

with a golden key. We want it so that Wall street will not be able to build a barrier in front of the White House, over which a candidate can climb only with the aid of bales of bills. We must keep the way open between our children and the stars.

I want the thousand delegates here to help me give our party the benefit of such a bulletin; it will be worth more than a ten million dollar campaign fund. I have the support of the Hon. Vance McCormick who was the chairman of the national committee four years ago. I have put my idea into his own words; I only lacked one of a majority in the committee; I ask you to give us an overwhelming vote for the national bulletin. (Applause).

I ask you, next to adopt the profiteering plank. I want you to help to drive piracy from the mart and market place. I want you to help us take the profiteer's hand out of the provision basket and out of the wardrobe of the people. I want you to help us to declare for a law that will empower the judge to send to the penitentiary the officers of a corporation that profiteers, and not merely fine the corporation. (Applause).

I want you to help us on this resolution against universal compulsory military training. (Applause). You cannot have peace without the spirit of peace; and you cannot have the spirit of peace when every man is trained to believe that war is a necessary thing. War is not necessary. It is the philosophy of Nietzsche, not the doctrine of the Nazarene, that declares war necessary. When the German government fell, Nietzsche's theory fell with it. We are entering upon a new era; I want the Democratic party to hasten the day, promised in holy writ, when swords shall be beaten into plowshares and nations shall learn war nor more. (Applause).

Having run over briefly these three planks, I shall devote the remainder of my time to the two planks that deal with larger subjects. First, I ask you to consider the plan for bringing about world peace. You tell me as they say in the platform, that we must stand by this treaty with no reservations that materially alter it. I made more speeches in this country than any other public man for ratification without a single reservation. I did it until I found that we could not get ratification without reservations. I never consented to a single reservation until I was convinced, as everybody else must have been by that time, that ratification without reservations was impossible. When I had to choose between some other plan that promised to hasten ratification and the plan of the committee I had to choose another plan. If you make this an issue in this campaign, if Republicans and Democrats spend four months denouncing each other, you make it impossible to secure ratification at the end of the campaign, because everybody knows that neither party will have a two-thirds majority in the Senate when this campaign is over. I am not willing to be a party to it. No, my friends, across the ocean there are little republics that sprung into existence in response to our invitation; they are trying to get on their feet; monarchy is surging back on one side and bolshevism is threatening them on the other, and we cannot hold out a hand to help them. Shame on the man, Democrat or Republican, who talks of making a partisan question of this great issue, with the world on fire. (Applause). Who will give a guarantee of the future? Who can give us assurance that Europe will not drift back into war while we are discussing reservations? How pitiful the difference between the reservations that have been discussed in the Senate for a year when you compare them with the large provisions in that treaty. The three great things in that treaty have never been disputed; no senator has objected; they aroused no controversy. What are they? Nine months deliberation before resorting to war; six months for investigation and three months time to decide what they will do when the report is filed. It will be almost impossible for two nations to go to war after they have spent nine months investigating the cause. And, second, progress toward world disarmament. That is only next in importance to the peace idea taken by our President to Paris after it had been embodied in thirty treaties with three-fourths of the world. If you disarm the world, no nation can prepare for war without notifying the world in advance of its evil intent. Third, the abolition of secret treaties. One of the most fruitful causes of war has been the fact that nations would get together

in a dark room and divide up other people's territory. (Applause). Here we have a treaty that embodies these three remedies, which, taken together, constitute the longest step towards peace taken in a thousand years. They will never be able to erase from the pages of history, the name of Woodrow Wilson who carried the peace plan to the world. (Applause). You cannot call me an enemy of Woodrow Wilson. It was my treaty plan that he took to the conference; I have helped him to become immortal. If I could secure ratification without reservations and give to Woodrow Wilson the honor of it I would gladly go to the scaffold today.

But I cannot do it, my friends; nobody can do it. We are confronted by a constitutional provision, requiring a two-thirds vote, that enables a minority to obstruct ratification. I want to take it out of the way. I am not willing to share responsibility for what may occur. I, like these gentlemen, believe in God. Some day I shall stand before His judgment bar; and when I appear there, there shall not be upon my hands the blood of people slaughtered while I talked politics. (Applause).

Just one word more on this subject, my friends. I have not been able in the short time given to say all I would like. (Voices of "Go on"). Would you know how anxious I am to bring peace to this distracted world? I will tell you. Our allies owe us nearly ten billion dollars. I am willing for our government to use all of it, if necessary, to purchase peace, universal and perpetual. (Applause). I would rather that we should give up every dollar of it than invite another war. If we try to collect it from the allied nations, we cannot do it in a generation; and if we collect it from the allies they will be compelled to collect it from their enemies. If we make concessions the terms of the treaty can be so rearranged that the warring nations can be brought together in friendship and accord. Then we can arrange for disarmament, for where love and friendship abide, they do not need cannons and battleships to make peace sure. Give us a chance to lift the burden from the back of the toilers of the world and they will bow down and thank God for the stars and stripes that set a world free. That is my idea of what may be done.

But I must now turn to our domestic question, prohibition. (Laughter). I am very glad that I do not have to answer the eloquent speech of my friend from New York. No wonder we are friends. We commenced debating public questions twenty-six years ago in Congress, and the more frequently we meet, the more we love each other. (Laughter). The reason why I do not have to answer his speech is that the resolution he introduced answers the speech he made in support of it. He says that prohibition demoralizes everything; that virtue is discouraged and not inspired by prohibition. If this solemn statement is true, then why does he ask us to accept prohibition? Why does he not tell us to get rid of prohibition if it so lessens the virtue of our country? I could not understand why he was so willing to accept prohibition until he explained that it could not be enforced. Then I could understand how he could accept it. (Laughter). Then he turned to the good people of the south, and told them how they had helped the ex-slaves. It was a wonderful picture, and none too bright for it is true. Yes, the south has helped the black man, and if the south had done so much for the black man at home why is he not willing to follow the standard of prohibition that the south has raised for the aid of the people of all this country? (Applause). And what is the application of this eulogy of the treatment of the colored man of the south? He does not seem to understand the application of his own figure. After telling you how the white people gave to the black people down south the benefit of the white man's civilization, he asks you to allow the dram shop (Cries of "No! No!")—Wait wait until I finish the sentence—to lower the level of politics in the north? If there is a man in the New York delegation or in the New Jersey delegation or in any delegation that is wet, who wants us to believe that he is now happy that the saloon is a thing of the past, I ask him to stand up now and tell you whether he ever publicly condemned the saloon before it was abolished. (Applause and protest, some stand up). My friends, I cannot search your records, but when you go back to your states, won't you please ask the wet papers to publish what you

said against the saloons before the west and the south drove them out of your community? Now if in a year's time—

(A voice) I voted for you.

(Mr. Bryan continued). Yes, my friend, you voted for me. If you are sorry you did; if you go back on me because I stand for the home against the saloon, I will gain two in your place. (Extended applause). Now, my eastern friends, if in the one year's time since prohibition was forced on you against your will, we have been able to convert you to the belief that the saloon was a curse and should never come back, maybe we can, in another year, bring you up to the high standard of complete prohibition. (Laughter and applause). Let me give you a bit of history: The District of Columbia went dry and the white flag of prohibition was raised over the nation's capital, never to be hauled down; it was a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House that passed the bill and a Democratic President who signed it. Are you ashamed of what your party did? (Applause). Are you ashamed that a Democratic Senate and House submitted prohibition, and that every Democratic state ratified? Are you ashamed that three-fourths of the Democratic congressmen and two-thirds of the Democratic senators voted for the enforcement law?

Be not frightened; time and again in history the timid have been afraid, but they have always found that they underestimated the number of those who had not bowed the knee to Baal. The Bible tells us of a time when the great Elisha was told by his servant that the enemy was too great for them. The prophet answered: "Fear not, they that be with us are more than they that be against us." And, then, he drew aside the veil and on the mountain top the young man could see horses and chariots that had been invisible before. In just a few days another state will ratify the Suffrage amendment, and then on the mountain top you will see the women and the children, our allies in every righteous cause. We shall not fail. (Great and prolonged applause).

## Appendix

Below are the five platform planks which were submitted by Mr. Bryan in a minority report:

### DRY PLANK

We heartily congratulate the Democratic party on its splendid leadership in the submission and ratification of the Prohibition amendment to the Federal constitution and we pledge the party to the effective enforcement of the present law, honestly and in good faith, without any increase in the alcoholic content of permitted beverages and without any weakening of any other of its provisions.

### NATIONAL BULLETIN

We favor a national Bulletin, not a newspaper, but a Bulletin, issued by the Federal Government, under the fair and equitable control of the two leading parties, such Bulletin to furnish information as to the political issues of the campaign, editorial space and space for presentation of claims of candidates proportionately divided between the parties.

### PROFITEERING

The Democratic party pledges the nation to rid it of the profiteer and to close the door against his return. It will endeavor to eliminate all unnecessary middlemen by the encouragement of organizations among producers that will bring those who sell and those who use nearer together. It will enact and enforce laws that will effectively prevent excessive charges by such middlemen as are necessary. To this end it will demand legislation subjecting to the penalties of the criminal law all corporate officers and employees who give or carry out instructions that result in extortion; it will make it unlawful for anyone engaged in Interstate Commerce to make the sale of one article dependent upon the purchase of another article and it will require such corporation to disclose to customers the difference between cost price and selling price or limit the profit that can be legally charged as the rate of interest is now limited. It will also endeavor to create in the several states trade commissions with powers as ample as those of the federal trade commission