterestedly than the employers. In their zeal to secure a present advantage they may not only do injustice but even forfeit a larger future gain. The strike, the only weapon of the employee at present, is a two-edged sword and may injure the workman as much as the employer and even when wholly successful is apt to leave a rankling in the bosom of the wage earner that should not be there.

### GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

"No reference to the labor question is complete that does not include some mention of what is known as government by injunction. As the main purpose of the writ is to evade trial by jury, it is really an attack upon the jury system and ought to arouse a unanimous protest. So long as the nearest thing is guaranteed a trial by jury a jury ought not to be denied to wage earners. However, as the writ is usually invoked in case of a strike, the importance of the subject would be very much reduced by the adoption of a system of arbitration because arbitration would very much reduce, even if it not entirely remove, the probability of a strike.

### THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

"Just another word in regard to the laboring man. The struggle to secure an eight-hour day is an international struggle and it is sure to be settled in favor of the working man. The benefits of the labor saving machinery have not been distributed with equity. The producer has enormously multiplied his capacity, but so far the owner of the machine has received too much of the increase and the laborer too little. Those who oppose the eight-hour day do it, I am convinced, more because of ignorance of conditions than because of lack of sympathy with the workers. The removal of work from the house to the factory has separated the husband from his wife and the father from his children, while the growth of our cities has put an increasing distance between the home and the workshop. Then, too, more is demanded of the laboring man now than formerly. He is a citizen as well as a laborer and must have time for the study of public questions if he is to be an intelligent citizen. To deprive him of his rest and to his task and from his task back to his bed is to deprive the family of his company, society of his service and politics of his influence.

### THE MONEY QUESTION.

"Thus far I have dwelt upon subjects which may not be regarded as strictly economic, but I cannot but say that you pardon me if in this presence I betray my interest in those policies for which the Democratic party stands. I have not had an opportunity to make a Democratic speech for almost a year, and no one—not even a political enemy—could be so cruel as to forbid me to speak of those policies on this occasion. Our opponents have derived not only partisan pleasure, but also partisan advantage from the division caused in our party by the money question. They ought not, therefore, to begrudge us the satisfaction that we find in the fact that unexpected conditions have removed the cause of our differences and permitted us to present a united front on present issues. The unlooked for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold has brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetallicism—the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they contended. We who favor bimetallicism are satisfied with our victory if the friends of monometallism are satisfied with theirs. And we can invite them to a contest of reason and endurance in the effort to restore to the people the rights which have been gradually taken from them by the trusts.

### INSURANCE INVESTIGATIONS.

"The investigations which have been in progress during the past year have disclosed the business methods of those who a few years ago resented any inspection of their schemes and hid their rapacity under high-sounding phrases. These investigations have also disclosed the source of enormous cam-

paigned funds which have been used to debauch elections and corrupt the ballot.

### PARTIES AND TRUSTS.

"The people see now what they should have seen before, namely, that no party can exterminate the trusts so long as it owes its present success to campaign contributions secured from the trusts. The great corporations do not contribute their money to any party except for immunity expressly promised or clearly implied. The president has recommended legislation on this subject, but so far his party has failed to respond. No important advance can be made until this baneful influence is eliminated and I hope that the Democratic party will not only challenge the Republican party to bring forward effective legislation on this subject, but will set an example by refusing to receive campaign contributions from the corporations and by opening the books so that every contributor of any considerable sum may be known to the public before the election. The great majority of corporations are engaged in legitimate business and have nothing to fear from hostile legislation, and the officers should not be permitted to use the money of the stockholder to advance their political ambitions.

### CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

"Contributions should be individual, not corporate, and no party can afford to receive contributions even from individuals when the acceptance of these contributions secretly pledges the party to a course which it cannot openly avow. In other words, politics should be honest, and I mistake present conditions in America if they do not receive improvement in the conduct of campaigns.

### THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

"While men may differ as to the relative importance of issues, and while the Democratic party will largely shape the times upon which the coming presidential campaign will be fought, I think it is safe to say that at present the paramount issue in the minds of a large majority of the people is the trust issue. I congratulate President Roosevelt upon the steps which he has taken to enforce the anti-trust laws, and my gratification is not lessened by the fact that he has followed the Democratic rather than the Republican platform in every advance he has made. It has been a great embarrassment to him that the platform upon which he was elected was filled with praise of the Republican party's record rather than with promises of reform. Even the enthusiastic support given him by the Democrats has enabled the champions of the trusts to taunt him with following Democratic leadership. He has probably gone as far as he could without incurring the hostility of the leaders of his own party. The trouble is that the Republican party is not in a position to apply effective and thorough-going reforms because it has built up through special legislation the very abuses which needed to be eradicated.

### DEFINITION OF A TRUST.

"Before any intelligent action can be taken against the trusts we must have a definition of a trust. Because no corporation has an absolute and complete monopoly of any important product the apologists for the trusts insist there are in reality no trusts. Others insist that it is impossible to legislate against such trusts as may exist without doing injury to legitimate business. For the purpose of this discussion, it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corporation which controls so much of the production of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

### YOUNG ROCKEFELLER QUOTED.

"Legislation which prevents a monopoly not only does not injure legitimate business, but actually protects legitimate business from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illustration which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system he is quoted as saying that, as the American people cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off the 99 buds so that the one-hundredth bud can receive the full strength of the bush, so great industrial organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration, but it presents a perfectly accurate picture of trust methods. The Democratic party champions the cause of the 99 enterprises which are menaced—they must not be sacrificed that one great combine may flourish, and when the subject is understood we shall receive the cordial support of hundreds of thousands of business men who have themselves felt the oppression of the trusts or who, having observed the effect of the trusts upon others, realize that their safety lies not in futile attempt at the restraint of trusts, but in legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible. There

(Continued on page eight.)

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"Contributions should be individual, not corporate, and no party can afford to receive contributions even from individuals when the acceptance of these contributions secretly pledges the party to a course which it cannot openly avow. In other words, politics should be honest, and I mistake present conditions in America if they do not receive improvement in the conduct of campaigns.

### THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

"While men may differ as to the relative importance of issues, and while the Democratic party will largely shape the times upon which the coming presidential campaign will be fought, I think it is safe to say that at present the paramount issue in the minds of a large majority of the people is the trust issue. I congratulate President Roosevelt upon the steps which he has taken to enforce the anti-trust laws, and my gratification is not lessened by the fact that he has followed the Democratic rather than the Republican platform in every advance he has made. It has been a great embarrassment to him that the platform upon which he was elected was filled with praise of the Republican party's record rather than with promises of reform. Even the enthusiastic support given him by the Democrats has enabled the champions of the trusts to taunt him with following Democratic leadership. He has probably gone as far as he could without incurring the hostility of the leaders of his own party. The trouble is that the Republican party is not in a position to apply effective and thorough-going reforms because it has built up through special legislation the very abuses which needed to be eradicated.

### DEFINITION OF A TRUST.

"Before any intelligent action can be taken against the trusts we must have a definition of a trust. Because no corporation has an absolute and complete monopoly of any important product the apologists for the trusts insist there are in reality no trusts. Others insist that it is impossible to legislate against such trusts as may exist without doing injury to legitimate business. For the purpose of this discussion, it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corporation which controls so much of the production of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

### YOUNG ROCKEFELLER QUOTED.

"Legislation which prevents a monopoly not only does not injure legitimate business, but actually protects legitimate business from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illustration which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system he is quoted as saying that, as the American people cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off the 99 buds so that the one-hundredth bud can receive the full strength of the bush, so great industrial organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration, but it presents a perfectly accurate picture of trust methods. The Democratic party champions the cause of the 99 enterprises which are menaced—they must not be sacrificed that one great combine may flourish, and when the subject is understood we shall receive the cordial support of hundreds of thousands of business men who