

73^D CONGRESS : : : 2^D SESSION

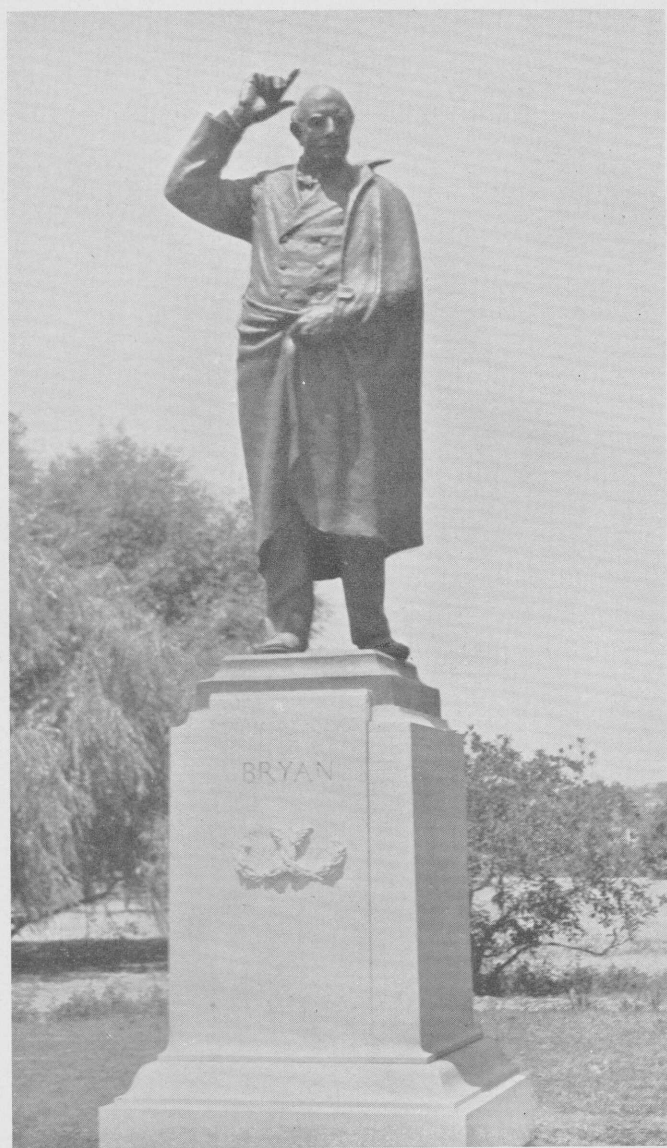
JANUARY 3-JUNE 18, 1934

HOUSE DOCUMENTS

VOL. 13

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1934

J66



William Jennings Bryan Memorial



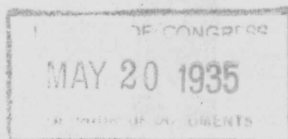
CEREMONIES
ATTENDING THE DEDICATION OF
THE MEMORIAL TO
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

AT CONSTITUTION AVENUE
RIVERSIDE DRIVE AND TWENTY-SIXTH STREET
WASHINGTON, D.C.



UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1934

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING



CONTENTS

	Page
Biography of William Jennings Bryan.....	7
William Jennings Bryan Memorial Association....	9
Reception committee.....	10
Order of exercises.....	13
Address by Hon. Harold L. Ickes.....	15
Invocation by Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo.....	17
Address by Hon. Blair Lee.....	19
Unveiling of the memorial by Master David Har- greaves	24
Address by Mr. Gutzon Borglum.....	25
Address by Hon. Josephus Daniels.....	29
Address by President Roosevelt.....	59
Benediction by Bishop John W. Hamilton.....	61

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 43

SUBMITTED BY MR. HOWARD

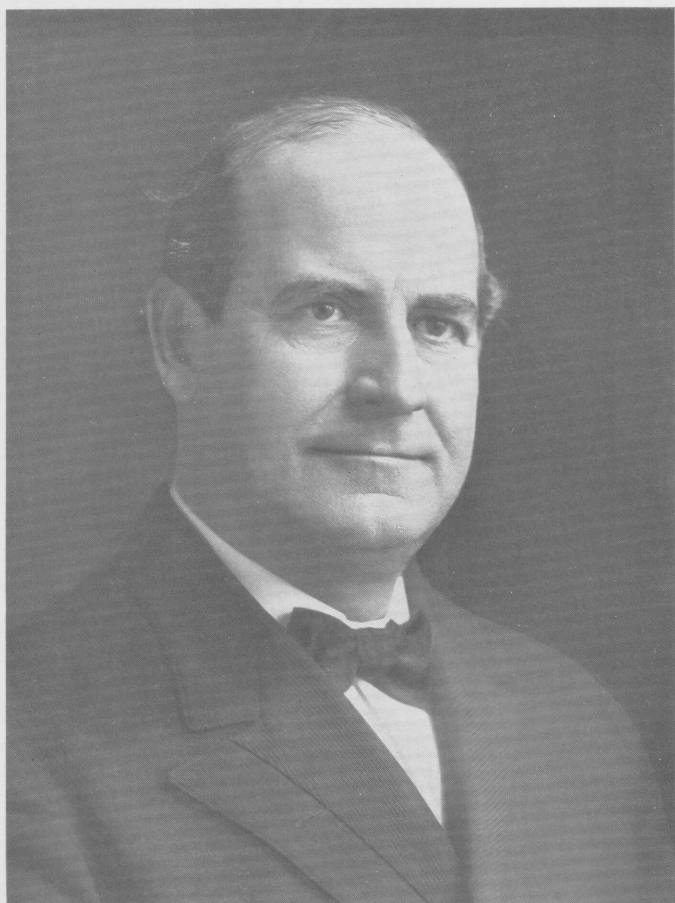
Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there shall be printed with illustrations, in such form and style as may be directed by the Joint Committee on Printing, five thousand copies of the proceedings held in connection with the unveiling of the statue of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, in Washington, District of Columbia, May 3, 1934, together with such other matter as may be relevant thereto, of which one thousand copies shall be for the use of the Senate, three thousand one hundred copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and nine hundred copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of Nebraska.

The Joint Committee on Printing is hereby authorized to have the copy prepared for the Public Printer and shall procure suitable illustrations to be published with these proceedings.

Adopted, June 13, 1934.

BIOGRAPHY

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN was born in Salem, Marion County, Ill., March 19, 1860; attended the public schools and Whipple Academy, Jacksonville, Ill.; was graduated from Illinois College, Jacksonville, in 1881; studied law at Union College in Chicago, was graduated in 1883, and commenced practice at Jacksonville, Ill., in 1883; moved to Lincoln, Nebr., in 1887 and continued the practice of law; delegate to the Democratic State convention in 1888; elected as a Democrat to the Fifty-second and Fifty-third Congresses (March 4, 1891–March 3, 1895); declined to be a candidate for reelection in 1894; unsuccessful candidate for election to the United States Senate in 1894; delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1896, 1904, 1912, 1920, and 1924; unsuccessful Democratic candidate for President of the United States in 1896, 1900, and again in 1908; was indorsed by the Populist and Silver Republican Parties in the first and second campaigns; during the Spanish-American War raised the Third Regiment Nebraska Volunteer Infantry in May 1898, and was commissioned colonel; established a newspaper, "The Commoner", at Lincoln, Nebr., in 1901; made a tour of the world in 1905 and 1906; engaged in editorial writing and lecturing; Secretary of State of the United States in the Cabinet of President Wilson and served from March 4, 1913, until June 9, 1915, when he resigned; resumed his former pursuit of delivering Chautauqua lectures and was an author; established his home in Miami, Fla., in 1921; died while attending court in Dayton, Tenn., July 26, 1925; interment in Arlington National Cemetery, Fort Myer, Va.



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

OFFICERS

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, *President*
WILLIAM H. THOMPSON, *Vice President*
MANTON M. WYVELL, *Executive Vice President*
PATRICK H. CALLAHAN, *Secretary*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

CHARLES A. DOUGLAS, *Chairman*
DANIEL C. ROPER
THOMAS S. ALLEN
DANIEL BRIDE
BLAIR LEE
CLIFFORD R. BERRYMAN

GUTZON BORGLUM, *Sculptor*

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

ARNO B. CAMMERER, *Chairman*
W. W. AYERS, Kansas
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, Kentucky
ALLEN CARTER, Kentucky
WRIGHT C. DIZER, Delaware
R. O. EVERETT, North Carolina
DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, Florida
JAMES W. GERARD, New York
CHARLES F. HORNER, Kansas
THOMAS B. LOVE, Texas
Mrs. BENTON McMILLAN, Tennessee
FRANK MORRISON, Illinois
ROBERT L. OWEN, Oklahoma
CLAUDE R. PORTER, Iowa
CHARLES M. ROSSER, Texas
Mrs. A. C. SHALLENBERGER, Nebraska
WILLIAM E. SWEET, Colorado
WAYNE WILLIAMS, Colorado

DEDICATION
and UNVEILING

Riverside Drive
Washington, D. C.

MAY 3, 1934

ORDER OF EXERCISES

The Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, presents
the Chairman of the Day, Hon. Josephus Daniels

Invocation-----Rev. Dr. JOSEPH R. SIZOO
Pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church

Address-----Hon. BLAIR LEE, of Silver Spring, Md.
United States Senator 1913-17

Unveiling of the Memorial-----Master DAVID HARGREAVES
Grandson of Mr. Bryan

The Star Spangled Banner---UNITED STATES MARINE BAND

Introduction of Sculptor and Artist----GUTZON BORGLUM

Address Presenting the Memorial to the Nation
Hon. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, of North Carolina
United States Ambassador to Mexico
President of the William Jennings Bryan Memorial Association

Address Accepting the Memorial for the Nation
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
"America"—Audience-----UNITED STATES MARINE BAND

Benediction-----Bishop JOHN W. HAMILTON

Music-----UNITED STATES MARINE BAND

William Jennings Bryan Memorial



ADDRESS BY HON. HAROLD L. ICKES

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

We assemble today to dedicate a memorial to one of the great progressives of his day—WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. Some of us may remember him as an orator, others as a statesman, and still others as a towering advocate of peace. Most of the world may recall him by the party label of "Democrat" and for that distinction he was ably qualified. However, it is my pleasure to picture him as a true progressive whose rare gifts enabled him to keep the mind of the Nation focused on the goal for which this country should strive.

It is not my function here today to recount my memories of BRYAN; others better qualified will do that. It is my pleasure to present a life-long friend of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN who has come thousands of miles from Mexico City to be with us on this occasion.

Josephus Daniels was a youngster when BRYAN began his great crusade against privilege two-score years ago. They viewed affairs through the same glasses and in their full lives it was natural they should be attracted to each other. Josephus Daniels was the type of youth who had such an interest in the public welfare that at 17 years of age he was editor of a newspaper. At 21 he had moved his editorial activities to the capital of his State

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

at Raleigh where he acquired a moribund paper and proceeded to breathe life into it. Today he still controls that newspaper. Under the guidance of the men he trained it is the spokesman of an extensive community that respects and is guided by it.

This country has a habit of recognizing worth and of making demands upon it. Josephus Daniels was called to Washington by President Wilson to become Secretary of the Navy. In the Daniels family, there is the tradition of the Navy. In Wilson's cabinet, Daniels knew and loved BRYAN. They studied and planned together for a better Nation. It was to Daniels that BRYAN came to counsel on the day the Commoner resigned his high office.

When stress of circumstances again required the Democratic forces to take charge of the administration of national affairs, Josephus Daniels was once more called to the public service and entrusted with the difficult mission of United States Ambassador to Mexico. The manner in which he is filling that trust, you know. He comes back to Washington with some of the fruits of his labor. He brings an agreement settling the Mexican-American claims dispute. He has composed this difference of opinion between the two neighboring nations that for 15 years was a matter of controversy. This pact was signed in Mexico City on the first anniversary of Ambassador Daniels' arrival there as representative of this Government.

We welcome back to Washington the chairman of the day, the Ambassador of the United States to Mexico, the Honorable Josephus Daniels.

INVOCATION BY REV. JOSEPH R. SIZOO

PASTOR OF THE NEW YORK AVENUE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

God of our faith, God of the nations, our God, we thank Thee that in times of crises when the resources of God are unfolded we are not strangers to Thy keeping grace. Always underneath and round about us are Thy everlasting arms.

We thank Thee for those who have walked in that hope and were not destroyed; who have lived with an unfaltering faith in an unfailing God and were not put to shame. This day we remember before Thee in this solemn moment one who walked among us in simplicity of faith, in sincerity of purpose, and in unsullied character. Grant that in this solemn unveiling to his name we may receive a new hope and courage. May this monument stand as a refuge to the Nation in a day of uncertainty and may it be a beacon whose light shall point us through the night to the dawn of a braver and better day.

Support us O Lord, all the day long of this troublous, beautiful life, until the evening comes, and the shadows lengthen, and the busy world is hushed and the fever of life is over and our work is done. Then in Thy mercy grant us a safe lodging and a holy rest and peace at last. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ADDRESS BY HON. BLAIR LEE

FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

Few men are now living who can say that they were candidates for office when Mr. BRYAN made his first campaign for the Presidency in 1896.

It was my privilege that fall to run for Congress in the Sixth Maryland District on the ticket with Mr. BRYAN and Mr. Sewell and we were all defeated in regular order. It is my belief today, looking with calmness at the events of nearly 40 years, that the principles of the Democratic platform of 1896, applied at an earlier period in the history of this country, would have prevented the enormous suffering, losses, and burdens of our present day and that through the principles of that platform, modified in the light of experience, our countrymen and countrywomen may yet receive and enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" so far as these may be assured by the laws of the land.

The Democratic platform of 1896 was in so many respects prophetic and is now so little known that I take the liberty of including an extract from it.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION,
CHICAGO, 1896

The Money Plank

Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution named silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873, demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people (known as "The Crime of '73", has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money lending class at home and abroad; the prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

Trusts and Pools

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

The Honorable James K. Jones of Arkansas, when he was the leader of the Democratic minority, in the Senate of the United States, told me that

ADDRESS BY HON. BLAIR LEE

he felt somewhat responsible for the defeat of the Democratic ticket in 1896. Then he modified his statement by an explanation. He said prior to '96 the Populists had been pushing the Democrats so closely in southern and western States, that, in his State convention, at his insistence, a declaration favoring the restoration of silver at the specific ratio of 16 to 1 had been put in the local Democratic platform and the success of the ticket on that platform had led to similar action by State conventions in other States, so that the specific ratio of 16 to 1 had come up to the Chicago platform in 1896, as a natural result of State experience, and, he regretted to say, as the effect of his own initiative. Senator Jones added, "If we had only had the wisdom to say in the Democratic platform of 1896 'at a just and proper ratio hereafter to be enacted by Congress', the classes, which were so especially alarmed by the exaggerated allegation of a possible depreciated dollar, would have had no cause for their agitation and the Democratic ticket would probably have been successful."

In the face of the denunciation of Mr. BRYAN that has existed so long in this country, it is a privilege to affirm that he was not only the great orator and the leading Democrat, but also one of the most conservative men of his day and with one or two exceptions all the changes which he suggested, which have been adopted, have operated to improve general conditions.

In the opinion of my father and mother, who were both closely familiar with the policies of the

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

administration of Andrew Jackson, the Democratic platform of 1896 was "good Jackson Democracy."

ABOUT WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN'S CAMPAIGN OF 1896

(From *The Epic of America*—James Truslow Adams, p. 131)

According to Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge, writing at the time, the McKinley forces had \$7,000,000 against Bryan's \$300,000. "The great fight is won", she wrote to Cecil Spring-Rice after the election. "It was a fight", she added, "conducted by trained and experienced and organized forces, with both hands full of money, with the full power of the press—and of prestige—on one side; on the other, a disorganized mob at first, out of which burst into sight, hearing, and force—one man, but such a man! Alone, penniless, without backing, without money, with scarce a paper, without speakers, that man fought such a fight that even those in the East can call him a crusader, an inspired fanatic—a prophet! It has been marvelous. Hampered by such a following, such a platform—and even the men whose names were our greatest weapon against him deserted him and left him to fight alone—he almost won. * * * We had during the last week of the campaign 18,000 speakers on the stump. He alone spoke for his party, but speeches which spoke to the intelligence and hearts of the people, and with a capital 'P.' It is over now, but the vote is seven millions to six millions and a half."

The historian continues, page 332:

What did matter for those in revolt, and matter to the bottom of their hearts, was that the money power and corporations—"the Interests", as they were beginning to be called—should not conquer and ruin America for the ordinary everyday common man. The demand was valid and just, and if the intelligence of the Nation could spare only a BRYAN to lead them, the reflection was rather on the Nation's intelligence than on them. Mrs. Lodge, womanlike, could see only the individual and not the issue. Reid, like a certain type of capitalist, could

ADDRESS BY HON. BLAIR LEE

see only the politician and not the people. What none heard was the voice of the American, of the American farmer, who had stood behind the stone walls as the redcoats retreated from Lexington, and who took pot shots at them; of the farmer who had gone to the Connecticut River, and then to western New York, and then to Ohio, and then to Illinois, and then to Kansas, or followed the same western trek in the South; the voice of the early Americans who had been promised "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" by Thomas Jefferson, while the conservatives of his day raised their eyebrows and smiled questioningly.

Mr. BRYAN was honest. His position on all public questions was clear and open. His great physical strength and courage, quickness of mind and readiness in debate, with his sincerity, made him the natural enemy of concealment and crookedness. He was eminently good-looking and though he was hurried through campaigns, being always everywhere in demand, yet his manners were ever gentle and kind.

I saw his powers triumph one day at Cumberland, Md., in 1896. A crowd of 5,000 people were waiting for him in a great square. His train was late. They were impatient and restless. Vendors were selling things. It was raining. An engine sizzled on a nearby track. Five local candidates tried to speak, but could not be heard. Mr. BRYAN came. He had spoken often that day but immediately that crowd was taken and held. His voice, his presence, his oratory, his wit, humor, and argument took them and held them standing for an hour.

Devotion to first principles, as taught him in youth, devotion to the teaching of the Bible, to

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

a Jeffersonian Democracy, was with him through life, with also indomitable purpose to defend the rights of the average man, as essential to the progress and prosperity of the Nation.

He worked hard and had an excellent memory and it was his rare sense of humor as well as his high faith that sustained him through life.

His devotion to his wife and her devotion to him rounded out BRYAN's great character.

He was much pursued both at his office and at home. It was my privilege to offer him a place for quiet and study in a garden at Silver Spring, Md., where they often worked and talked together over his problems and speeches. Perhaps it was her ability and devotion that led him to advocate the rights given to all American women.

At this point in the ceremonies Master David Hargreaves, grandson of Mr. BRYAN, unveiled the memorial.

ADDRESS BY GUTZON BORGLUM

SCULPTOR AND ARTIST

I never unveil one of my works, or art creations, that I do not think of the mother as she presents to the world one of her children for the first time. I am also always reminded of Schiller, the great German author, who was forbidden by, I believe, the King of Saxony, from being present at the first presentation of one of his plays. He eluded the guards and crept into the rafters and saw his play. He was discovered later and brought before the King. After being properly scolded, he replied: "Would your Majesty deny the mother her right to see her new born child?" I wish to emphasize this because the world little realizes the anxiety of the creator at this moment, when this new something is brought into the world, a wholly new thing, never seen before, nor do they appreciate the anxiety as to how the world will receive it.

BRYAN and the great part he played in reaffirming democracy is still so near to us that his precise place among our great has not been determined.

Many interpretations have been presented to me and the most persistent has been his religious qualifications. I have been urged to model his figure with Bible in hand, as a great evangelist.

If an artist had the gift of language, the nicety of literary definition—and had been a thorough student of his subject, as he should be—he might

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

draw pictures few would more than have suspected as controlling characteristics of the subject.

I have determined that BRYAN was a great crusader, with all the religious fervor of the ancient crusaders directed on behalf of the people. He never separated his moral sense, his private conscience from his public or national acts. For his cause this "Prince of Peace" was more militant than any of his contemporaries—militant in the cause of peace—he always forced the issue with a courage evil shrank from. He never evaded an issue when a principle was at stake. As in his "Cross of Gold" speech in Chicago; again at the Baltimore convention.

The great names of Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland come to mind. Compare these four men those of you who have at heart the saving of man's individual right to be free and who know what it is to be free—and incidentally happy in that freedom. Think some time alone, with your own mind; compare there the struggles of these four—their individual struggles—their separate and personal service. Listen to your own unprejudiced thought as you remember each and their human efforts—the odds BRYAN worked against. The official power of the three Presidents; the unofficial power of BRYAN. Then measure your four men—for a man finally is measured for the Immortal Hall of Fame by what he thought and tried to do, and not by the crown he won.

Think then of BRYAN in this manner if you wish to measure him as history will measure him.

ADDRESS BY GUTZON BORGLUM

Forget not that he was a colonel in the Spanish-American War. Forget not that he is buried among the soldiers in Arlington. Then you will understand better why he chose the highway among the people instead of the pulpit; why he chose the book of laws instead of the Bible and became the great militant leader of the people, determined to secure more and make more sure what had been gained for the individual as above property—the individual's inalienable right to be free and the individual's inalienable right to be happy in that freedom, and that if our civilization is to be saved, in the final analysis it will be saved by those in the world who in wordly success are ever forgotten.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

PRESIDENT, BRYAN MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

"It seemed to me tonight, when the great tribune of the people was speaking to you, as if the statue of Jefferson in this hotel had come to life."

These opening words in an address by Virginia's eloquent "lame giant", Maj. John W. Daniel, on the portico of Hotel Jefferson in Richmond, Va., on the night of September 17, 1896, followed a brilliant campaign speech by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. The scene, in the cool of a glorious September evening was one never to be forgotten. The full moon bathed the multitude crowding every approach to the hotel, where the Nebraskan spoke from an eminence which brought him in full view. The people of that historic city—the heirs of the purest democracy the world has known—had waited long, eyes eagerly uplifted to catch a glimpse of the new figure which had arisen like a scintillating star in the political firmament. As they awaited his coming, their eyes had rested with pride and admiration upon the marble statue of Jefferson standing as the center of the foyer of the hotel named for the founder of Democracy. As he spoke, they strained their ears lest they miss a single sentence of the lute-toned speaker. They were hearing a voice which had a melody with a timbre all its own. They found it as sweet as when a master hand touches the keys of a perfect musical instrument. After the first burst of applause the people, uncovered in honor of the

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

visitor, stood silent, too moved in their whole being to interrupt with applause or cheers. The listeners were stirred to their depths. They rejoiced to behold in their city the man who had so recently caught the imagination and won the admiration of millions of his countrymen.

"He is as beautiful as Apollo", Senator Daniel had said of BRYAN as the young commoner thrilled the multitude which had packed the Coliseum at Chicago a few weeks before. Senator Blackburn had agreed and added: "BRYAN thrills you like a reborn Demosthenes." Historic Richmond felt that the youthful leader of his party incarnated the political philosophy of the Virginia-born founder of the Democratic Party. Onlookers caught the spirit and vision of Senator Daniel. Looking upon the statue of Jefferson, they sensed that in the flesh they had beheld a miracle, as when Love converted the statue of Galatea into a living thing of beauty and grace. The mantle of the Sage of Monticello had fallen upon the shoulders of a young political Lochinvar who had come out of the West.

The time and place were fitting. BRYAN had come home to the land of his forbears. His father in his early manhood, along with many other sons of the Old Dominion, had trekked to the expansive, rich lands which Virginia had generously donated to the young Republic to be carved into States. The land-owning and empire-building instinct was in their blood. In his new home BRYAN's father had won a competency and been honored with the judicial ermine. He had carried with him the principles of the Declaration

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

and the Kentucky Resolutions, along with his simple belongings, to the home he builded in Illinois. The son, indoctrinated in the Jeffersonian creed, had come home, bearing his high honors to the mother State. He was welcomed as the true heir of the burning eloquence of the incomparable Patrick Henry. He was hailed as the chosen interpreter and expounder of the doctrines which needed to be invoked to recall reactionary America back to first principles. "BRYAN stands", Major Daniel said in stately phrases on that epoch-making night, "as the leader of the Democracy militant. We love him because he rolled away the stone from the golden sepulchre in which Democracy was buried. The Anglo-Saxon race has never failed to produce a great leader whenever a great crisis demanded him. In the Chicago national convention, when a great leader was demanded amidst happy auguries, its choice was given to him who is here tonight, and that convention found him in the heart of the great West in the person of Nebraska's noble son. He loves the people and he stands for all the people against all comers."

It was my privilege to have been a silent participant in that gathering when the foremost orator of the old school of the South welcomed the most eloquent orator of the new school from beyond the father of waters to the home of his forbears. Forty years save two have passed over my head since that night of nights, but the thrill of that hour is upon me now and the echoes of the music of those elevated voices has made melody in my heart through the intervening years.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

The scene in the capital of the Old Dominion was reenacted in 1896 in every capital in the Republic, and in almost every city and hamlet. From ocean to ocean that year the cadence of BRYAN's voice, preaching a gospel of hope, fell upon the waiting ears of men and women, who had long looked for a political prophet to lead them into the promised land of equality and who had flocked to hear the newly risen prophet and crusader. They apprehended that his heart beat in sympathy with the unemployed and the exploited. Their grateful hearts responded in harmony to his appeals. They understood, as he flayed privilege, that their sufferings were his sufferings. They thronged every place where he spoke and hundreds of thousands looked to him as their deliverer. They even begged him to take their pennies to advance their common cause. Other men and women, having no accord with the gospel he proclaimed, sometimes crowded out the worshippers, fascinated by the melody of his voice and the sincerity of his utterances. Many men and women agreed with him wholeheartedly and enthusiastically. Others differed with him radically, sometimes violently. Before that campaign closed, the verdict alike of friend and foe was that in moving eloquence, as well as beauty of diction, no man of his generation approached the Nebraskan. As the years passed, and as he grew, that verdict became the settled conviction of the American people. He stood preeminent in the power to delight the senses of the people and sway the multitudes that hung upon his words.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

From boyhood BRYAN had loved declamation and debate. He early sought truth by the hammer against hammer of private argument and public discussion. He was fond of beautiful phrases and rounded periods. They abound in his early addresses which were written and committed to memory. To the end he possessed love of beauty in expression as well as in life and nature, though in later years he sought to convince by clarity and simplicity of statement, largely discarding rhetorical effects. There was enough of the poet in his make-up, however, never to surrender to the dull presentation of siccant facts without appeal to the emotions to execute the will of the mind. He had no comradeship with the dry-as-dust statistical type of speaker who refuses to clothe truth in attractive garb.

It was not until he had moved to Nebraska that Mr. BRYAN was able to realize his heart's desire. His wife, noted for poise and judgment, tells the story of a new light which shone into his life, a light that brought him power hitherto unrealized. At the age of 27, returning home at daybreak after a long ride on a night train, he could not wait for his wife to awake to tell her of a new revelation that had come to him. Sitting on the edge of the bed, he said to her simply and thankfully: "Mary, I have had a strange experience. Last night I found that I had power over the audience. I could move them as I chose. I have more than usual power as a speaker. I know it." And he reverently added, as he knelt in prayer: "God grant I may use it wisely." When the end of his days

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

had come, and Mrs. Bryan was writing intimately of her dead companion with wifely sincerity, she said:

Among the losses the world has suffered by Mr. BRYAN's going, the stilling of his voice is to me the most irreparable. I speak now of his voice, not what he said. When he had attained sufficient skill to dispense with manuscripts and really speak, the beauty of his voice was revealed. There was in it a reverberating quality—vibratory hardly expresses it. Upon occasions when he was especially moved, I have heard his tones ring out with bell-like clearness and resound far beyond the circle of his hearers. As years passed, the quality grew less, but never was entirely lost. Few voices have ever equalled his in carrying power.

The secret of BRYAN's primacy as an orator was that in addition to a voice which had charm, every utterance demonstrated that behind eloquence was the marrow of conviction. "It is the man and not the words that make the speech", BRYAN once said. "The orator must have faith—faith in God, faith in the righteousness of his cause, and faith in the ultimate triumph of the truth." Continuing his definition, he said: "There are two things absolutely essential to eloquence. First, the speaker must know what he is talking about; and, second, he must mean what he says." BRYAN added that he must also have knowledge of human nature. He strikingly exemplified Bancroft's admonition:

Let the young aspirants after glory scatter seeds of truth broadcast on the wide bosom of humanity, in the deep fertile soil of the public mind. There it will strike root and spring up and bear an hundredfold and bloom for ages and ripen fruit through remote generations.

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

For a third of a century BRYAN held the center of the stage in politics and political conventions. During those years men condemned him, denounced him, flouted him, despised him, loved him, cheered him, honored him, had faith in him, followed him. They would oppose him or rally to him. But in all these years none could be indifferent to him. He was a storm center. The political history of the period cannot be written without BRYAN's role being that of a leading actor, sometimes the star.

Though he held public office only 6 years and 3 months, WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN exerted greater influence over a longer period of time upon public opinion and in the enactment of laws and constitutional changes than any public man of his generation. To be sure, Theodore Roosevelt occupied the center of the stage from 1901 to 1912, and Woodrow Wilson from 1912 to 1920. However, from 1896, most of the time without office or place or the trappings that usually accompany influence, BRYAN's position in American political life was as commanding as it was consecrated to the common weal as he was given the light to see the common weal.

History will record that other men of his period were more deeply versed in law, more experienced in diplomacy, possessed more executive ability, or exercised more political acumen as measured by victories at the polls than WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. Even so, none will be found who heard him in the days of his militant leadership to deny that he won and held kingship in the realm of

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

true eloquence as America's uncrowned commoner.

From his triumph at Chicago, Mr. BRYAN stood above all of his contemporaries as master of assemblies. Indeed, it may be doubted if his equal in persuasive eloquence, potential for a third of a century, has lived upon the earth. This preëminence was evidenced upon great occasions, as when he captured the House of Representatives by his magnificent tariff speech on March 16, 1892; in the Chicago convention in 1896 when all fell under the spell of his oratory and, with enthusiasm, his party called him to national leadership, the crescendo of that oration being his closing words, "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold"; in his truly great campaign arguments against imperialism in 1900 when intellectuals who had in 1896 opposed his election gave him cordial support; in his memorable speech at the St. Louis convention, where, defeated in his program, he won an oratorical victory which has been rarely equalled in the annals of the race, concluding with the immortal words, applauded alike by friend and foe: "You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you cannot deny I have kept the faith." In the Baltimore convention where his courageous leadership, daring to the point of danger, and his compelling appeals, turned the whole tenor of the gathering and insured the nomination of Wilson; or when upon other occasions he stirred the hearts of his followers as he proclaimed with demonstration

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

and power the gospel of Christianity which warmed his own heart and shaped his own life. His rare gift was in evidence equally in the thousands of speeches which were never reported.

Eloquence in a sense dies with its possessor. It is not always the open sesame which crowns its owner with the highest rewards. The two candidates for the Presidency who most completely captured men's hearts by their eloquence were Henry Clay and WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. Neither reached the zenith of his ambition. Excepting Henry Clay and Grover Cleveland, BRYAN was the only man thrice chosen by his party as its Presidential candidate.

BRYAN was never cast down even when the verdict of the polls was recorded against the policy he espoused. He never knew defeat. No man is ever defeated until he admits it. Out of one reverse the crusading evangelist planned a new assault. This was best illustrated when the news came in 1896 that McKinley had been proclaimed the winner. BRYAN spent no time in questioning the result or in vain regrets. He sounded the note for "the next battle" in these characteristic words:

In the face of an enemy rejoicing in victory, let the roll be called for the next engagement. If we are right, as I believe we are, we shall yet triumph.

Though the Presidency was denied him, BRYAN lived to rejoice in the adoption by his country of most of the principles and policies which were dearer to him than personal preferment.

In appraising the chief contributions BRYAN made to his country it would wrong BRYAN and do

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

injustice to truth to hold him up always consistent or always right. No man in a long active public career has ever been free from mistakes and errors of judgment. These defects, common to all men, were not absent in the Commoner. BRYAN's best friends differed with him at times and sometimes radically. They pointed out to him what they deemed his mistakes of judgment. He loved his friends and gave consideration to their views, but he was adamant against suggestions that for personal or political advantage he soft pedal here or be silent there. Upon questions of principle he would not compromise, even when good friends counseled it. Political expediency never controlled him. His course was governed by Lincoln's declaration: "I am not bound to win; but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed; but I am bound to live up to the light I have." It can be literally and truly said of Bryan that he had "rather be right than to be President."

Mr. BRYAN could not hate or harbor resentment. "More than any man I have known", said one of his Cabinet colleagues, "he placed the cause above the man." He could and did fight those who opposed the cause in which he was enlisted, and he neither asked nor gave quarter. And he was a doughty warrior, none more resourceful or valiant! He never consciously, at least not for long, permitted himself to hold bitterness in his heart toward an antagonist. His hot anger could and did flame against what he regarded as wrong or injustice. Opportunism or subserviency to power were hateful in his sight. His condemnation of wrong was not personal. It was righteous indig-

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

nation against the act. He was incapable of returning evil for evil even when the provocation would seem to justify "getting even." No man since Jefferson and Jackson was the victim of such virulent hatred and abuse as rained upon him. It never either diverted or embittered him. He could not be persuaded that even the most violent abuse was personal. Loving his fellow men, BRYAN regarded detraction or denunciation by critics or enemies as not directed at him as an individual. He always felt that the invectives were rather shafts aimed at the policies for which he took up arms.

Just as he rested all his political beliefs on the creed of Jefferson, believing that the founder of the Democratic Party was the fountainhead of the wisest statesmanship, so in the field of morals and religion, BRYAN found guidance in the "Thus saith the Lord." True to early training, when he came to write his will, the opening words contained in condensed form his confession of faith:

In the name of God, farewell. Trusting for my salvation to the blood of Jesus Christ, my Lord and Redeemer, and relying on His promise for my hope and resurrection, I consign my body to the dust and commend my spirit to the God who gave it.

It was this fundamental faith which sent him forth as a Christian evangelist and as expounder of the Scriptures. His life was in consonance with his creed. He yielded to none of the temptations which assail youth, having from his boyhood given himself to the practices of virtues taught in his home, in the Sunday School, and in the church. His clean, private life was his Gibraltar when he

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

sallied forth to fight the enemies that threatened society. No opponent could weaken his influence by pointing to any flaw in his armor of personal uprightness. Postmaster General Burleson was wont to say: "BRYAN is the truest Christian I have ever known in politics." When BRYAN opened his heart to his colleagues on the day he retired from the Cabinet, Secretary Lane turned to him and said with deep feeling: "Mr. BRYAN, you are the most real Christian I know."

Would you understand BRYAN? Read the appraisal by his wife, a true and equal partner, in these words:

A source of tremendous strength to Mr. BRYAN was his freedom from doubt. Others might waver, drift, and struggle—he went serenely on, undisturbed. This may be explained by his conviction that man was much too puny and finite to understand the ways of God. He said more than once: "What do these men know? Pitting their poor little knowledge against omniscience! The infinite power which rules and controls is far beyond our finite mind." He had a firm faith in the inspiration of the Bible in which he had been nurtured, a strong belief in a guiding and protecting power, and a comforting reliance on the efficacy of prayer.

It was the possession of this unquestioning faith which made BRYAN the Sir Galahad of his generation.

His strength was as the strength of ten
Because his heart was pure.

The statue we unveil today is the figure of an eloquent orator who commanded "listening senates." Though his voice thrilled millions, this figure in imperishable bronze would not have been placed in the National Capital, midway between the

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

Lincoln Memorial, honoring another illustrious son of Illinois, and the Arlington Memorial, hard by the home of the immortal Robert E. Lee, if his eloquence had not been employed in high dedication to the welfare of his fellow men. As unborn generations pause to look upon his countenance, fashioned by the genius of Gutzon Borglum, betokening benignity and nobility, they will be told: "This is the sculptured likeness of WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, who was endowed with a voice so melodious as to enthrall all who heard him." That appraisement will interest, for stories of oratorical conquests ever intrigue, youths. Unless, however, some new Edison or Marconi can recall the melodies of other years and centuries (and who shall say that tomorrow we will not be under the spell of the songs of Jenny Lind and Caruso, the glory that was Beethoven and Chopin, and the eloquence of Demosthenes and Patrick Henry, still lingering somewhere in the chambers of the upper air?) the youth of another decade will be inclined to ask: "Though this man BRYAN may have spoken with the tongue of angels to his own generation, what contribution has he bequeathed for the enrichment and inspiration of those who come after him, who were never privileged to hear him, that his statue should occupy this place of distinction?"

When that challenge is made, what will be the reply? Unless we of today can make answer to the challenge of posterity, what reason can be offered for the erection of this memorial? It is the duty, therefore, of the living, of those who knew the stuff of which he was made, to reveal the qualities which ennobled him, which justify his right

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

to a place with the American immortals in this American pantheon.

We, who were his associates, know that he consecrated himself, body and soul, to the advocacy of causes which in their spirit will be as vital tomorrow as when in yonder Capitol or in nearby church or cathedral he summoned men never "to sell the truth to serve the hour." Nobody will care about or little reck of the ephemeral campaign issues which he debated. As his speeches are read and conned by the coming generation, however, they will see that underneath the policies which divided the people in his day, BRYAN was guided always by underlying fundamental foundations of truth and justice. It was upon the solid rock of principle, not policy, that he rested all his contentions.

When bimetallism was uppermost in the public mind, BRYAN clothed the issue with the vestment of hostility to any monetary standard which he thought would tend to enrich the few at the expense of the many. He grew up in the belief that the demonetization of silver in 1873 was "a conspiracy to destroy three-sevenths of the money of the world by legislation"; and he held with John G. Carlisle, who said in 1878, that the act of 1873 was "the most gigantic crime of this or any other age." Believing that there was not enough gold in the world to furnish the necessary primary money, and that the remonetization of silver would restore prosperity, Mr. BRYAN advocated, with all his earnestness, the free and unlimited coinage of silver as a means to that end.

When imperialism was the paramount issue, it was lifted up in his conception to a searching

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

inquiry as to whether any nation had the right to buy dominion over an unwilling people or to control their country by force of arms, even with the altruistic promise of "benevolent assimilation." BRYAN warned of its evils and dangers. "Be not deceived", he said. "If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency."

When tariff loomed as the paramount question BRYAN declined to debate percentages and schedules, or to lower the plane to determining whether a rate of 25 percent was more sacred than one of 50 percent. To him the whole matter of tariff taxation hung upon whether there existed the right to tax one man to give wealth to another. He believed the Supreme Court had laid down the only sound principle in the declaration that "to lay with one hand the power of the Government on the property of the citizens, and with the other to bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises and build up private fortunes, is none the less a robbery because it is done under the form of law and is called taxation." He practiced what he preached. When asked in debate the question, which his interlocutor believed would entrap him, whether he would vote for tariff favors to the growers of beet-sugar in his own State, BRYAN replied in the negative, adding with impressiveness: "When it is necessary to come down to Congress and ask for protection or a bounty for my

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

State, which I would refuse as wrong to an industry in another State, I shall cease to represent Nebraska in Congress."

When a campaign was fought out upon the trust issue, BRYAN gave evidence that he had no patience with what he regarded as quibbling about "unreasonable restraint", or suggestions of "regulation." He wrote the trust plank in the platform of the Baltimore convention, using seven words to compress his life-long conviction as to monopoly. They were: "A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable."

When the issue revolved around the policy of his country toward smaller nations, BRYAN's attitude was one that harmonized with his measuring every proposition by the yard stick of the Golden Rule. He considered that no public questions "could be separate from both morals and the principle of popular government." He was adamant against "dollar diplomacy." He declared that his Government "having proven by its action its willingness to protect a little republic in its rights to have its controversies with great nations settled by arbitration rather than by force, is now prepared to assert with equal emphasis its unwillingness to have an American republic exploited by the commercial interests of its own or any other country."

When currency reform was to the fore, as in 1913, Mr. BRYAN insisted that the issue of money was an exclusive function of government and should not be surrendered. He refused to endorse a proposed authorization of notes by agencies

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

outside the Federal Government. He also objected to the plan of permitting banks to select representatives to serve as members of the Federal Reserve Board. He argued in favor of making the entire board of control appointive by the President, so that the Government would have complete and undisputed authority over the issue of government notes, which, in his judgment should be substituted for the contemplated bank notes. There was sharp division of opinion on both these points, but BRYAN'S view prevailed on both and was incorporated in the measure which made possible the successful financing of the World War. Senator Carter Glass, leader of the measure in the House of Representatives, paid public tribute to BRYAN, writing him: "We are immensely indebted to you for effective aid * * * for sound legislation."

When the issue raged, after the Supreme Court by a margin of one vote declared that the income tax levied in the Wilson-Gorman Act was unconstitutional, it was BRYAN who began and successfully carried on the vigorous campaign for the income-tax amendment to the Constitution until it was incorporated as the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution. Hardly was the ink dry on the majority Supreme Court decision before BRYAN mobilized the forces of opposition to exemption from taxation of those who were most able to support the Government. On every stump in 1914, BRYAN sounded a blast upon his bugle horn which summoned the people to enlist in a war to the finish for an amendment to grant Congress power to levy an income tax. He quoted everywhere the dissenting opinions of Justices Harlan and White

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

in answer to the charge that he was an "anarchist" and that his crusade constituted "an attack on the Supreme Court." These dissents furnished to BRYAN the shibboleths in his crusade against a decision which exempted the rich from just taxation. Nearly all the States ratified the amendment which became a part of the Constitution shortly before BRYAN became Secretary of State. He was permitted to rejoice in after years by the enactment of comprehensive income-tax provisions, drawn by Hon. Cordell Hull, one of his successors in the State Department, as an integral part of the Underwood-Simmons tariff law enacted in the early days of the Wilson administration. If the name of the real author of the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution should be emblazoned on the proclamation in the State Department, it would bear the inscription: "Made by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN." It was BRYAN who had secured the necessary number of signers to instruct the Ways and Means Committee to incorporate taxation on incomes in the revenue bill of Cleveland's day when it was in the making. As a young student of law under the great Lyman Trumbull, pioneer for income and inheritance taxes, BRYAN had profited by the lessons in "radicalism", as such views were called in an era when to run counter to favoritism to the powerful was to invite harsh epithets. In an early argument for the income tax, BRYAN had said: "The poor man is called a socialist if he believes that the wealth of the rich should be divided among the poor, but the rich man is called a financier if he devises a plan by which the pittance of the poor can be converted to his own use."

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

When the purchase and sale of seats in the United States Senate had raised the issue of changing the method of electing Senators, it was BRYAN who took the laboring oar. For 18 years, in season and out of season, beginning in 1890 when he was elected to Congress from Nebraska, he had inveighed against a system which he believed lent itself to logrolling and corruption. He urged that Senators, like Members of the House of Representatives, be elected by direct vote of the people. In his first term in Congress he urged and voted for an amendment to the Constitution to effect that change and in 1900 embodied a plank demanding it in the Democratic platform and in subsequent platform declarations. To him, in view of his long fight to secure its ratification, it was a peculiar pleasure, shortly after becoming Secretary of State, to sign the proclamation declaring direct election of Senators by the vote of the people a part of the Constitution. If the name of the man to whom most credit is due for that victory should be inscribed on the seventeenth amendment, it would bear the lettering: "Made by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN."

When the country was aroused about the liquor traffic, it was BRYAN who threw himself with moral fervor into the thick of the fight in behalf of national prohibition. Up to 1912 he had opposed making it a national issue. His position then was that, without being able to secure the necessary constitutional amendment, pressing that issue would interfere with the economic reforms to which he was wedded. After those reforms had

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

been adopted, or were in process of adoption in the Wilson administration, BRYAN gave his active support to the eighteenth amendment. Its executive supporters, when victory came in 1920, wrote him: "During all the recent months leading up to the final battle, your voice has sounded the high notes of idealism in this fight for humanity, has inspired your friends to confidence and enthusiasm, and has sent the shock of alarm throughout the ranks of the liquor forces." He believed the permanence of prohibition largely depended upon its support by one or both of the great political parties. In the National Democratic Convention at San Francisco he urged the adoption of a dry plank. The ensuing debate on that plank, staged between Bourke Cochran and WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, was the high light of oratory in that convention. The majority elected not to take sides in what was then called "a moral issue", and BRYAN's plank was not adopted. At the close of the convention, when asked for an expression, BRYAN declined, saying: "My heart is in the grave with the dry plank and I must pause until it comes back to me."

When there was an organized and aggressive movement to extend equal suffrage to women, it found Mr. BRYAN one of its most earnest champions. His "mother argument", often quoted, closed with: "Because God planted in every human heart a sense of justice, and because the mother argument makes an irresistible appeal to this universal sense, it will finally batter down all opposition and open woman's pathway to the polls."

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

When, as it reached its crescendo in 1896, the use of money in politics became a national scandal, and men sought to purge elections so that offices would not be put up to the highest bidder, BRYAN offered what he thought would lessen the evil, at least in a measure, in the form of a law providing for publicity of campaign contributions. His proposition became a law. It should be labeled, "Made by WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN."

When "government by injunction" had routed the ordinary processes of trial by jury, it was BRYAN who joined hands with Gompers and others to curb the ex parte issue of the writ and secure the settlement of disputes by law and by arbitration. When labor felt that men who toil, as well as capital, should be represented in the Cabinet, it was BRYAN who joined with others in advocating an addition to Cabinet membership. He had the joy of being a colleague in the Wilson administration of Hon. William B. Wilson, the first man to serve as Secretary of Labor.

When rebates and high railroad rates caused the people to demand regulation of railroads, it was BRYAN who threw his weight for the needed legislation. When such regulation did not bring the results he had expected, BRYAN jeopardized his chance for election to the Presidency by advocating Government-ownership and Government-operation. He had come to the conclusion that regulation had failed to bring about the desired results in a day when neither his own nor any party would support that "revolutionary" position, as it was denominated.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

When international friendship demanded that Colombia be recompensed for the "taking" of Panama, BRYAN invited and received denunciation and the accusation that he had been guilty of "betraying the honor and interest of the American people by submitting to blackmail." Those were the words employed by Theodore Roosevelt in his vigorous arraignment of BRYAN's proposal to pay Colombia 25 million dollars, coupled with an expression of "sincere regret that anything should have occurred to interrupt or mar the relations of cordial friendship that had so long subsisted between the two nations." BRYAN lived to see the so-called "blackmail" paid in the administration of President Harding. There was no material alteration in the treaty he had favored. The change was that the words "sincere regret" were deleted. Colombia acquiesced in the variation because it regarded the payment of the money as admission of American offense by participation in the alienation of a part of its territory without so much as saying "by your leave."

When the ancient monarchy of China, reborn as a republic, was looking for a helping hand, it was BRYAN who opposed the sanctioning of the six-power loan. The attitude was thus expressed by President Wilson who said, such loans "might conceivably go to the length of forcible interference in the financial and even the political affairs of a great oriental state." That act was promptly followed by the recognition of the new Republic of China in the "confident hope and expectation that in perfecting a republican form of govern-

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

ment the Chinese will attain to the highest degree of development and well-being."

When near war with Japan brought lowering clouds over the Pacific in 1913, it was BRYAN who hastened to California in the hope of aiding in ameliorating the situation which had aroused our Japanese friends. Later in Washington an impasse seemed to have been reached. Closing an interview with the Secretary of State, the Japanese Ambassador rose with dignity and sadness to leave, saying: "I suppose, Mr. Secretary, that this is the last word."

The day was saved when Mr. BRYAN replied: "There is no last word between friends, Baron Chinda."

That reply, the product of the sort of diplomacy that comes from the heart and secures results, was the beginning of assuaging influences which caused statesmen to agree with BRYAN that it is the business of officials "not how to wage war but how not to get into war."

When the American people, with a long look ahead, envisioned the day when there would be need for another isthmian canal, it was BRYAN who negotiated the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which was ratified by the United States and Nicaragua. Its terms stipulated that the United States agreed to pay Nicaragua \$3,000,000 for the exclusive right "for the construction, operation, and maintenance of an interocean canal by way of the San Juan River and the great Lake of Nicaragua, or by way of any route over Nicaraguan territory." In addition to obtaining this canal route, BRYAN secured for the United States "a 99-year lease to the Great

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Corn Island and the Little Corn Island in the Caribbean Sea", and "a like lease to establish, operate, and maintain a naval base at such place upon the Gulf of Fonseca as the Government of the United States might select." The day may come—it will come as world commerce is sure to expand under enlightened trade arrangements by the nations—when the construction of the Nicaraguan canal will bring the long-cherished dream of John T. Morgan to fruition. Then we shall realize the statesmanship of Secretary BRYAN in securing a treaty, which will bless not only Nicaragua and the United States but all the nations of the earth as well.

When peace lovers, long before the holocaust that bled Europe white and took toll of the flower of the youth of many countries, were seeking to find a method to lessen the danger of war, or to end that scourge, it was BRYAN who drafted and urged a formula which was later approved by 30 nations. It became an integral part of the covenant of peace signed at Versailles. To be sure in every century since the Star shone over Bethlehem men of good will had sought some way that would lead to the outlawry of war. It remained for BRYAN as early as 1906 at the Inter Parliamentary Conference in London to introduce and secure the adoption of a resolution that would call for an investigation and give time for the marshaling of public opinion before a declaration of war. "If we but stay the hand of war until conscience can assert itself," BRYAN declared, "war will be made more remote." He saw the need of "cooling

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

time." In 1905 he had, in an open letter to Theodore Roosevelt, urged arbitration as a substitute for war. The compelling motive which induced BRYAN to accept the tender of the portfolio of Secretary of State in 1913 was that it provided the opportunity to obtain international peace agreements. He unfolded to the President-elect before his acceptance his ideas of the way to lessen the danger of war which had long been maturing in his mind.

In their passion for peace, as upon most public policies, the views of Wilson and BRYAN ran along together. BRYAN was the first American statesman to make an avowal that any workable peace program must embrace all disputes. Other plans had excepted from investigation or arbitration disputes involving "national honor." That exception was fatal, for it opened a door by which any nation could escape investigation by contending that "national honor" was involved. BRYAN insisted upon the inclusion of all questions. His treaties also provided that a year's time be given for investigation and report during which time neither party could declare war. The treaties embodying that provision, known as "the BRYAN talk-it-over plan" were ratified by 30 nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world, including all of large influence except Germany and Japan. Andrew Carnegie believed the BRYAN treaties would "result in the triumph of peace ninety-nine times out of a hundred." He hailed BRYAN as "a notable champion of peace" and "the foremost negotiator of international peace treaties."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

When Europe plunged into the abyss of war, it was BRYAN who supported with most enthusiasm Wilson's adherence to the doctrine of neutrality, and continued his support of the President until he became convinced that Wilson's policy might involve the United States in the World War. He insisted that the note sent to Germany should be counterbalanced by one or more accompanying acts. These suggested acts were thus stated by Mr. BRYAN: 1, A statement that the settlement of disputed issues would be deferred in accordance with the principle of the conciliation treaties; 2, a prohibition or warning against travel on belligerent ships carrying contraband; 3, an immediate note to Great Britain asking satisfaction on the matter of interference with American trade.

When President Wilson did not feel that he could accept these suggestions of his Secretary of State, Mr. BRYAN, on June 8, 1915, resigned from the Cabinet. In accepting it "with regret", President Wilson said: "We are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it." In Mrs. Bryan's diary she discloses that her husband was so disturbed and distressed as to his proper course that his sleep had become broken and she "saw something had to be done." The crucial week-end before his mind was fully made up was spent in the house of a friend, Senator Blair Lee, at Silver Spring. "More heavy-eyed than ever", Mrs. Bryan records, "Mr. BRYAN took two long walks." It was hoped they would so weary him physically that he could sleep, but nothing could compose Mr. BRYAN in his agony of spirit. He was passing through his Gethsemane. He was

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

torn between conflicting desire and duty. He loved the high station he held. Its associations and opportunities made it impossible for him to lay it down without a wrench. His hostility to war dominated him. Doubtless in his troubled hour of decision, the declaration of Tolstoy, beloved of BRYAN, was with him. Tolstoy long before had declared to BRYAN, in answer to an inquiry: "The use of force to protect or create a right is never defensible." These words, and BRYAN's declaration when he entered the Cabinet that there would never be a war while he was in office, were present in his thoughts as he tread the wine-press alone.

Never did a human come to a conclusion through more travail. When the conviction was borne in upon him that he "could do more to prevent war on the outside than inside", he felt impelled to make the greatest renunciation of his life. It was reached in a struggle beyond words to describe. "I must act in accordance with my conscience", he said to his Cabinet colleagues in a sad and tearful farewell as they sat at lunch as his guests. "As I leave the Cabinet, I go out in the dark, though I have many friends who would die for me. The President has the prestige and power on his side." Mr. BRYAN later compressed his convictions and his course in these words: "Because it is the duty of the patriot to support his government with all his heart in time of war, he has a right in time of peace to try to prevent war. I shall live up to a patriot's duty if war comes. Until that time I shall do what I can to save my country from its horrors." Obedient to these views, Mr. BRYAN "on the outside" spoke from coast to coast, with

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

all his passionate hatred of conflict at arms, against American entrance in the World War during the 21 months that intervened between his resignation and the declaration of war. Finally, when the die was cast, Mr. BRYAN, the saddest man in America, volunteered his service in any capacity in this telegram to the President: "The quickest way to peace is to go straight through supporting the Government in all its undertakings, no matter how long or how much it costs."

The armistice signed, BRYAN warmly supported President Wilson in urging the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the creation of the League of Nations, through which the organized nations of the earth undertook to guarantee permanent peace. He counseled the Senate to accept it as it was brought from Paris by President Wilson. To him this covenant of peace was the fulfillment of his long cherished hope to end wars. When it became clear to him, during the long drawn-out debate, that the Senate would not ratify the treaty without reservations, BRYAN declared "the important thing is ratification—ratification as soon as possible, ratification in time for the first League session on January 16, 1920." If the Senate demanded reservations as a condition precedent, he advised accepting them rather than to contemplate the ills which he thought would follow failure to ratify.

The militant fundamentalists, believing that the teaching of evolution in the schools and colleges was undermining faith in the Christian religion, organized to prevent such instruction. It was BRYAN who buckled on his armor and led in the

ADDRESS BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

conflict which he had much to do with initiating. He profoundly believed that Genesis gave the only true history of creation and that teaching anything not in harmony with the account recorded in "the inspired word of God" was subversive of religious faith and sound morals. He urged legislatures to make enactments against such teaching in schools and colleges supported in whole or in part by public taxation. The Legislature of Tennessee followed his advice and enacted a law to carry out his recommendation. BRYAN, with the flaming zeal of a crusader, responded with alacrity to the request that he take the leading part in the trial at Dayton to uphold the law. The result in the court was a victory for BRYAN and his associate counsel. The fate of the young teacher under indictment was lost sight of in the legal combat between BRYAN and Darrow. The verdict won, BRYAN spent his last busy hours on earth dictating, and correcting the proofs, of the speech with which he expected to close the case for the prosecution. The trial had terminated without argument. He felt his appearance at Dayton, coupled with the argument which he prepared with great care, was, to quote his own words, "the mountain peak of my life efforts." On Sunday morning, following the trial, he attended church where he offered prayer, and after lunch lay down to rest. While sleeping he passed peacefully into the world beyond the stars. Those who stood with him in this last conflict declared that BRYAN, "The Christian Crusader", literally fell on the field of battle, upholding the authority of the Word of God.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Fittingly the closing words of his finished address—the last lines he dictated in life—were from the old hymn which had been his strength and fortress in all the years of his life:

Faith of our fathers, living still,
In spite of dungeon, fire and sword;
O how our hearts beat high with joy
Whene'er we hear that glorious word.
Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
We will be true to thee 'till death.

ADDRESS BY HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

This memorial to WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, erected pursuant to authorization by a joint resolution of the Congress, I gladly accept on behalf of the United States.

Our Nation thus recognizes through its Government the essential qualities and the high service of a great American.

No selfish motive touched his public life; he held important office only as a sacred trust of honor from his country; and when he sought a mandate from his fellow citizens the soul of his inspiration was the furtherance of their interests, not his own, not of a group, but of all. No man of his time was or could have been more constantly in the limelight than he; yet we can look back and scan his record without being able to point to any instance where he took a position that did not accord with his conscience or his belief.

To Secretary BRYAN political courage was not a virtue to be sought or attained, for it was an inherent part of the man. He chose his path not to win acclaim but rather because that path appeared clear to him from his inmost beliefs. He did not have to dare to do what to him seemed right; he could not do otherwise.

It was my privilege to know WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN when I was a very young man. Years later both of us came to the Nation's capital to serve

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. Through this service and the intimate relations which ensued, I learned to know and to love him.

As we look back on those days—the many of us who are gathered here together who were his friends and associates in the Wilson administration—I think that we would choose the word “sincerity” as fitting him most of all. It was that sincerity which brought to him the millions of devoted followers; it was that sincerity which served him so well in his lifelong fight against sham and privilege and wrong. It was that sincerity which made him a force for good in his own generation and has kept alive many of the ancient faiths on which we are building today.

It was Mr. BRYAN who said:

I respect the aristocracy of learning. I deplore the plutocracy of wealth but I thank God for the democracy of the heart.

Many years ago he also said:

You may dispute over whether I have fought a good fight; you may dispute over whether I have finished my course; but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith.

We who are assembled here today to accept this memorial in the Capital of the Republic can well agree that he fought a good fight; that he finished his course and that he kept the faith.

BENEDICTION BY BISHOP JOHN W. HAMILTON
OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, be within you, among you, and remain with you forever and forever. Amen.

