GREAT SPEECH.

THAT WON THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION

Income Tax, Op... Right of the Government ... Currency, and the Spoils System ... Located as the Main Tenets of the Democratic Creed.

CHICAGO, July 10.—The text of ... of William J. Bryan, of ..., which nearly stampeded the Democratic convention and won for the "Boy orator of the Platt" the Presidential nomination today, is as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened, if this were but a measuring of ability, but this is not a contest among persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when armored in a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error that they can bring. I come to speak to you in defense of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty—the cause of humanity. (Loud applause.) When this debate is concluded a motion will be made to lay upon the table the resolution offered in commendation of the administration, and also the resolution in condemnation of the administration. I shall object to bringing this question to a level of persons. The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but principles are eternal, and this has been a contest of principle. Never before in the history of this country has there been witnessed such a contest as that through which we have passed. Never before in the history of American politics has a great issue been fought out, as this issue has been, by the voters themselves.

On the 4th of March, 1895, a few Democrats, most of them members of Congress, issued an address to the Democrats of the nation, asserting that the money question was the paramount issue of the hour; asserting also the right of allowing the Democratic party to control the position of the party on this issue, concluding with the request that all believers in free coinage of silver in the Democratic party should take charge of and control the policy of the Democratic party. Three months later, at Memphis, an organization was perfected, and the silver Democrats went forth openly and boldly and courageously proclaiming their belief, and declaring that if successful they would crystalize in a platform the declaration which they had made; and then began the conflict with a zeal approaching the zeal which inspired the crusaders who followed Peter the Hermit. Our silver Democrats went forth from victory, until they are assembled now, not to discuss, not to debate, but to enter up the judgment rendered by them to the people of this country. (Applause.)

BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER.

In this contest brother has been arrayed against brother, and father against son. The warmest ties of love and acquaintance and association have been disregarded. Old leaders have been cast aside when they refused to give expression to the sentiments of those whom they would lead, and new leaders have sprung up to give direction to this cause of truth. (Cheers.)

Thus has the contest been waged, and we have assembled here under as binding and solemn instructions as were ever fastened upon the representatives of a people.

We do not come as individuals. Why, as individuals, we might have been glad to compliment the gentleman from New York (Hill), but we know that the people for whom we speak would never be willing to put him in a position where he could thwart the will of the Democratic party. (Cheers.) I say it was not a question of persons; it is a question of principles, and it is not with gladness, my friends, that we find ourselves brought into conflict with those who are now arrayed on the other side. The gentleman who just preceeded me (Gov. Russell) spoke of the old State of Massachusetts. Let me assure him that not one person in all this convention entertains the least hostiliiy to the people of the State of Massachusetts. But we stand here representing people who are the equals before the law of the largest citizen in the State of Massachusetts. (Applause.) When you come before us and tell us that we shall disturb your business interests we reply that you have disturbed our business interests by your course. (Great applause and cheering.) We say to you that you have made too limited in its application the definition of business men. The men who plough the fields or descend a thousand feet into the mine are as much business men as he who sits in a backroom and corners gold.

We come to speak for this broader class of business men. Ah, my friends, we say not one word against those who live upon the Atlantic coast; but those hardy pioneers who braved all dangers of the wilderness, who have made the desert to blossom as the rose—those pioneers away out there, rearing their children near to nature's heart. ... their voices ... the hills—out there where they have erected schoolhouses for the education of their young, and churches where they praise their Creator, and cemeteries where sleep the ashes of their dead—are as deserving of the consideration of this party as any people in this county. (Great applause.)

PETITIONS HAVE BEEN SCORNED.

We have petitioned, and our petitions have been scorned. We have entreated, and our petitions have been disregarded, and they have mocked, and our calamity came. We beg no longer; we entreat no more; we petition no more. We defy them. (Great applause and confusion in the silver delegations.)

The gentleman of Wisconsin has said that he feared a Robespierre. My friends in this land of the free, we need fear no tyrant who will spring up among the people. What we need is an Andrew Jackson to stand as Jackson stood, against the encroachment of aggrandizing wealth. (Great applause.) They tell us that the platform was made to catch. We reply to them, changing conditions make new issues; that the principles upon which rest Democracy are as everlasting as the hills, but they must be applied to new conditions as they arise.

Conditions have arisen and we are attempting to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here—it is a new idea. They criticise us for the criticism of the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends we have not criticised. We have simply called attention to what you know. If you want criticism, read the dissenting opinion of the court. That will give you criticism. (Applause.) They say we passed an unconstitutional law. The income tax was constitutional when it was passed. It was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time. It did not become unconstitutional until one Judge changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a Judge shall change his mind. (Applause and a voice "Hit 'em again.") The income tax is a just law. It simply intends to put the burden of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. (Applause.)

When I find a man who is not willing to pay his share of the burden of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours. (Applause.) He says that we are opposing the national bank currency. It is true. If you will read what Thomas Benton said you will find that he said in searching history he could find but one parallel to Andrew Jackson. That was Cicero, who destroyed the conspiracy of Cataline and saved Rome. He did for Rome what Jackson did when he destroyed the bank conspiracy and saved America. (Applause.)

THE RIGHT TO ISSUE MONEY.

We say in our platform that we believe the right to coin money and issue money is a function of the government. We believe it. We believe it is a part of sovereignty, and can no more with safety be delegated to private individuals than we could afford to delegate to private individuals the power to make penal statutes or levy laws for taxation. (Applause.) Mr. Jefferson, who was once regarded as good Democratic authority, seems to have a different opinion from the gentlemen who have addressed us on the part of the minority. Those who are opposed to the proposition tell us that the issue of paper money is a function of the bank, and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. I stand with Jefferson rather than with them, and tell them as he did, that the issue of money is a function of the government, and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business.

They complain about that plank which declares against the life tenure. They have tried to strain it to mean that what it does not mean. What we oppose in that plank is the life tenure that is being built up at Washington, which excludes from party representation in the benefits, the humbler members of our society. I cannot dwell longer in my limited time (cries of "Go on; go on." Let me call attention to two or three great things. The gentleman from New York says that he will propose an amendment providing that this change in our law shall not affect contracts already made. Let me remind him there is no intention of affecting these contracts, which, according to the present laws, are made payable in gold. But if he means to say that we cannot change our monetary system without protecting those who have loaned money before the change was made, I want to ask him where, in law or in morals, he can find authority for not protecting the debtors when the act of 1873 was passed, but now insists we must protect the creditor.

He says, also he wants to amend this law, and provide that if we fail to ... within a year that we will then suspend the coinage of silver. We reply that when we advocate a thing which we believe will be successful, we are not compelled to raise a doubt as to our own sincerity by trying to show what we will do if we can. I ask him if he will apply his logic to us, why he does not apply it to himself. He says that he wants this country to try to secure an international agreement. Why does not he tell us what he is going to do if they fail to secure an international agreement?

There is more reason for him to do that than for us to fail to maintain the party. They have tried for thirty years to secure an international agreement, and they are waiting for it most impatiently, and don't want it at all. (Cheers and laughter long continued.)

MONEY THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

Now, my friends, let me come to the great paramount issue. If they ask us here why it is that we say more on the money question than we say upon the tariff question, I reply that if protection has slain its thousands, the gold standard has slain its tens of thousands. If they ask us why we did not embody all these things in our platform, which we believe, we reply to them that when we have restored the money of the Constitution, all other necessary reforms will be possible, and that until that is done there is no reform that can be accomplished. (Cheers.) Why is it that within three months such a change has come over the sentiments of this country? Three months ago, when it was confidently asserted that those who believed in the gold standard would frame our platform and nominate our candidate, even the advocates of the gold standard did not think that we could elect a President; but they had good reason for the suspicion, because there is scarcely a State here to day asking for the gold standard that is not within the absolute control of the Republican party. (Loud cheering.)

But note the change. McKinley was nominated at St. Louis upon a platform that declared for the maintenance of the gold standard until it should be changed into bimetallism by an international agreement. Mr. McKinley was the most popular man among the Republican party, and everybody three months ago in the Republican party prophesied his election. How is it to-day? Why, that man who used to boast that he looked like Napoleon (laughter and cheers)—that man shudders to day when he thinks that he was nominated on the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. (Tremendous demonstration.)

Not only that, but as he listens, he can hear with ever increasing distinctness the sound of the waves as they beat upon the lonely shores of St. Helena. (Cheers.) Why this change? Ah, my friends, it is evident to every one who will look at the matter. It is no private character, however pure; personal popularity, however great, that can protect from the avenging wrath of an indignant people the man who will neither declare that he is in favor of foisting the gold standard upon this people nor who is willing to surrender the right of self-government and place legislative control in the hands of foreign potentates and powers. (Cheers.)

DARE NOT CHALLENGE BATTLE.

We go forth confident that we shall win. Why? Because upon the paramount issue in this campaign there is not a spot of ground upon which the enemy will dare to challenge battle. Why, if they tell us that the gold standard is a good thing, we point to their platform, and tell them that their platform pledges the party to get rid of a gold standard and substitute bimetallism. (Applause.) If the gold standard is a good thing, why try to get rid of it. (Laughter and continued applause.) If the gold standard, and I might call your attention to the fact that some of the very people who are in this convention to day, and who tell you that we ought to declare in favor of international bimetallism, and thereby declare that the gold standard is wrong, and that the principle of bimetallism, these very people four months ago were open and avowed advocates of the gold standard, and were telling us that we could not legislate two metals together with all the world. I want to suggest this truth, that if the gold standard is a good thing, we ought to declare in favor of its retention and not in favor of abandoning it; and if the gold standard is a bad thing, why should we wait until some other nations are willing to help us to let go. (Applause.)

Here is the line battle. We care not upon which issue they force the fight. We are prepared to meet them on either issue or on both. If they tell us that the gold standard is the standard of civilization, we reply to them that this, the most enlightened of all the nations of the earth, has never declared for a gold standard, and both the parties this year are declaring against it. (Applause.) If the gold standard is the standard of civilization, why, my friends, should we not have it?

So if they come to meet us on that we can present the history of our nation. More than that, we can tell them this, that they will search the pages of history in vain to find a single instance in which the common people of any land have ever declared themselves in favor of a gold standard. (Applause.) They can find where the holders of fixed investments have. Mr Carlisle said in 1878 that this was a struggle between the idle holders of idle capital and the struggling masses who produce the wealth and pay the taxes of the country; and my friends, it is simply a question that we shall decide upon which side shall the Democratic party fight. Upon the side of the idle holders of the idle capital, or upon the side of the struggling masses? That is the question that the party must answer first, and then it it must be answered by each individual hereafter. The sympathies of the Democratic party, as described by the platform, are on the side of the struggling masses, who have ever been the foundation of the Democratic party. (Applause.)

TWO IDEAS OF GOVERNMENT.

There are two ideas of government. There are those who believe that if you just legislate to make the well to do prosperous, that their prosperity will leak through on those below. The Democratic ideas have been that if you legislate to make the masses prosperous their prosperity will find its way up and through every class, and rest upon it. (Applause.)

You come to us and tell us that the great cities are in favor of the gold standard. I tell you that the great cities rest upon these broad and fertile prairies. Burn down your cities and leave our farms, and your cities will spring up again as if by magic. But, destroy our farms, and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in this country. (Loud applause.)

My friends, we shall declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth. (Applause.) And upon that issue we expect to carry every single State in the Union. (Applause.) I shall not slander the fair State of Massachusetts, nor the State of New York, by saying that when its citizens are confronted with the proposition, Is this nation able to attend to its own business? I will not slander either one by saying that the people of those States will declare our helpless impotency as a nation to attend to our own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again, when our ancestors, three millions, had the courage to declare for their political independence of every other nation upon earth. Shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to 70,000,000, declare that we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends; it will never be the judgment of the people.

Therefore, we care not upon what lines the battle is fought. If they say bimetallism is good, but we cannot have it till some nation helps, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we shall restore bimetallism, and then let England have bimetallism because the United States has. (Applause.) If they dare to come out and in the open defend the gold standard as a good thing, we shall fight them to the uttermost, having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world. Having behind us the commercial interests and the laboring interests, and all the toiling masses, we shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not place upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold. (Great applause.)

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