

of a convention that will place before this country the democratic nominee, and I assume that every delegate in this convention is here because he desires that nominee elected.

It is that we may advance the cause of our candidate that I present this resolution. There are questions of which a court takes judicial notice, and there are subjects upon which we can assume that the American people are informed. There is not a delegate in this convention who does not know that an effort is being made right now to sell the democratic party into bondage to the predatory interests of this country. It is the most brazen, the most insolent, the most impudent attempt that has been made in the history of American politics to dominate a convention, stifle the honest sentiment of a party and make the nominee the bond-slave of the men who exploit the country.

I need not tell you that J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, and August Belmont are three of the men who are connected with the great money trust now under investigation, and that they are despotic in their rule of the business of the country and merciless in their command of their slaves.

Some one has said that we have no right to demand the withdrawal of delegates who come here from a sovereign state.

I reply that if these men are willing to insult six and a half million of democrats by coming here we ought to be willing to speak out against them and let them know we resent the insult.

I, for one, am not willing that Thomas F. Ryan and August Belmont shall come here with their paid attorneys and seek secret counsel with the managers of our party. No sense of politeness or courtesy to such men will keep me from protecting my party from the disgrace that they bring upon it.

I can not speak for you. You have your own responsibility, but if this is to be a convention run by these men; if our nominee is to be their representative and tool, I pray you to give us, who represent constituencies that do not want this, a chance to go on record with our protest against it. If any of you are willing to nominate a candidate who represents these men or who is under obligation to these men, do it and take the responsibility. I refuse to take that responsibility.

It is not necessary for the gentleman from Virginia to deliver a eulogy upon his state. My father was born in Virginia and no one has greater reverence for that great commonwealth than I. I know, too, the sentiment of the people of Virginia. They have not only supported me in three campaigns, but in the last campaign they refused to allow their leading men to go to the convention except under instructions to vote for my nomination. Neither is it necessary for me to defend my reputation as a democrat. My reputation would not be worth defending if it were necessary to defend it against a charge made against me by any friend of Thomas F. Ryan.

The resolution is not only sober and serious, but it is necessary. We plant ourselves upon the Bible doctrine, "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off." The party needs to cut off those corrupting influences to save itself.

(From Baltimore Convention Speech on Morgan-Ryan-Belmont Resolution.)

#### ON CHANGING TO WILSON

The delegates for whom I speak stand ready to carry out the instructions given, in the spirit in which they were given and upon the conditions under which they were given; but these delegates will not participate in the nomination of any man whose nomination depends upon the vote of the New York delegation. Speaking for myself and those who join me, we, therefore, withhold our vote from Mr. Clark as long as New York's vote is recorded for him, and I hereby notify the chairman and this convention that I desire recognition to withdraw these votes from any candidates to whom New York's votes are thrown. The position that we take in regard to Mr. Clark we will take in regard to any other candidate whose name is now, or may come before the convention. We shall not be parties to the nomination of any man, no matter who he may be or from what section of the country he comes, who will not, when elected, be absolutely free to carry out the anti-Morgan-Ryan-Belmont resolution and make his admin-

istration reflect the wishes and hopes of those who believe in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Now, I am prepared to announce my vote, with the understanding that I stand ready to withdraw my vote from the candidate for whom I now cast it if Mr. Murphy casts the ninety votes of New York for him. I cast my vote for Nebraska's second choice—Governor Wilson.

(From Baltimore Convention Speech.)

#### THE VALEDICTORY

Mr. Chairman and members of the convention: You have been so generous with me in the allowance of time that I had not expected to trespass upon your patience again, but the compliment that has been paid me by the gentleman from the District of Columbia justifies, I hope, a word in the form of a valedictory.

For sixteen years I have been a fighting man. Performing what I regarded as a public duty I have not feared to speak out on every public question before the people of the nation for settlement, and I have not hesitated to arouse the hostility of individuals where I felt it my duty to do so in behalf of my country.

I have never advocated a man except with gladness and I have never opposed a man except in sadness. If I have any enemies in this country, those who are my enemies have a monopoly of hatred. There is not one single human being for whom I feel ill-will; nor is there one American citizen in my own party or in any other whom I would oppose for anything unless I believed that in not opposing him I was surrendering the interests of my country, which I hold above any person.

I recognize that a man who fights must carry scars and I decided long before this campaign commenced that I had been in so many battles and had alienated so many persons that my party ought to have the leadership of someone who had not thus offended and who might, therefore, lead with greater hope of victory.

Tonight I come with joy to surrender into the hands of the one chosen by this convention a standard which I have carried in three campaigns, and I challenge my enemies to say that it has ever been lowered in the face of the foe. The same belief that led me to prefer another for the presidency rather than to be a candidate myself, leads me to prefer another for the vice-presidency.

It is not because the vice-presidency is lower in importance than the presidency that I decline. There is no office in this nation so low that I would not accept it if I could serve my country by so doing. But I believe that I can render more service when I have not the embarrassment of a nomination and the suspicion of a selfish interest—more service than I could as a candidate, and your candidate will not be more active in this campaign than I shall be. My services are at the command of the party. I feel relieved that the burden of leadership is transferred to other shoulders.

(From Baltimore Convention Speech.)

#### "NO ONE NEED BE A SLAVE"

And what a joy it is to meet these congenial spirits, assembled here from every part of this country! One never appreciates that man is made in the image of his Creator until he comes into contact with a heaven-born soul—a man who is not a afraid to die. An ancient proverb says that "No one need be a slave who has learned how to die." The trouble with so many men is that they do not believe in a resurrection. They do not seem to know that Truth can not die; that no grave can confine it. I saw a lot of brave men at Chicago, fighting for the people. We have a lot of brave men here fighting on the same side. May their tribe increase!

(From Comment on Baltimore Convention.)

## PAN-AMERICA

#### UNITED STATES AIDS CUBAN INDEPENDENCE

Let me borrow a story which has been used to illustrate the position of the United States: A man wended his way through the streets of a great city. Unmindful of the merchandise exposed on every hand he sought out a store where birds were kept for sale. Purchasing bird after

bird he opened the cages and allowed the feathered songsters to fly away. When asked why he thus squandered his money, he replied: "I was once a captive myself, and I find pleasure in setting even a bird at liberty."

The United States once went through the struggle from which you have just emerged; the American people once by the aid of a friendly power won a victory similar to that which you are now celebrating, and our people find gratification in helping to open the door that barred your way to the exercise of your political rights.

I have come to witness the lowering of our flag and the raising of the flag of the Cuban republic; but the event will bring no humiliation to the people of my country, for it is better that the stars and stripes should be indelibly impressed upon your hearts than that they should float above your heads.

(From speech delivered at Havana, Cuba, at inauguration of first president, 1902.)

#### THE BANYAN TREE

In the procession which escorted President-elect Palma to his home when he returned from exile, a number of Cuban ladies represented the republics of the western hemisphere, the United States being the eldest, Cuba the youngest of the group. It reminded me of the great banyan tree under which our party rested for a moment as we passed through Key West; for are not these republics much like the banyan tree? Free government was planted upon American soil a century and a quarter ago; it grew and sent forth its influence like branches in every direction, and these branches taking root now support the parent tree; beneath the influence of these republics, separate in their government and yet united in their aspirations an ever-increasing multitude finds shelter and protection. Long live the national banyan tree—the American republics!

(From the Birth of the Cuban Republic.)

#### NEIGHBORS—FRIENDS

The Lord has made us neighbors; let justice make us friends.

(Motto suggested for Pan-American Union.)

#### "WHAT GOD HATH JOINED TOGETHER"

The Almighty has made the American republics co-tenants of the western hemisphere; and "What God has joined together let no man put asunder."

(From speech to Pan-American representatives.)

## IN FOREIGN LANDS

#### LONDON PEACE SPEECH

I will not disguise the fact that I consider this resolution (presenting the peace treaty plan, afterwards incorporated in the thirty peace treaties, providing for the investigation of ALL disputes) a long step in the direction of peace, nor will I disguise the fact that I am here because I desire this Interparliamentary Union to take just as long a step as possible in the direction of universal peace. We meet in a famous hall; looking down upon us from these walls are pictures that illustrate not only the glory that is to be won in war, but the horrors that follow war. There is a picture of one of the great figures in English history (pointing to the fresco by Maclise of the death of Nelson). Lord Nelson is represented as dying, and around him are the mangled forms of others. I understand that war brings out certain virtues. I am aware that it gives opportunity for the display of great patriotism; I am aware that the example of men who give their lives for their country is inspiring; but I venture to say that THERE IS AS MUCH INSPIRATION IN A NOBLE LIFE AS THERE IS IN AN HEROIC DEATH, and I trust that one of the results of this Interparliamentary Union will be to emphasize the doctrine that a life devoted to the public, and over-flowing, like a spring, with good, exerts an influence upon the human race and upon the destiny of the world as great as any death in war. And, if you will permit me to mention one whose career I watched with interest and whose name I revere, I will add that in my humble judgment, the