The Commoner

Chairman Glynn Sounds Campaign Keynote

Notable Address of Temporary Chairman Martin H. Glynn Before the Democratic National Convention, St. Louis, June 14

The full text of Temporary Chairman Martin H. Glynn's speech follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: The democratic party, in this convention assembled, meets to perform a duty, not to itself, but to the nation. Proud of the part it has played in the nation's past, the party of Jefferson and of Jackson is gathered here to dedicate itself anew to the preservation of a free, a united, a sovereign republic.

We are proud of the battles we have fought in the past under the emblem of a great political party, but there is a truth that we desire to blazon above all that we may say or do in this convention.

We have entered this hall as democrats; we shall deliberate and act here as Americans.

We who gather in this hall stand for Americanism of the fathers who laid the foundations of this nation so strong and deep that no storm has ever rocked them, no upheaval has moved them. We stand for the Americanism which under the magic spell of citizenship and the mystic influence of the Stars and Stripes converts men of every country into men of one country, and that country our country; men of every flag into men of one flag, and that flag our flag.

When a hundred years looks back upon this gathering of today, when we who now guard the ark of American covenant have become nothing but a memory and a name, the principles for which we declare in this convention, the issues for which we fight in this campaign will live in the lives of generations of Americans yet unborn.

If in the great crisis that now confronts the nation the American people falter, if they forget that they are guardians of the most sacred trust that a people ever held, their apostacy will be visited upon the descendants of our children's children.

Out of the flaming fire of revolution, out of a struggle in which they risked their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, the fathers of the republic brought a nation which they dedicated to liberty and to human progress.

For the nation so consecrated true men in every generation have labored and struggled, suffered and died, that it might flourish and endure. their patriotism and that our labors here and in the months to come may have preserved for them a nation free and proud, an ideal sublime and true, a flag whose stars reflect the changeless majesty of the celestial galaxy itself.

In the attainment of this hope, the utterance of this prayer, we who gather here today have a responsibility that sobers our emotions as it strengthens our resolutions. We would be false to ourselves, and recreant to those who send us here if we permitted any thought of partisan profit, any consideration of political advantage to obscure our vision of the tremendous issues now before the people of the United States. We must cast aside all that is selfish, we must hold ourselves worthy of a nation's confidence by offering only the best of our intelligence, the flower of our patriotism toward the solution of what all men perceive to be a crisis in the nation's affairs.

SHALL WE REJECT THE DOCTRINE OF OUR FATHERS?

One hundred and forty years ago the manhood of America was called upon to decide whether this should be a nation. Half a century ago Americans were forced to determine whether this should continue to be a nation. Today the republic faces a third crisis no fess momentous than that of 1776 or that of 1860. Today Americans must again determine whether their country shall preserve its national ideals, whether it shall have a national soul, whether it shall stand forth as a mighty and undivided force, whether the United States for which Washington fought and for which Lincoln died shall hold its place among the nations.

For two years the world has been afire; the civilization that we know has been torn by the mightiest struggle in its history. Sparks from Europe's conflagration have blazed in our own skies, echoes of her strife have sounded at our very doors. That fire still burns, that struggle still continues, but thus far the United States has held the flame at bay; thus far it has saved its people from participation in the conflict.

What the people of the United States must determine through their suffrage is whether the course the country has pursued through this crucial period is to be continued; whether the principles that have been asserted as our national policy shall be indorsed or withdrawn. For 200 years neutrality was a theory; America made it a fact.

The first president of the United States was the first man to pronounce neutrality a rule of international conduct.

In April, 1793, Washington declared the doctrine; and within a month, John Jay, chief justice of the supreme court of the United States, in an epoch-making decision from the bench, whose realization would insure universal and perpetual peace, wrote the principle into the law of this land. The Declaration of Independence had foretold it by declaring "the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace friends"; the constitution recognized it, but the first president of the United States by proclamation, the first chief justice by interpretation gave it vitality and power.

And so neutrality is American in its initiation.

Thirty years later Prime Minister Canning in the British Parliament pointed to this American policy of neutrality as a model for the world; and eight years later, after approval by various statutes and agreements, it was written almost word for word in the treaty wherewith we settled our differences with England over violations of neutrality throughout the civil war.

And so neutrality is American in its consummation.

And today in this hall, so that all the world may hear, we proclaim that this American policy of neutrality is the policy which the present administration pursues with patriotic zeal and religious devotion; while Europe's skies blaze red from fires of war, Europe's soil turns red with blood of men, Europe's eyes see red from tears of mourning women and from sobs of starving children.

The men who say this policy is not American appeal to passion and to prejudice and ignore the facts of history.

NEUTRALITY AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO LAWS OF WORLD

Neutrality is America's contribution to the laws of the world. Sir Henry Maine says so. Charles Francis Adams says so, Henry Clay says so, Daniel Webster says so and upon the evidence of these witnesses we rest our Americanism against the sputterings of pepper-pot politicians or the fabrications of those with whom a false issue is a good issue until its falsity is shown, its maliciousness exposed. For enforcing this policy of neutrality George Washington was hooted by a howling mob of 10,000 war fanatics who threatened to pull h'm from the presidential chair and start a revolution. But half a century later Charles Summer said that "Washington upholding the peaceful neutrality of this country, while he met unmoved the clamor of the people wickedly crying for war, is a greater man that Washington crossing the Delaware or taking Cornwallis' sword at Yorktown." For supporting this policy of neutrality in a speech in the city of New York, Alexander Hamilton was stoned almost to death, John Jay burned in effigy, Jefferson called a spineless poltroon and Lincoln pictured as a craven. Today, however, the nation goes to all these men for its every conception of all that is best in American citizenship. The fate of the fathers of our country at the hands of a noisy minority is the fate of the President of the United States today. But their reward of dignities merited and honors conferred will be his reward, when the people speak on the 8th of next November.

MUST PROVE WORTHY OF TRUST SACRI-FICE PUTS UPON AMERICANS

We who stand today on the fertile soil of America, who live under the smiling skies of a free and fruitful land, must prove worthy of the trust that American sacrifice has imposed on every American.

For the America of today and for the America of tomorrow, for the civilization of the present and for the civilization of the future, we must hold to the course that has made our nation great, we must steer by the stars that guided our ship of state through the vicissitudes of a century.

For myself, I have confidence enough in my country, faith enough in my countrymen to believe that the people of America will rise to their responsibilities with a single mind and a single voice.

Disregarding the divisions that make one man a Tory and another a Whig, one man a republican and another a democrat, Americans will cast aside the tinsel of party labels and the mummery of party emblems.

From the great pulsing heart of the nation will come a patriot command to crush partisanship and rebuke whatever is mean or blind.

That command will be heard by the plowman in his field, and by the laborer at his bench. It will reach the merchant in his office and the lawyer at his desk.

Responding to this command, a nation true to its traditions, proud of its greatness, glorying in its progress and believing in its future, will prove that the spirit of Americanism burns as brightly in the heart of America today as it did in the splendid days of old.

And when, a century from now, America's childref come to read our history, when at last they learn whether the men of 1916 were as true to¹America as the men of 1776, we pray God that the history we are about to make may prove an inspiration to their loyalty, that the pages we are about to write may be a spur to

This is the paramount issue. No lesser issue must cloud it, no unrelated problems must confuse it.

In the submission of this issue to the electorate we of this convention hold these truths to be self-evident to every student of America's history, to every friend of America's institutions.

1. That the United States is constrained by the traditions of its past, by the logic of its present and by the promise of its future to hold itself apart from the European warfare, to save its citizens from participation in the conflict that now devastates the nations across the seas.

2. That the United States in its relations with the European belligerents must continue the policy that it has pursued since the beginning of the war, the policy of strict neutrality in relation to every warring nation, the policy which Thomas Jefferson defined as "rendering to all the services and courtesies of friendship and praying for the re-establishment of peace and right!"

3. That save where the liberties, the territory or the substantial rights of the United States are invaded and assaulted, it is the duty of this nation to avoid war by every honorable means.

4. That it is the duty of the United States government to maintain the dignity and the honor of the American nation and in every situation to demand and secure from every belligerent the recognition of the neutral rights of its citizens.

5. That because the President of the United States has asserted these principles and pursued these policies the American people must support him with ardor and with enthusiasm in order that these principles and policies may be known to all the world, not as the opinion of an individual but as the doctrine of faith of a loyal and united nation.

In emphasis of these self-evident propositions we assert that the policy of neutrality is as truly American as the American flag. To win this priceless right of neutrality this nation had to undergo a long and painful struggle.

It took Washington with his allies and sword eight years to win recognition of his country's liberty; it took Washington and his successors eighty years of endless negotiation to win recognition of American neutrality. And this eighty years of struggle wove the doctrine of nuetrality so closely into the warp and woof of our national life that to tear it out now would unravel the threads of our existence.

Where is the American hardy enough to challenge a policy so firmly fixed in the nation's traditions? Is there among us any man bold enough to set his wisdom above that of Washington, his patriotism above that of Hamilton and his