

## MR. BRYAN'S NEW YORK SPEECH

(Continued from Page 7.)

the war-making power away from congress and make a declaration of war depend upon a favorable vote in a nation-wide referendum.

The greater part of his speech was taken without the alteration of a word from his standard addresses on peace, which he has delivered repeatedly in this city and has given again and again in all parts of the country from pulpits, lecture platforms, and the stump. The parts which he recited were always to be detected by the rhythm and occasional alliteration, while it was generally extempore passages which fired his audiences. Much applause, however, greeted the end of the famous passage in which he reviews the new terrors of war—the aeroplanes which drop "bolts more deadly than the thunderbolts of Jove," and the submarines which multiply the terrors of the sea, the poison gas "which suffocates the soldiers in the trenches," and other new implements of war.

His most effective passage against our participation in the war, following his eulogy of the President's note, which he called "epoch-making," was as follows:

"When I hear people say that there is danger that, however much we desire peace, we are yet likely to be forced into war, I find solace, comfort, and assurance in his message. If we can ask people to forget the hatreds engendered in them against other nations who have sought to do them harm; if we can ask people who are struggling for their existence in a death grapple which has already taken the lives of 6,000,000 of them; if we can ask them to stop in their excitement, who shall say that this nation shall rush into war?"

"What a spectacle we would present to the world, asking them to be patient and forbearing, while the hearts' blood of millions is being shed and then not to be able to be patient and forbearing ourselves.

"Then, too, they are stirred to animosity because they know that their enemies are trying to crush them. With us it is different. There has not been since the war began an injury intended against us by any of the belligerents. Every injury which we have received has been incidental to an injury intended against some one else.

"It would be bad enough for us to go to war with a nation which wished to harm us, but God forbid that we should ever compel any nation to go to war with us that is not an enemy and does not want war with us.

"It is the part of wisdom for us to count the cost, to weigh our obligations to the world. This is the greatest of neutrals, to which the whole world is looking to act as mediator at the end of the war. If we go in, we step down from that high position as the world's greatest neutral and turn over to some other nation the greatest opportunity that ever came to a nation since the beginning of time.

"I have faith, not only in the President's desire to keep us out of war, but in his ability to do so. But if the time ever comes when we can not settle a dispute by peaceful means, and that we must have a war, I believe that we should postpone it until this present war is over. We should postpone it, because it is not fair to ask a nation engaged in a death struggle to consider things calmly. If we postpone it till the war is over the chances are many to one that we can settle the dispute.

"But, if after all, we must have a war, I would rather wait and have a war of our own, one that would be our own war, in which we should have something to say about when to commence, when to get through, and the terms of peace. This is everybody's war. They did not consult us about the beginning of it or about the conduct of it. If we enter it we will have to stay in until they come out of it, and when we are in we must fight for what they fight for. God forbid that we should entangle ourselves in the quarrels of the Old World."

Some of those on the speaker's platform and in the boxes were Supreme Court Justices Co-halan and Cavagan, Mrs. Caroline O'Day, Herbert Limberg, C. H. Ingersoll, S. S. Lewisohn, Mrs. J. Sargent Cram, Theodore Marburg, Louis Lochner, William Lustgarten, Julius Henry Cohen, Aaron J. Levy, Dr. Frederick Lynch, Mrs.

## To the Militant Army of "Dry" Workers

Through the columns of The Commoner Mr. Bryan will, from month to month, furnish facts, figures and arguments in favor of the plan to make our nation dry; he will keep our readers informed as to the work and the progress in other parts of the country; he will outline plans, and offer suggestions and in every way possible encourage and promote the dry cause.

Mr. Bryan publishes The Commoner, not as a matter of financial gain, but for the help it is to him in his efforts in the interest of good government. After the fixed expenses have been provided for by the regular subscribers who pay the regular subscription price, we find it is possible to print and mail extra copies at a cost of about 60c per year. Militant dry workers may use this 60c rate to place subscriptions where they will be helpful in the educational campaign necessary to insure success of the effort to make the nation dry.

Will you talk over Mr. Bryan's plan with democratic committeemen who favor the dry cause—and all other dry workers in your com-

munity. Explain to them the work The Commoner will do, and that Mr. Bryan himself will devote his time, his best energies as well as his income to this work during the coming four years. Mr. Bryan needs the enthusiastic and continued support of every voter who favors a dry nation.

Do you believe that a communication from Mr. Bryan through The Commoner each month, would help the dry cause? Are you willing to promise to secure at least one club of five or more yearly subscribers at the 60c rate? If so, write The Commoner at once, saying: "I am willing to help to the extent of at least five subscriptions," or fill out and mail the coupon appearing in another column, and send the subscriptions as soon as suits your convenience.

United, harmonious, persistent hard work is necessary to insure a dry victory. The wets never sleep, never stop work and never count the cost of any movement they feel will help to perpetuate the saloon. Surely their "cause" is not worthy of greater effort or greater sacrifice than ours. ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

Sheehy Skeffington, and Dr. George W. Kirchwey.

## MR. BRYAN PRESENTS SOME ISSUES

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 8, 1916.]

William Jennings Bryan, the public man of national repute least heard of in the early weeks and months of the recent presidential contest in the United States, referred to now and then lightly, or as a discredited or disgruntled leader, in some quarters spoken of as a handicap to the Wilson candidacy, then suddenly discovered as the most active, daring and successful campaigner in the middle and northwestern sections of the country, and finally, if in some instances reluctantly, recognized as the man who had been chiefly instrumental in bringing the administration through without the aid of the money-ridden or boss-ridden states or cities, was given a testimonial dinner by leaders of his party, in Washington, D. C., on Wednesday night. To the toast-master of the occasion, the President wrote:

"Will you not be kind enough to convey my very cordial greetings to Mr. Bryan and to those who are assembled to do him honor at the dinner on Wednesday evening? In the recent campaign no one rendered more unselfish service than Mr. Bryan, and I am happy to know that this dinner expresses the genuine admiration of all democrats for him. May I not by this means convey to him my warmest congratulations and best wishes for his continued health and happiness."

Mr. Wilson came out of the campaign of 1916 with an indorsement of his policies, the major part of which had been outlined for him, at Baltimore, by the man whom he afterward made premier of his cabinet. Mr. Bryan came out of the campaign of 1916 a much stronger man with the country than when he entered upon it, and as an unquestioned leader, with a tacit mandate from his party to designate issues upon which it should seek to deserve continued approval. Fortified with the success which attended his work in the west, with an ovation from distinguished representatives of the Administration and of congress, and with an acknowledgment of his services by the President, he was plainly justified, at this dinner, in telling the democracy of the nation what things he believed it ought to stand for, and what things it ought to oppose.

Mr. Bryan, in the last campaign, as in every campaign since 1896, was in advance of his party. He had committed himself irrevocably to woman suffrage and to prohibition before Nov. 7. We are disregarding Mr. Bryan's arrangement of issues, here, as a matter of convenience, preferring to touch upon the two already well established before proceeding to the other and newer questions which, in his opinion, are calling for attention. He regards the abolition of the saloon as the greatest reform

in sight, but there are, he believes, other matters demanding the most earnest attention.

Foremost among these is the question of railroad control. Speaking of the effort being made by and in the interest of railroad corporations to secure legislation and, if necessary, a constitutional amendment, placing jurisdiction over them exclusively in congress, he said: "The consolidation of all railroad legislation at Washington would not only transfer to the national capital an amount of work which would overwhelm the national authorities, and therefore decrease the efficiency of federal supervision, but it would bring a railroad influence into the election of every congressman as well as intensify the railroad's interest in every presidential campaign. It would do more than that, it would practically obliterate state lines and lead to a centralization which would threaten the very existence of our dual form of government." Friends of the proposed railroad federalization law will find it extremely difficult to overcome these objections.

Mr. Bryan took militarism as a subject requiring prompt and vigorous action by his party. The increase in the number of army and navy officers drawing permanent salaries, and trained in a profession which "teaches reliance upon the steel blade rather than on the sword of truth," has, he said, presented this issue to the people of the United States in a concrete form. The magnifying of the profession of arms has given support to the proposal for universal military service, "the adoption of which could not fail to breed that military spirit which has contributed so much to the encouragement of war in other lands." Militarism is to be decried as a menace.

On simplifying the method of electing a President, Mr. Bryan was clear and convincing. He would not go from the extreme of conservatism to the extreme of radicalism, from the electoral college system as it now exists to the popular vote, but he would have electors chosen by congressional districts, thus bringing the electoral into closer harmony with the popular system of voting. And he would make it less difficult to amend the constitution, so that the organic law may grow with the needs of the people, and with the advancement of public thought.

Finally, Mr. Bryan would make it part of the business and duty of the government to inform the voters on all questions under consideration at elections, giving space, in equal proportions, to all parties in a bulletin published for the purpose. This would be a great step toward rendering unnecessary the pernicious private campaign subscription.

Here is a program that will no doubt enlist the attention of the progressive thinkers of the country, regardless of party affiliation or alliance.

Namesakes of Mr. Bryan, who desire to find a position, may insert a five-line want ad (30 words) in The Commoner without charge.