

CATO SELLS' ADDRESS.

Before the Democratic State Convention August 15, 1899.

The following address was delivered before the democratic state convention by the temporary chairman, Hon. Cato Sells, of Vinton:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I appreciate the honor conferred upon me by the state committee and congratulate you, gentlemen of the convention, upon this auspicious gathering of Iowa's democracy. This convention is the best evidence of the reason why the republican press of the state has for several months given much attention to my speech and your deliberations, and I very much mistake your purpose if you do not give them abundant reason for even greater interest in the future than we have given them in the past.

The fact that I held a federal position under the Cleveland administration and have not recently given public expression to my views, is probably the reason why I have been frequently, and sometimes very wrongly, misrepresented, and for that reason more especially am I glad of this opportunity.

The original line of demarcation between the two great political parties was so plainly drawn that there can be no misunderstanding as to the cause of their formation or the purpose of their existence. The federalist, which, no nothing and republican parties were conceived by, and have always served the purpose of an Anglo-American aristocracy, while the democratic party was originated by the author of the declaration of independence, and represents the real genius of American institutions.

The republican party is the legitimate outgrowth of paternalism in government, and is responsible for both class legislation and anarchy, while democracy constitutes the essence of government of the people, by the people and for the people, in which an absolute acquiescence in the rule of the majority is the vital principle from which there is no appeal but to force, the immediate parent of despotism. Democracy is the only hope of Washington's and Jefferson's wise and successful foreign policy—peace, honor and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none—and for the enlargement and enforcement of the Monroe doctrine until it is established and recognized by all nations.

The Democratic party is the return to the simplicity of the fathers of the republic, and the dethronement of everybody and everything which would put the dollar above the man. It means that no American politics when no man can truly represent democracy who will not subordinate personal ambitions and acquisitions to the public weal, and who has not the moral courage to burn his bridges behind him, and to enter into the open to join the crusade against the voracious tendencies of the times.

I take it that no one will seriously question that the republican party has closely adhered to the principles of Alexander Hamilton, and, as a result, as it may be, that the democratic party has not at all times been faithful to the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, and I am one of those who believe that the campaign of 1896 has brought the democracy to realization of its departure from the inspired teaching of an inviolable patriotic citizenship.

Like a decision of a court of last resort, the platform of the national convention is the law of the party until superseded by another platform framed by the same authority, and controversy here as to the platform of the Chicago platform would be both unwise and inopportune.

Just what the democratic national platform of 1896 will contain I do not know, but I firmly believe that it will be along the lines of the last platform with such an indictment of the McKinley regime for its maladministration, class preferment and unconstitutional conduct as to insure the support of every citizen who has been, is now, or wants to be, a republican democrat. And I sincerely hope that the democratic convention will subject itself to a "Round Robin" charge of censorship, but that all will be respected in the expression of, and contention for, an honest conviction that when the national convention has again spoken, the will of the majority will be acquiesced in by a reunited and irresistible democratic party, and thus make certain the supremacy and consequent prosperity of a free, home-loving, law-abiding, home-building and industrious masses over the snob favored classes who, for selfish purposes, advocate or tolerate the prostitution of the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the government, the federal constitution, Monroe doctrine and Declaration of Independence.

It is one of the highest attributes of American citizenship, as it is one of the fundamental principles of our party, that every citizen shall at all times, and under all circumstances, be fully protected in the exercise of his sovereignty, and while we regret it, there is absolutely no justification for condemnation of those who, because of a sense of duty, left our ranks in 1896, and I am certain that I voice the prevailing feeling of the regular democracy when I earnestly invite them back to their democratic home; but to those who, with malice aforethought, either directly or indirectly, helped to make republican supremacy possible, because they thought and still think that party more serviceable to their personal ends, I say there is but one republican party in this country and the democratic party cannot, and "by the eternal," shall not serve their selfish purposes.

ed after appointing a congressional committee to which they referred all monetary legislation that they might the more certainly postpone definite action until after the next presidential election.

The republican party came into power less than thirty months ago with a pledge of superior love of country emblazoned on the stars and stripes as a campaign banner, in honor bound to demonstrate that a political party could be as non-partisan and patriotic in the administration of the affairs of the government at Washington as were those who departed from the paths of a life time to make McKinley's election possible and now with a party record unparalleled in our national history, these self-same republican malcontents have the unblinking audacity to seek partisan advantage by affecting to denounce, discredit and deceive the three so-called elements of the democratic party.

President McKinley is either politically dishonest or absolutely weak and the preference of the people nearly establishes the latter. Of the two, it is more dangerous because it lacks the element of self-preservation which always inures caution. The comparative efficiency of the civil service had so far demonstrated the usefulness of the merit system as to be a matter of universal congratulation, when its debauchery was made manifest by the promulgation of the president's order withdrawing some 10,000 official positions from the classified list. And this from the party which in its St. Louis platform boasted that it was the author of the merit law, had always sustained it and then "renewed" its "repeated declarations" that the "law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended," and whose candidate for the presidency, in his letter of acceptance said "the republican party will take no backward step on this question, it will seek to improve but never to degrade the public service."

"What has occurred since the election?" says the Chicago Times-Herald, "to change the attitude of the republican administration from one of progress and extension to that of retrogression and contraction in the scope of the merit system?" Nor have spoilsmen been confined to the department at Washington, for they have thrust their grimy hands into the army and navy at the cost of disease, death, scandal and national disgrace. After three years of Algerism, during which self justification has been the price of promotion or promotion, and retirement or dismissal the reward of merit, the secretary of war is forced to resign and made a scapegoat for the commander-in-chief of the army, while Gen. Miles is continued in "innocuous detachment," and Commissioner Egan retains his shoulder and draws full pay. Capt. Neill is dismissed from the army in disgrace for a \$4,000 shortage, made good, while the department of justice has for eighteen months given no excuse for permitting Capt. Carter to retain his rank and pay after being found guilty of embezzlement of more than a million dollars. The Nicaragua Canal bill was killed to prevent competition with the trans-continental railroads and the railway companies given \$40,000,000 a year for \$20,000,000 worth of work in carrying the United States mail. The Dingley tariff has been so prolific of evil as to give birth to twin monstrosities. In a single year it has produced more trusts than a hundred years of our previous national life and a government deficit of \$90,000,000, by far the largest in the history of the country.

Proclaiming as they frequently have that no political revolution can so far restore the democratic party to power as to make free coinage of silver legislation possible before 1900, they for some time been apparent to every reader of republican newspapers, both in and out of Iowa, that they have with great premeditation been industriously preparing to make a noisy and vigorous attack upon bimetallicism with the evident intention of subordinating the new issues created and forced upon the people by the McKinley administration, and the Iowa platform has completely exposed their hand in this state by attempting to make prominent the question alone, taking a double position on the tariff question and saving practically nothing about trusts, expansions, militarism and other issues in which the people are just now largely interested. It is a well conceived and carefully matured plan to divert public attention away from the real aims of the republican leaders but it will fall of its own weight. Bimetallicism is as much a fundamental principle of democracy as equality of rights, and this convention would betray the party should it fail to declare for the reinstatement of silver to its legitimate place in the nation's monetary system. But the McKinley administration has developed conditions and issues which were they become central would forever overthrow all democratic principles and make it of but little importance what kind of a monetary system prevails in the country. The very fact that the republicans are determined, if possible, to smother the question of protection, trusts, imperialism, militarism, foreign alliance and kindred issues, is a sufficient reason why the democracy should not permit them to hide these burning questions. Our republican friends will have ample opportunity with the cry of "cheer the army" and "debauched currency" to attempt to make silver a "boggy man," but they will never again be able to deceive the people as they did in 1896. They are up to other issues, as well as the money question, and will have to answer them on every stump in Iowa, and the more they try to avoid, dodge, or duck, the more aggressively will democracy drive such issues home and push them to the front. They have made the new issues, as responsible for them, and must meet them squarely or desert the field and take the consequences.

The trust plank in their state platform is sufficient proof that Iowa republicans believe in Emerson's maxim that "conscience is the hobgoblin of the mind, adorned by little statesmen and philosophers and divines." Their resolutions say in part, "we commend the action of the Iowa delegation in congress in support of protection by the Dingley tariff," and in direct contradiction add, "industry and commerce should be left free to pursue their methods according to the natural laws of the world," following which is this remarkable, and so far as I have been able to discover, the only reference during the proceedings of the convention to the industrial conditions now existing in the United States, "but when business aggregations known as trusts prove hurtful to people, they must be restrained by national laws, and if need be, abolished." Thus they commend the Dingley tariff made by a national law to restrain industry and commerce according to the natural laws of the world, and seek by subterfuge to pose in opposition to the business aggregations known as trusts when they prove hurtful to the people and that, too, in the face of a congressional record which puts them in the attitude of the devil rebuking sin

and which furnishes the evidence for their own conviction of hypocrisy, insincerity and abject slavery to the masters whom they serve. The object of high protection is to prohibit outside competition and the purpose of the trust is to prevent inside competition. Trusts are as much the product of high protection as diseases is the result of filth, and the Iowa republican congressional delegation knew it on March 21, 1897, when they voted against the Dingley amendment to the Dingley bill, which provided for putting on the free list all articles manufactured by a combination seeking to limit, regulate or control supply or price.

The McKinley tariff laid the foundation for the present trust system and the Dingley tariff raised it about 11 per cent.

In 1890 the republican party placed custom duties at an average of 42 per cent, and in 1897 raised it to 53 per cent, which is at least 43 per cent above foreign competition. The \$30,000,000 knit goods trust is protected and subsidized with 50 per cent; the \$35,000,000 National Lead Company trust, with a cent and a half a pound on lead; the \$10,000,000 western lumber pool with two dollars per thousand on lumber; the \$128,000,000 sugar trust, to which we pay \$20,000,000 in taxes annually; the \$375,000,000 steel trust with \$5.72 per ton on steel, and the \$50,000,000 American plate trust with one and one-half cent per pound on tin plate. And thus they run from tooth-picks to patriotism.

A very large part of the trusts of the country are protected in like manner, and while all have raised the price of products nearly, if not quite, equal to the tariff or competition rate, in no instance have the wages of labor been correspondingly increased. The trust prohibits competition, destroys individual enterprise, raises prices, debases labor, transforms commerce into monopolies, increases the accumulations of millionaires, increases poverty, breeds aristocracy of wealth and distrust of capital. It is the antagonist of the public peace and the promoter of industrial disturbances. It is not that it may, or will, or when it does, for it is now sucking the very blood of the people. The trust is the child of McKinleyism, and if remedial legislation is delayed until republican conventions, congresses and state legislatures declare their business aggregations, known as trusts, have in fact proved hurtful to the people, it will be only when the beneficiaries of special legislation have ceased to contribute to Hanna's campaign fund, and his baneful influences have been forever removed from the white house and the United States senate.

Republican insincerity on the trust question is further emphasized by the attitude of Attorney General Griggs, who, relying on an adjudication conducted by his predecessor, which did not cover the facts, declined to make a test case, and in the most high-handed manner disposed of the question by

things can be so far righted as to be certainly and permanently effective, rests with the sovereign citizen.

So far as I am able now to determine, the most effective way to destroy the trusts is to remove them, at present, most apparent cause by amending the tariff laws and placing on the free list every thing that is made or sold by a trust. That is a simple, conservative and practical policy. Its execution would not depend upon the zeal of the attorney general of the government or the state.

I would also have both congress and state legislatures pass laws for their control and taxation, each making it a felony, punishable by both fine and penitentiary sentence, to form, conduct or be in any manner interested in a trust, and if after a fair trial it is apparent that trusts, corporations or other monopolies are determined to defy the laws made in justice to all, I would resort to the initiative and referendum with government ownership of public utilities, and above all and without delay, I would have the federal constitution so amended as to require the election of United States senators by a direct vote of the people. It is entirely possible that all these things will not be fully realized by the means I have indicated, but of this I am certain. The democracy, as now constituted, recognizes that its mission as a party organization is to fight the battles of the masses and it will enter upon this conflict, not with the cloven foot of the Iowa republican platform, but in good faith, determined to do whatsoever honest purpose and fearless effort shall develop along lines of its accomplishment.

It is not the purpose of the democratic party to wage a war of extermination against any man, men or legitimate enterprise, it will be in the future as it has in the past at all times and under all circumstances, as fully protect an honest and equitable organization of capital, as it will the organization of labor, and in doing so, make equal and just requirements for the protection of each.

The democracy believes that the functions of government should not be an instrument for the oppression of any man or class of men, and that just to the extent that it is so used an injustice is perpetrated in the name of law, and the powers of government prostituted. Andrew Jackson correctly stated democratic doctrine when he said: "Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education or of wealth is not produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue every man is equally entitled to protection by law, nor would we be severe, beyond the limit of good conscience and judgment. But, the time has arrived when it must be determined whether man or money is master, and for myself I say there are two kinds of anarchy in this

Spain surrendered to the United States and Cuba was released from colonial tyranny, immediately following our declaration of war, the American congress solemnly proclaimed to the world that the "United States hereby disclaims any disposition to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for pacification when it is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people." That disclaimer breathed the spirit of '76. It respected the federal constitution and reaffirmed the Monroe doctrine. It was an expression of national devotion to human liberty without precedent in the annals of history. It was an inspiration to the oppressed of every color, race and clime to demand the privileges of self government. To have said then that it applied only to Cuba, and not to other Spanish possessions would have been mockery of our pretensions. To say so now, is to turn back the wheels of time.

If the Cuban resolution was an honest expression of our intentions, how like treatment to the Philippines? From the standpoint of an American, the Philippine war is without justification in law or morals. It is contrary to our traditions and institutions, and in conflict with the principles for which the revolution, rebellion and Cuban wars were fought. For us to contend that the Philippines are in rebellion against the sentiment of George the Third when he sent the redcoats to slaughter the troops of Washington, but less tenable, because the colonies had acknowledged British sovereignty, while the Philippines declared their independence from the archipelago before Bunker Hill was baptized in freedom's blood, and are now but continuing their struggle for liberty against another and more powerful, if less righteous foe, President McKinley has never and never will his policy towards the Philippines, and upon that question the republican state platform is as silent as the grave.

William McKinley, in his dual capacities of president and commander-in-chief of the army, is carrying on the Philippine war without authority of congress. He is wholly responsible and we must determine his policy accordingly. The fact that Judge Day was appointed chairman of the peace commission and Minister Hay was recalled from the court of St. James and secretary of state, thus forming an confidential cable between London and Paris by way of Washington, and that soon afterwards the peace commission had been instructed to demand a cession of the Philippine group, that the president at that time asked for a standing army of one hundred thousand men, and following this but further hostilities had been commenced, as an emissary from Agoncillo, who was denied audience at Washington, that England soon placed Emperor William in the false attitude of an enemy of the United States in Samoa; that the administration has always refused to treat with Agoncillo on the basis of the Cuban resolution; that when Agoncillo sent an officer to General Otis, protesting that he had not authorized an attack on our forces and proposed a neutral zone to prevent further hostilities, General Otis replied that "the fighting had begun and must go on to the grim end," that "grim war" still goes on with the ravages of death to our brave boys and the details to the press and mails censored by incompetent general in command of the American army, who, unable to retain his conquered territory, is now fighting lest he shall be driven into the Pacific ocean; with such a record, is there any possible doubt but that the president's Philippine policy is colonial empire, militarism and English alliance? Is not such a policy destined to advance the prophecy of the venerable republican, Senator Hoar, who said, "The downfall of the United States will date from the administration of William McKinley?"

Imperialism involves not only the acquisition of remote territory by conquest, but a denial that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Never before has this question been squarely presented to our people, and now only because the president has usurped the powers of congress and disregards the constitution. The acquisition and permanent retention of the Philippines means colonial expansion in its most radical form. The Philippine islands are more than seven thousand miles distant, located in a tropical climate and in Asiatic waters, inhabited by an alien race which, for more than a century, has waged war for self government, and now repels our invasion with the Mauser rifles we placed in their hands when they were our allies against the Spanish army. We forced the cession of the islands as a condition precedent to peace with Spain, and are now using the Philippines to establish our authority over them. Imperialism, militarism and alliance are dependent upon each other, they develop together, and it is as certain that we have them all, as that we have any one of them. The volunteer army is born of love of country. It is the product of democracy. Great standing armies are creatures of monarchs and the destroyers of self government. Militarism and alliance are incompatible with the tendency of the army bodies evil for the republic. It is the weapon of the powerful and a menace to the weak. It is the entering wedge of imperialism and the forerunner of foreign entanglements. Existing conditions make it apparent that at this time there is an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, and I denounce it as un-American. It is in conflict with the independence, aspirations and cosmopolitan character of our country. We are not an Anglo-Saxon race. It is a misnomer. As the boys who followed Hobson into the bay of Santiago were descendants of Germany, Ireland, Bohemia and Scandinavia, so are our people the best blood of all the nations of the world. In that very fact rests our security that, hereafter as theretofore, peace and plenty will abide with us forever. We have nothing of unkindness for the Englishman, but we do suspect the Court of St. James. England never did and England never will serve another country but from ulterior motives. She has been our unrelenting foe since the day when John Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence in letters so bold that King George could read them across the sea, and she now courts our favor but to lead us as with a magician's wand, to serve her selfish purposes. It is not the part of an American to repudiate his benefactors, and sooner or later England must know that she will have to deal with the sons of the men she slaughtered at Yorktown, and not with the McKinley administration.

Our people well remember that France, Russia and Germany were our friends in times of dire distress, and they remember, too, the England of '76 and '62. Not England but the whole of Europe, is the mother of the white man's law, and it is the duty of our magnificent citizenship that our German-Americans populated, as one man denounces the strained attempt to create

hostilities with Emperor William to give excuse for the Anglo-American alliance, and it should be resented by every American, whether by birth or adoption, who loves his country. The war in the Philippines should be brought to a speedy close, the Philippines given self government on the terms of the Cuban resolution. Let us give to others the liberties vouchsafed to ourselves, and for the first time write on history's page National Liberator.

We have reached a crisis in our national life. The Declaration of Independence, Federal constitution and the Monroe doctrine are being devoured by avaricious cannibals. The money trust industrial trust and patriotic trust have masked in the false barg of "Destiny" for a desperate attack.

The state and national campaigns upon which we are about to enter will be the turning point for the republic and its people. The armies are forming in battle array. The time of enlistment has been made. It is not what you have been, but what you now are that puts your name on the muster roll. Loyalty to the cause for which we fight is the only requirement.

Our commander in democracy's greatest leader—the able, fearless and incorruptible champion of equal rights and human liberty—the modern Thomas Jefferson—William Jennings Bryan.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.
We, the democrats of Iowa, in convention assembled, unqualifiedly and unreservedly endorse the Chicago platform of 1896 in whole and in detail, and declare our unwavering fidelity and adherence to the same, and we proclaim our admiration for and loyalty to that peerless exponent of democratic principles, W. J. Bryan and favor his nomination in 1900.

Second. We rejoice in the exalted sentiment and motive that prompted the government of the United States to take up in defense of the bitterly oppressed people of Cuba in the detested and unjust war with Spain and in patriotism and unsurpassed bravery displayed by the soldiers and sailors on land and sea. The war for the liberation of the tyrannical island was worthy the greatest and most heroic of all that have flourished in the idea of man, but for the same reason that we glory in the successful war against Spain, we deprecate and condemn the war against the Philippines. One war was for the emancipation of the people; the other for the subjugation of the people, and we are against Spain was right, and it was that the natives of the Philippines, who have come to love liberty and to be willing to fight and die for it, is wrong. The attempt to authorize by congress the production of natives of the Oriental islands is a repudiation of the American doctrine of consent affirmed by the people, and dependence and in conflict with the principle which George Washington and his fellow patriots who sacrificed to establish the war against the Philippines, believing that the purpose of the revolution was for the purpose of an Anglo-American alliance, and we not only protest against the war and demand its termination to the Philippines of the same assurance given to the Cubans, but we reiterate our protest against the alliance with Great Britain or any other European power, and especially against the alliance with Great Britain and Germany. We oppose the friendly relations which have unavailingly obtained between the United States and Germany. We oppose the requests of the Philippines, because imperialism means militarism, because militarism means government by force, and government by force means the death of political and individual freedom, the obliteration of equality of rights and the annihilation of democratic institutions.

Third. We view with alarm the multiplication of those combinations of capital commonly known as trusts that are controlled by a few men, who, by their crushing out independent producers, restricting the production of labor, artificially limiting production, raising prices, and creating an industrial condition different from that which existed in the respect that under capitalism, the means of production would go to all, while under the trust system, they go to increase the fortunes of the few. These trusts combine are the direct outgrowth of the policy of the republican party, which has not only favored the trusts, but has accepted their support and solicited their contributions to aid that party in retaining power, while the wealth of the country is exempted from these burdens. We condemn this policy, and in our solemn protest we demand that trusts must be destroyed, that they destroy free government, and we demand that they be suppressed by the enactment of protective tariff and other privileges conferring legislation responsible for them, and the enactment of such legislation, state and national, as will insure their destruction.

Fourth. We condemn the present system of letting convict labor by private persons or corporations as now in vogue in the state of Iowa, and recommend that the same be abolished and that convict labor be employed solely and only such work as will bring it into competition with the honest citizen. We demand that the Mauser rifles we placed in their hands when they were our allies against the Spanish army. We forced the cession of the islands as a condition precedent to peace with Spain, and are now using the Philippines to establish our authority over them. Imperialism, militarism and alliance are dependent upon each other, they develop together, and it is as certain that we have them all, as that we have any one of them. The volunteer army is born of love of country. It is the product of democracy. Great standing armies are creatures of monarchs and the destroyers of self government. Militarism and alliance are incompatible with the tendency of the army bodies evil for the republic. It is the weapon of the powerful and a menace to the weak. It is the entering wedge of imperialism and the forerunner of foreign entanglements. Existing conditions make it apparent that at this time there is an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, and I denounce it as un-American. It is in conflict with the independence, aspirations and cosmopolitan character of our country. We are not an Anglo-Saxon race. It is a misnomer. As the boys who followed Hobson into the bay of Santiago were descendants of Germany, Ireland, Bohemia and Scandinavia, so are our people the best blood of all the nations of the world. In that very fact rests our security that, hereafter as theretofore, peace and plenty will abide with us forever. We have nothing of unkindness for the Englishman, but we do suspect the Court of St. James. England never did and England never will serve another country but from ulterior motives. She has been our unrelenting foe since the day when John Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence in letters so bold that King George could read them across the sea, and she now courts our favor but to lead us as with a magician's wand, to serve her selfish purposes. It is not the part of an American to repudiate his benefactors, and sooner or later England must know that she will have to deal with the sons of the men she slaughtered at Yorktown, and not with the McKinley administration.

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THE FEMINE OBSERVER.
The real pleasure of life is in having what we want when we want it. A good resolution kept is indeed noble, but it is better to break a bad one.

The man who thinks he can sing and who is not required to sing will sing.

If you are able to sleep well these nights do not grumble at the heat in the daytime.

When the maid departs the mistress for the first time realizes the trouble it is to get a meal.

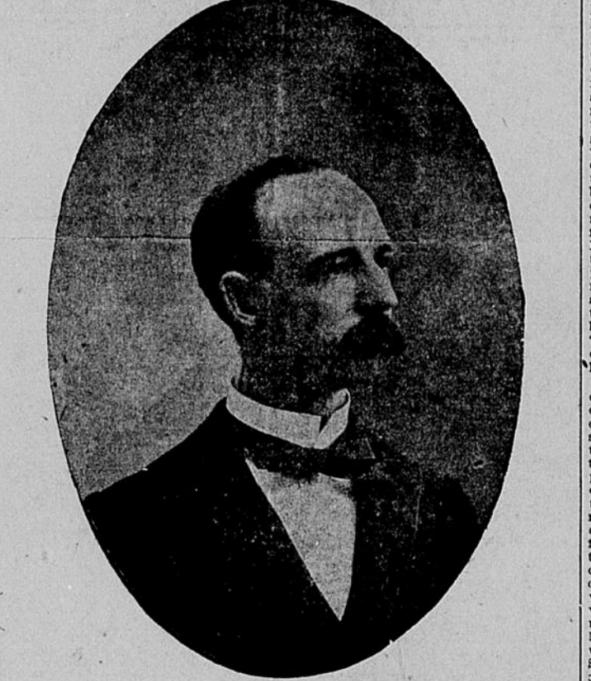
A woman never thinks she has written anything worth reading unless she gets her fingers colored with ink.

The disposition that can cheerfully relinquish personal pleasure in favor of others is one indeed to be envied.

The woman at the summer resort who boasts constantly and loudly of her family never makes the impression that she thinks she is doing.

An old bachelor thinks he has climbed matters when he says the reason that he has never married and will never marry is that he is not good enough for any woman living. After that if one should take him she has only herself to blame.

And now the determined young housewife labors over a hot stove until she looks like a boiled lobster, using up pounds of sugar, fruit and patience to produce a dozen or two jars of preserves that she could buy at a first-class grocer for half the price, and they would be just as good, too.



HON. CATO SELLS.