

BAILEY'S BRILLIANT SPEECH ON BRYAN.

Continued From First Page.

contemporaneous with that of the Republic it was ordained to protect and nourish. It sprang from the great brain that the Declaration of Independence sprang from. It was founded by him who laid the enduring foundations of our Republic—Thomas Jefferson. It has withstood all the vicissitudes of our national fortune. It has endured defeat that would have scattered any other political party to the four winds; it has administered upon victories that would have intoxicated a less substantial organization. In victory and defeat, in peace and war, in prosperity and adversity, it has maintained its onward course; and today it stands forth more united, more numerous, more certain of its mission and more militant than at any hour since the great days when Andrew Jackson led it.

We can account for a fact like this in no ordinary philosophy. But we must account for it. Wherein is the element of persistence so forceful in the Democratic party? How do we explain its life in view of the passing of so many of its rivals? There is but one explanation. The Democratic party is not an opportunist party; it is not a party of expediency; it is not a party of leaders or organization. Its foundations lie deep. The Democratic party lives in great and immortal principles, which draw its life anew year from the hearts of the people. Its causes may vary, its leaders may change, but its foundation—Equal Rights to all, 8-hour privileges to none—will endure when the ideas and opportunist parties, as of abolition or of green-backs, or full dinner pails, are known no more in the earth forever. So long as men shall seek freedom, so long as equality shall move the hearts of men; so long as liberty is the lodestar of mankind; so long as the dream of self-government leads on the race; so long as God means that men shall learn to govern themselves, each in the interest of all, and all in the interest of each, so long may we rest assured of the truth of the words of the great Vance—"Democracy is immortal and cannot die."

Our Present Tasks

So much for the past, and so much for defeat. Our hearts now turn to the present, the future and victory. We have every reason to believe in the destiny of the Democratic party, and every obligation in a time like this to give of our best—in thought and devotion—to it.

We understand why the Democratic party was kept out of power the first thirty years following the great war. It was the logical consequence of that war and the assassination of Lincoln. But these forces have now for years been spent. How shall we account then, for our unbroken series of defeats since 1896? It would be no mystery if our policies had been rejected, but they have been largely adopted, as I have shown. I think I can account for this political paradox of the progress of a party's cause notwithstanding the party's defeat.

The body politic in our Republic has undergone a great transformation within the last thirty years, and as a consequence, we have had a new and difficult factor to deal with. Under the fostering care of the Republican party politics has become a commercial asset, and as a consequence in every campaign of late, we have heard nothing of the great principles of popular government, but much of full dinner pails, empty dinner pails, paucity and prosperity, wages and prices. The increased sensitiveness of the business element to the possible effects of political change—being no other than that same dread of change which is the foundation of thrones—has been the determining factor in American politics these last twenty years. Mark Hanna was the prophet of this order. It was he who raised the triumphant war-cry of the full dinner pail and by so doing crushed in defeat the Knight Errant of mankind, who spoke not of things as sordid but rather of the Crown of Thorns, the Cross of Gold and the Canoe of Man.

This transformation accounts for the extensive political confusion of the last sixteen years. It has required so long for the new factor in politics to work out its effects. It first frightened the people with the horror of change. It then misled the people—those who conceived of politics as a means of privilege—deceiving the people into thinking that the people's interest was identical with the interests of the privileged. But it remained for the recent campaign to clear the air. And the clearing away of this confusion is worth all it has cost. And as we stand today, the Republican party

in victory but pledged to and owned by these privileged interests and the Democratic party defeated, but purged of all taint of control by the classes in the interest of privilege, I say that the defeated are rather to be congratulated than the victorious.

The Democratic party never was and never will be inimical to business interests. Because it refused to sink our Republic to the interests of the privileged, because it declined to make politics a business asset, because it spurned those who would make merchandise of patriotism, because it was true to mankind rather than to any interests whatever, because it held fast to great principles rather than to time-serving policies, the privileged classes spread abroad the lie that it was dangerous, a menace, etc., and a fearing people believed it. But they will not always be deceived. The reckoning is now at hand. When it is asked, what shall the Democrats do now, I answer, let them bide their time against the hour when the Republican party proceeds to make good with the people and the privileged. Each has its promises. It has given hostages to each. With one or the other it must break faith, and in either alternative it will be impaled unto its utter undoing.

The last campaign will be notable in our American history because it has defined the issue about which vaguely now for years past and very clearly now for years to come the battle for the life of the American Republic must be fought. It is just a year since President Roosevelt in a message to Congress declared that the predatory classes are in our power; to own, control and run the government for their own private ends—regardless of rights, interests of justice and requirements of law. Who knows as well as he that we have been a change of his policy—our duty to us in his party? To whom do they contribute in 1904 and 1908? And who was apologizing for their contributions just three months ago?

This is the issue and the line of battle will be drawn about the tariff, about the financial system, about public service corporations, about monopolies, and fundamentally, about the control of prices, the control of taxes and the control of our political parties. It is the struggle for the people against the privileged—the predatory. The predatory are already in control. By means of the tariff the taxing power of our Republic is farmed out to them as surely as was that of Rome in the days of Matthew, the Publican.

The Democratic party comes on the scene in this hour like a ship cleared for action. Defeat and high endeavor have cleansed her of those who would have used her. She is the mighty free instrument ready afloat for the strong arm of the awakened giant. He will arouse, and he will strike, never fear. For the people will not suffer their government to be taken from them.

To such an end has our party been kept; and fit for such a mission has it been sent into the wilderness. Thank God it returns cleansed—"Fair as the moon, bright as the sun and more terrible than an army with banners!"

We have but to hold our organization to this high course, maintaining in its individual leadership, locally as well as nationally, and triumph is assured. My most emphatic word to my fellow Democrats at this time is this: Remember what service our party has performed; consider what a mission now awaits it; and put in command of it, locally and nationally, men worthy of so noble a fact and so high a destiny, and we cannot fail.

Our Watch and Word to Keep.

And yet in the face of such a history and such a destiny, Republican leaders, intoxicated with office, are telling us that the Democratic party has played out, and they have actually invaded the precincts of the South made sacred by the immortal record of restoration under Democratic guidance, and are inviting Southern men to throw principles and gratitude to the winds and join their army of the privileged, whose highest thought is of the swollen pocket-book and whose war-cry is the full dinner pail. I tell you they have reckoned for once without their host. They conspired to make us Republican by force called Reconstruction. We overthrew them and drove them forth. They threatened us with reduction of our representation. We defied them. They allured us with promises of office, and we spurned them. They come now and with soothing words seek to seduce us with power and privilege. For their condescension we return contempt. We will not be patronized by anybody, certainly not by Republicans. For their promises of privilege we left on high the ancient number of our principles—Equal Rights to all, Special Privileges to none—we throw the gauntlet at their feet and challenge them to a battle for the life of the Republic and the welfare of mankind. It is most remarkable, this dis-

closure of the Republican attitude towards the South. Mr. Taft's declaration both prior to and since his election that the South is not a part of the Union and that it must break in the interest of the Republican party before it can be so regarded is amusing if not insulting. We are not glad at any rate to have him so flatly confirm what we have suspected—that Republicans do not regard the South as in the Union.

Join the Republican party and become a part of the Union! Is not that a refreshing piece of political wisdom from a President-elect? I have not known such political conceit since that of Louis who said of France, "I am the State!"

This comes with little grace from the Republican party—that party which destroyed the South fifty years ago in an effort to make it first Republican rather than a part of the Union; that party which here confesses that it has never regarded the South as a part of the Union. If Mr. Taft wishes to win the South, I invite him not to invite the South to become Republican, but first to treat the South as if it were a part of the Union.

With poor grace, I say, this invitation comes to us who have now for the length of a generation borne allegiance to the Union with stout hearts and strong hands; to us who but recently sealed our devotion to Carbon and Sulphur and Hyson.

But the spirit of the President's election promises, and strictly will be the spirit of the Republican party, that we should not only stand by the Union, but that we should stand by the Union with stout hearts and strong hands; to us who but recently sealed our devotion to Carbon and Sulphur and Hyson.

It is not strange, sir, that we are stronger Democrats than any others; we could not be otherwise. And we rejoice that it has been given to us to keep the Democratic party in the days of defeat. We look forward to a better day. We hold forth the promise that the South and the Democratic party shall soon return to their places of power in the United States.

We have been in a strange land, we have been in our father's house; we have hung our harps on the willow tree and wept for Israel's captivity; but we have not bowed the knee; we have not been patronized; we have not feared. We have been true. And by the Eternal God we will not falter now. We have our watch and word to keep. We will keep the Democratic party as it has kept us, and we will keep the faith against the swift approaching hour when our Republic weary of the policies of privilege, turn again to find the light that led its founders in glory.

I know, sir, my speech is over long, I crave now only the opportunity to conclude.

The Coming Day.

In my view then, Mr. President, it was necessary that we should make this fight, and it matters not that we have met with defeat! It was a fight in a warfare the result of which is as assured as is the destiny of our race to him that believes in the overruling righteousness of God. And so having fought well, we have nothing to regret. Let us then, rather, instead of repining, fight on. Let us now forward to that sure day when the banners of Democracy shall triumph in our great country. In that day, and heaven grant it shall soon come, we shall see once more our nation administered by Democrats, and in the interest of mankind and not of privilege. Our future now is but the sign by which we shall yet build the perfect Ship of State. By which we shall set up upon these shores a government less pure for our opinion and grant, to intelligence, for dialogue and interpretation, too just for

privilege and favors—a veritable Democracy led on to the Land of our Promise by the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night—that pillar being no less than the pillar of a righteous God's care for mankind.

I look for such a day and that not far off. And I look for the South to nurture the Democratic party for the coming of that day. When we remember that the Guardian Angel of the South in her darkest hours; and that it was the Democratic party that took the South by the hand in the hour of desolation and lifted her up and set her again in the house of her fathers. When we remember these forty years—well may we paraphrase the adjuration of the faithful Hebrew, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!"

In the face of such facts the threats of Crumpacker, the seductions of Charles Francis Adams and the condescensions of Roosevelt and Taft become worthy of the dust under our feet.

Yes, sir, the South will be faithful to the Democracy! And in the not far future we shall see that their destiny has been linked to no less a purpose than the deliverance of our Republic.

As a necessary step in progress in this event I must commend for the vote of this college and for defeat in this year of the coming of our Republic these worthy students of the University of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C., who are now in the city of Washington, D. C., for the purpose of attending the National Convention of the Democratic Party, to be held in New York City, N. Y., on the 15th of August, 1908.

I am, sir, a true friend of the South, and I am a true friend of the Democracy. I am a true friend of the Union, and I am a true friend of the Republic. I am a true friend of the people, and I am a true friend of the Nation. I am a true friend of the South, and I am a true friend of the Democracy. I am a true friend of the Union, and I am a true friend of the Republic. I am a true friend of the people, and I am a true friend of the Nation.

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