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DEMOCRACY'S APPEAL TO CULTURE.

Portions of the speech of Mr. Bryan before the Alumni Association of Syracuse University, delivered at Hotel Astor, New York, January 27. 1905, as printed in The Commoner of February 17.

I speak of democracy, not in the party sense, but in that broader sense in which democracy means the rule of the people. In every country, according to Jefferson, there is a democratic party; I care not what they may call it; it is a party that draws to itself those who believe in the people and trust the people. In this country, I am glad to say, there is no party large enough to contain all of the democratic spirit—we find its manifestations in all parties—in fact there never has been a crisis where this democratic spirit was appealed to, but what we have found that that spirit was too large to be condensed within the limits of any party. But I want to speak of democracy in even a larger way, and that is as the term describes —the people at work—the common people, if you will.

And when I say "the common people." let no one think that I use the term as a term of reproach. The highest compliment ever paid to any class of people, was paid to the common people—for, does not the Bible say, when Christ was upon earth and preaching His doctrines of brotherly love—does not the Bible say that the common people heard Him gladly? What other class has ever been so dignifiedT so honored? Lincoln said that God must have loved the common people, because He made so many of them. The common people are very numerous, and the uncommon people are not nearly so important as they sometimes think they are. The common people of a nation are Itsstrength; they produce the nation's wealth in time of peace; they are the ones who stand ready to sacrifice themselves for their country in tima of war. The common people furnish the students for your colleges. From the ranks of the common people, too. all the occupations and professions of the city are recruited.

I want to speak, just for a little while, of the appeal that the people make to culture. Let me suggest that this word "culture" has too limited a definition. Sometimes we speak of culture as if it involved only refinement of manners and the training of the intellect. I want to speak of that broader culture which may be defined as the enlargement of man's capacity for service, accompanied by a willingness to employ that capacity to the full. It is a fault of the cultured people of this age. and of every age. that they have not lived up to their opportunities. And lest you should think that

this is a Western criticism let me read you what a great Eastern orator once said. Wendell Phillips cannot be accused of being a Western man; he lived even farther-east than you in New York; he lived in the very center of culture, in Boston, and in his address entitled: "The Scholar in a Republic," he said:

Almost all the great truths relating to society were not the result of scholarly meditation, "hiving up wisdom with each curious year," but have been first heard in the solemn protest of martyred patriotism and the loud cries of crushed-and starving labor. When common sense and the common people have stereotyped a principle into a statute, then book men come to explain how it was discovered and on -what ground it rests. The world makes history, and the scholars write it—one-half truly and the other half as their prejudices blur and distort it. „

Now, this is the 'opinion of a great Eastern orator in regard to the product of the schools, and what he says is only -too true. The scholar does not do his duty to the people to-day; he has not done his duty to the people in the past. «*•»»*»

I suppose that the greatest indictment against the cultured is not that they do wrong knowingly, either directly or remotely—it is not that they have a contempt for the rights of the masses—it is not that they distrust them—that is not the greatest or the severest indictment that can be brought against them; I believe that the severest indictment today is that they stand idle in the vineyard and do not employ in helpful service the power that they possess. There never was a day when service was more needed than to-day.

If I had my choice of all the ages of the world in which to live, I would rather live to-day. No age in the past has furnished the opportunity for usefulness that this age does. A man who desires to use a thorough education for a great purpose has a larger opportunity today than anyone before him ever had". The manner in which the news is today conveyed from one quarter of the world to the other makes it possible for good to be multiplied more rapidly than ever before. The electric current and the printing press — these have brought all parts of the earth close together, and what is done well anywhere is soon known everywhere. And yet today many of the educated people of this country seem indifferent in the presence of the greatest problems that «ver pressed upon this country for solution. It ought not to be so.

And why is it so? I believe it is because our colleges have relatively given too much attention to the mind, and not enough attention to the heart. It is because they do not

understand that a man simply equipped with a great mind, without a noble purpose behind it, goes forth an injury to society, rather than a blessing. It were better that our institutions of learning were closed; it were better that our boys and girls were unable to read and write than that they should be sent forth with the idea that their greatness is to be measured by the amount of money they can quickly accumulate, regardless of the means by which they gathered it together. The Syracuse University is a Christian institution, and I believe to-day that we need to have the fundamental principles of Christianity impressed upon those who are going out as our educated and cultured men and women.

The Bible definition of greatness is the only true one, and that is service. When they inquired of the Master who would be chiefest among the disciples, He replied: "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." That is the definition of greatness; it always has been true, it is true today, it always will be true, that he is greatest who does the most of good.

Are our cultured people aiming at this kind of greatness? Are they devoting themselves to great causes? Some of them travel abroad—do they bring home suggestions to make our own government better? Some of them travel over this country, and come into contact with people of all sections, but what are they doing to bring the classes of society together and to solve the great question that we must meet—the question between the rich and the poor?

I have sometimes been accused of arraying class against class. The man who accuses me of it has never read what I said. I have never intentionally—and I think I can even say I never have unintentionally—said anything that could be properly construed as an attempt to array class against class. I have read many descriptions of Heaven, but I have never yet read a description of Heaven where there were two—one for the rich and one for the poor. If the rich and poor must live together forever in one Heaven hereafter, cannot we do something towards getting them acquainted here, so that they will not have to be introduced, when they reach the other side?

What are we doing to solve this question? I believe that Tolstoy is right when he says that the great trouble today—a trouble that manifests itself in all these questions — is the lack of sympathy between man and man. Lack of sympathy; and for 29 years, clad in the garb of a peasant, and living the simple life of a peasant, he has been preaching out unto all the world a philosophy that rests upon the doctrine: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself."

The scholar must be something more than a mental machine; he must be something more than an expert calculator; he must be something more than a shrewd and successful business man. I think sometimes we are inclined to bestow upon a cultured man the admiration that we bestow upon a statue. The sculptor takes a flawless piece of marble, and after awhile he makes it stand forth in human form. Sometimes it surpasses in grace anyone in life; sometimes, in beauty, it goes beyond anything that we can expect to see, and yet it is but stone. The foot can run upon no errand of mercy—the hand cannot be stretched forth to one in distress, and there is within it no conscience to direct. There is an infinite space between the most perfect statue and a human being, aflame with what the poet has described as "the passion of eternity." Man is the miracle of miracles. What unfathomed possibilities are wrapped within the swaddling clothes that enfold an infant! Who can measure its influence for weal or woe? Before it can lisp a word, it has brought to one woman the sweet consciousness of motherhood, and it has given to one man that added strength that comes with a sense of responsibility. Before its tiny hands can lift a feather's weight, they have drawn two hearts closer together, and its innocent prattle echoes through two lives. Every day that child in its growth touches and changes some one; not a year in all its history but that it leaves an impress upon the race. Its smiles, its tears, its joys, its sorrows—all are garnered up, and when that child reaches the age of 14 or 15 the parents send it to school; they trust this priceless creature to the care of teachers. What do you do with it? How do you deal with it? Train it in the sciences? Train it in the languages? It is not sufficient that the child shall know how old the earth is, how far the stars are apart, or the forces that attract or repel each other. There is something more important to that child than any or all of these—it is to know how to live, and how can that child know how to live unless it knows that it is linked by indissoluble ties to every other human being?

Great is the responsibility of the college! The college ought to send forth, not simply scholars, but men and women prepared to do a great work. If a man standing upon an eminence sees danger afar, you condemn him if he does not warn those in the valley of the danger's approach. Are the scholars of this land, standing upon eminences, watching and warning their fellows? I fear that too many of them are satisfied to simply enjoy life—satisfied simply to accumulate, regarding their education as a private possession that they can use as they please. I must learn again my religion—whether it be Methodist or Presbyterian, or taught in any other church—before I can accept this doctrine in regard to man.

I am here to-night, a stranger to most of you; few of you have I ever seen before. I, like you, am a private citizen —like you, I am interested in society's welfare and development. I came from a little college, one of the little colleges of Illinois, with only a hundred or so of students. You represent a great university. I am glad to have these colleges, large and small. The large college furnishes some advantages that the small college cannot give; the small college furnishes some advantages that the large college cannot give; but, my friends, whether we come from large colleges or from small colleges, we come with the same measure of responsibility. God requires much of those to whom He gives much, and if our education has made us stronger, we hold that strength as trustees for those who are weaker. If our shoulders are broader, we must put those shoulders under heavier loads. The culture of this country is not doing its duty to-day.

But if I speak thus in a tone that might seem the tone of discouragement, let me tell you that I am not at all pessimistic. I think I can see evidence of it; the tide which has been running in favor of great combinations of wealth that have sometimes overstepped the bounds is beginning to turn. Sometimes good men and good women, holding stock in lawless enterprises, have not understood their own responsibility of their partnership in the wrong doing. We have heard men crying out against the little gambling house run on an alley, while they have been silent in regard to the great gambling houses that are run in your market places. We have been too much in the habit of finding fault with the fellow who sells his vote for five dollars, and overlooking the man who puts up \$5,000 or \$50,000 to buy the votes of a thousand or ten thousand men at five dollars apiece!

I think I see signs of an awakening, not in my party alone, but in the Republican party as well. I was in Indiana the other day, and I found that the retiring governor in his message had called attention to the corruption in his State. The incoming Democratic governor of Colorado did the same. The president is leading a forward movement, and the magazines are exposing the schemes and methods of those who prey upon society. I find here and there indications of awakening of the civic conscience, and I believe the time is coming when the cultured people of this country will arouse to their duty, and throw their mighty influence upon the side of pure government and more just conditions.

It is because I am anxious that that time shall come, that I am here to meet the representatives of this great institution and to bring this message. I do not address myself primarily to your heads, for it is a poor head that cannot find a reason for doing

what the heart wants to do. I desire rather to speak to your hearts. The Bible says; "As a man thinketh in his heart, so he is." I want you to ask yourselves whether there is any other measure of your responsibility and mine, than the measure which we find in Holy Writ— a measure which makes us not only serve, but serve to the extent that we have power and opportunity.