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HOW OUR ALLEN FIGHTS

He Pounds Populist Doctrine into the
Pudding-Headed Gold Bugs

HE WANTS NO MORE SUBSIDIES

The Senate Instructed in Sound Populist
Doctrine on Telegraphs,
Railroads and the Nicaragua
Canal

Hoar and Hale Dare Not Fight

One day last week Senator Hale introduced a bill and made a speech in favor of giving a large subsidy to some company to lay a cable to Hawaii. Senator Allen made a vigorous attack upon the whole scheme. There were several sharp colloquies between him, Chandler, Hale and Hoar, in which Allen forced them by his sharp questions to acknowledge that the government had a constitutional right to build railroads and telegraph lines and operate them. The following is a part of the discussion. It will be seen that Allen stands at his post and fights for every populist principle with the bravery of a lion and the perseverance of a saint.

Among other things Senator Allen said:

I am decidedly in favor of the construction of this cable line, but I want the government of the United States to own it, and to control it and operate it. The senator asks me if I do not believe that to lease it to private parties under a properly drawn contract. I do not believe so. I do not believe it would be any wiser to lease a cable line that is used for postal purposes than it would be to lease the post-offices and the post-routes of the United States. Those were private enterprises at one time in the history of this country. I am told by those who are older than I am that they remember distinctly the time when in this country it cost 25 cents to send a letter from one state to another, and in some instances more. The entire postal system of the United States was a private enterprise, exactly as the old stage lines and stage coaches were private enterprises. Yet the government of the United States saw proper to discontinue the postal service as a private enterprise. Through its sovereign power the government took control of the postal service throughout the length and breadth of the land, and eventually it assumed control of the postal service emanating from this country and going abroad. Why was that done? Because it made the service more uniform and better, cheaper, and quicker. It was in the interest of the public that that was done.

Now, if we give the money of this government to the Pacific Cable company or to any other private enterprise we are simply going into a line of business where we have sunk and are liable to sink in the next twenty years four or five hundred million dollars. The senator from Maine looks at me with some surprise. I mean to say that the system of subsidizing Pacific railroads, for instance, and the attempt that was made in this chamber to subsidize the Nicaragua canal last year will, before they are completed, if they become consummated, cost this government \$500,000,000, if not more. The experience we have had in that line is not such, in my judgment, as to make it satisfactory to our people.

Mr. Chandler—Will the senator allow me to interrupt him again?

Mr. Allen—Certainly.

Mr. Chandler—I sympathize with a great many of the senator's ideas, but he seems to me to go wild in his differences from all the rest of the world, which seems to be the populist function. The senator criticizes the construction of the Pacific roads. A great deal of time might be spent in ensuring the method that was adopted, but the fact was that under that method railroad communication across the continent was accomplished in less than seven years. The senator from Maine will correct me if I am wrong. I say in less than seven years of the ten years that were allowed for that purpose that line was built, while if the government had undertaken to build the roads for itself the work would have probably dragged for fifteen years.

Does the senator mean to say, going back to that magnificent enterprise, that because he can find fault with the methods that were adopted for building the Pacific railroads the government itself ought to have built the roads across the continent and to have continued to operate the roads for all time? Is that the senator's notion about railroads?

Mr. Allen—I have not opposed and do not now oppose or criticize the construction of the Pacific roads per se. I criticize the method by which they were constructed and the means employed.

Mr. Chandler—Does the senator think the government ought to have built those roads itself?

Mr. Allen—I certainly do.

Mr. Frye—And run them?

Mr. Allen—And run them. Why not? It is paternalism, is it? Yes, that is the only trouble. There is the great bug-

that at all times he has had the courage of his convictions in this chamber.

Mr. Chandler—I am not willing to join the populist party quite yet. I am much more ready to take the senator from Nebraska into my party than to join him. I say the paternalism of those methods would not deter me from adopting them. I do not think that I am in favor of such methods of governmental intervention in public works. It is a question of policy. One method may be adopted in one case and another method may be adopted in another case.

Mr. Allen—Mr. President, the populist party will not take the honorable senator from New Hampshire into its ranks and into full fellowship just yet. I think we prefer to take him, as a friend of mine used to say that the Methodist church took new converts, "for six months on suspicion." [Laughter.] We prefer him meet for repentance for a time; and if he proves himself worthy and well qualified, we will at the proper time receive him into full fellowship.

But I am glad to note the fact that light is dawning even in New England, and it is not as bad a thing now as it used to be when I first came here for a man to talk of the doctrine of ownership of railroads by the government. I have never heard a man upon the other side of the chamber or upon this side, and I never expect to hear one, who can offer a decent reason against those arguments. I understand that gentlemen hold up their hands in horror and say, "that is populism;" "that is paternalism;" but you never undertake to define paternalism. You undertake to scare the country with a word, just as you do with the word "populism" and the word "paternalism."

No, Mr. President, I am in favor of this government owning and controlling this cable line for several reasons. In the first place, it would be cheaper, in my judgment, and directly in line with the policy of the government in owning and controlling the Post Office Department in all its features; and it would be directly in line with the true policy of this government never to farm out to private individuals or private corporations any of its sovereign power. We might just as well say that the decisions of the supreme court of the United States should be farmed out to private enterprises (and I presume they would, in many instances, be as valuable as they are now if they were) as to say that the sovereign power to control the mail service of this government, or any feature of it, should be farmed out to private corporations. The truth is, we are, every day of our lives here, delegating sovereign powers to private corporations and private enterprises that the constitution places in this government to be exercised in the interest of the people. Senators seem to be bent upon having these powers delegated to private corporations. When it comes to the question of the power and policy of this government to own and operate such lines by itself unaided, and unaiding any private corporation in a like enterprise, I believe it is the true policy and the patriotic policy for the government to own and operate them.

In the next place, there is another serious objection to the bill. Another great corporation is to be raised up, whose fangs eventually are to enter into the legislative and executive departments of this government, if not into the judicial department, and one more enemy of free government is to be fed and encouraged by more liberal appropriations made by congress. How long will it be until this Pacific cable company will place in this chamber and in the other house of congress such servile tools as it wants to do its bidding in the form of legislation, and by that means stifle the cries and wishes of the people and enact legislation in the interests of private enterprise and in such a way as to lay additional burdens upon the masses of our people? I do not believe that we should encourage enterprises of this kind where it is in the interests of the government to construct the work and where it is conceded that we have ample power to construct it ourselves.

Let me recur briefly to our experience with reference to Pacific railroads, for I do not want to be misunderstood upon that question. I admit that it was good policy to construct the Pacific roads, at least one of them, possibly all of them; it was the proper thing to do; but the originator of that enterprise, Mr. A. A. Whitney, never expected it to be a private enterprise. His first petition to congress, in 1846, I think, possibly in 1844, was to the effect that he was to construct the road out of a land grant to be given to him by congress, and within a certain time after that he was to turn the road over to the government, and it was to be a great governmental highway. That was his plan. I believe it would have been better policy, and that it would have been a great deal cheaper for this government to have made a direct appropriation to construct the Pacific railroads from the Mississippi and Missouri rivers as they have been constructed to the Pacific slope and to have owned and controlled them today.

We have a debt of \$120,000,000 due us now. We have guaranteed bonds to the amount of \$60,000,000, if not more, 6 per cent bonds, that we must make provision for at this congress—subsidy bonds that were given to those roads.

One of the strange things in the history of such transactions is that when the government of the United States had the first lien upon the roads for the subsidy bonds, through some kind of legerdemain, I know not what, that lien was taken off and certain stockholders and bondholders were given a lien prior to the government's lien. We voluntarily relinquish the first lien upon those roads; we waived our right to foreclose upon the roads and reduce them to government ownership, and gave to certain moneyed interests in this country a first lien, who now threaten to take the roads and leave the subsidy bonds or to recoup for the interest they have been paid upon the debt. It is not likely that the time will come within fifteen or twenty years when a like policy will be pursued with reference to this Pacific Cable Company if it is subsidized?

I believed if we owned and controlled and operated a great transcontinental line of railway today we could squeeze a hundred per cent of water out of watered stock. By fixing the rates of passenger and freight tariff upon that road we could force every competing road in the United States to come to the prices fixed by the government of the United States. It would go as far as anything we can do, if not further, to bring about an adjustment of this great railroad problem.

Mr. President, a railway is a public corporation; that is, it gets its power to go across your land and mine and to exercise the power of eminent domain because the government farms out to it the sovereign power. That question first arose in this country in the case of Bloodgood vs. The Mohawk River Railroad Company, when the old court of errors of New York was composed of a few judges and the Senate. It was a serious question for a great many years whether a private corporation or a corporation in the nature of a railroad company could exercise the sovereign power of eminent domain and force itself across the property of private individuals. Finally that position was sustained; the supreme court of the United States followed it, and every court in the union follows it today.

Does any lawyer or any layman doubt that if a railroad company gets a right to construct a railroad in consequence of the government farming out to it the right of eminent domain, there goes with that power, as an incident of the grant, the power to control the road that exercises the right of eminent domain? Has not this government power, whenever necessary may bring about the occasion to exercise its sovereign power of eminent domain, to reduce every corporation of that kind in this country to government ownership? The same power that the corporation exercises with reference to private property may be exercised by the government with reference to the property of the corporation itself. It is a supreme power that knows no limit but the limit of necessity and desirability.

Why not, then, own and control those railroads? Out in the state in which I have the honor to live oats are being sold to-day for 11 cents a bushel—oats as fine as were ever grown upon the face of the earth. It costs 16 1/2 cents of freight tariff to put a bushel of oats in market from Nebraska to New York—60 per cent more than the farmer can get for it there. So with corn, wheat, and all other farm products, and with meat products. I believe they are taking from the state of Nebraska and Kansas and other western states every year \$50,000,000 to pay interest upon watered stocks. No restraint is placed upon them by the state government. The state government has no power to place it upon the subsidized roads, in so far as they are doing an interstate traffic business. No restraint is placed upon them by congress. They are at liberty under our laws to take a road that cost \$25,000 of honest money for its construction and to capitalize that road for \$140,000 or \$150,000 per mile, and by that means take profits from the grain grower and the meat grower of the states through which they run. It amounts to millions and hundreds of millions of dollars in the course of a year. Is not that a matter of sufficient importance to awake at least some slight interest on the part of congress?

With reference to the Nicaragua canal I favor it. I want to see this government by the construction of a canal about 176 miles, cut off the 10,000 of travel around the Horn. But I shall never vote for an interest bearing obligation of this government in aid of that or in aid of any other enterprise. It means the expenditure of \$300,000,000 upon the part of this government before that enterprise is finally paid for under such a system.

Whenever we can issue the money here and commence the construction of the Nicaragua canal and pay for it as we go along it will have my vote. But whenever it comes to the question of issuing bonds and subsidizing some private corporation that is to own and construct it and take profits while we pay the interest and principal of the subsidy bonds. I shall oppose it, because I do not believe that this government as a matter of policy should issue the bonds and incur an endless debt which future generations will be taxed to pay.

Stick to your principles, boys, but hold out the hand of fellowship to every man who is ready to help mankind out of the abyss; and who proves his sincerity by breaking loose from the two old rotten parties. The man who joins at the eleventh hour will be just as welcome as the man who commenced work at the first hour. Be big-hearted. We are not fighting for personal ambitions, or for prejudices, but to reform the abuses that are ruining the American people. Every man who fights on the side of humanity is our friend, we care not what he may have been heretofore, or what mistakes he may have made. Shoulder to shoulder, boys, and move down upon the enemy in solid column, with the stars and stripes flying over us.—Ignatius Donnelly.

The Omaha Judges

The Omaha Judges in spite of all the criticism they have received, continue to be in contempt of the people as will be seen by the following sentences recently pronounced by them.

James C. Ish is sentenced by Judge Fawcett to fifteen months in the penitentiary for the crime of manslaughter, which was originally characterized in the complaint filed by the county attorney as murder in the first degree. A few weeks ago a man charged with writing libelous paragraphs in a village weekly in the little town of Gretna was sentenced by Judge Scott to twelve months in the penitentiary. About eighteen months ago a man was convicted of appropriating to himself a cloak belonging to his employer, who owed him more than the cloak was worth. The man is now serving a sentence imposed by Judge Scott of five years in the penitentiary.

GOOD BYE OLD PARTIES

The Free Coinage Men Bolt Both of the
Old Organizations

THEY ARE COMING TO THE POP

They Call a Convention to Meet at St.
Louis on the Same Date the Populists
National Committee Selected

Come Home Ye Wanderers

The American Bimetallic League held a convention in Washington, D. C., Jan. 22. The following account is furnished to the American public by the Press Association liars. The part in quotations and the call for a convention to meet in St. Louis at the same time as the people's party convention meets, are true. Other parts must be taken *cum grano salis*.

It must be remembered that the membership of the Bimetallic League is made up of men of all parties, republicans, democrats, populists and prohibitionists. A very large number of learned men belong to it—scholars, authors, economists and professors in universities. The populist membership in the league is probably greater than all the others combined. It will be seen that they have made their presence felt.

Washington Jan. 23.—The conference today resulted in an animated discussion of the financial situation and the policy to be pursued by the friends of silver. During the discussion considerable feeling was aroused by some of the remarks made by General Hatch of Missouri, which he stated in effect that if the populists of Kentucky had done their whole duty the election of Mr. Blackburn to a seat in the United States senate would not be a matter of doubt. General Field of Virginia and others made heated replies. Mayor Turner of Lansing, Mich., and Senator Stewart of Nevada also addressed the convention.

The committee on resolutions, of which Senator Jones of Nevada is chairman, submitted its report, consisting of an unusually long preamble, and ending with the declaration: "That over and above all other questions of policy, we are in favor of restoring to the people of the United States the time-honored money of the constitution—gold and silver—not one, but both—the money of Washington and Hamilton of Jefferson and Monroe of Jackson and Lincoln, to the end that American people may receive honest pay for an honest product, the American debtor paying his just obligations in an honest standard and not in a standard that is appreciated 100 per cent above the great staples of our country, and to the end, further, that silver standard countries be deprived of the unnatural advantage they now enjoy in the difference in exchange between gold and silver—an advantage which the tariff legislation alone cannot overcome.

"We, therefore, confidently appeal to the people of the United States that leaving in abeyance for the moment all other questions, however important, even momentous, they may appear, and underriding, if need be, all the former party affiliations, unite in a supreme effort to free themselves and their children from the domination of the money power—a power more destructive than any which has ever been fastened upon the civilized men of any race or in any age. And upon the consummation of their desires and efforts we invoke the gracious favor of divine providence."

The report was widely and loudly applauded as it was read, and the conference seemed to be filled to the fullest extent with enthusiasm. It was read by Senator Jones, chairman. At the conclusion there was a big demonstration. The delegates arose to their feet and cheered loudly and called for Senator Jones. He spoke for about ten minutes and his remarks were vociferously applauded.

APPOINTING DELEGATES.

The following is the report of the committee on organization:

That a convention of the qualified voters of the United States who believe in the principles this day enunciated by the conference and who are willing to subordinate party allegiance and fealty to those principles and to support the nominees of the national convention provided for by this conference shall be held at the city of St. Louis, Mo., on the 22d day of July, 1896, at the hour of 12 o'clock noon. That the apportionment to such convention shall be one delegate for each senator and representative in the United States congress from the several states and one delegate for each delegate in congress from the several territories, and additional delegates for the several states and territories based upon the silver strength as ascertained from the American bimetallic union.

The number of delegates apportioned to each state and territory shall be as follows:

| | | | |
|--------------------|----|---------------------------|----|
| Alabama..... | 40 | Nebraska..... | 51 |
| Arizona..... | 2 | Nevada..... | 15 |
| Arkansas..... | 30 | New Hampshire..... | 4 |
| California..... | 45 | New Jersey..... | 12 |
| Colorado..... | 15 | New York..... | 41 |
| Connecticut..... | 15 | North Carolina..... | 70 |
| Delaware..... | 3 | North Dakota..... | 12 |
| Florida..... | 8 | Ohio..... | 49 |
| Georgia..... | 10 | Oklahoma..... | 10 |
| Idaho..... | 10 | Oregon..... | 17 |
| Illinois..... | 50 | Pennsylvania..... | 45 |
| Indiana..... | 49 | Rhode Island..... | 8 |
| Iowa..... | 35 | South Carolina..... | 35 |
| Kansas..... | 35 | South Dakota..... | 15 |
| Kentucky..... | 25 | Tennessee..... | 24 |
| Louisiana..... | 10 | Texas..... | 70 |
| Maine..... | 5 | Vermont..... | 8 |
| Maryland..... | 10 | Washington..... | 17 |
| Massachusetts..... | 12 | West Virginia..... | 12 |
| Michigan..... | 21 | Wisconsin..... | 15 |
| Minnesota..... | 34 | Wyoming..... | 15 |
| Mississippi..... | 20 | New Mexico..... | 9 |
| Missouri..... | 25 | Utah..... | 20 |
| Montana..... | 15 | District of Columbia..... | 4 |

That this conference appoint a provisional national committee, consisting of one member from each state and territory, said committee to possess all powers usually possessed by national committees of political parties; said committee to serve until the holding of said national convention; said committee, or the portion thereof appointed by the conference, shall have full power to fill vacancies, whether from the failure of this conference, to appoint a full committee or from death, resignation or otherwise; said committee shall have headquarters in the city of Washington, D. C.

CONDITIONS TO ADMISSION.

The mode of selecting delegates to said national convention shall be as prescribed by the national committee, subject to the following regulations: All delegates shall be selected at public conventions or at public meetings to be held either in the several states at large or in the several counties or districts of said states as the committee may prescribe. No person shall be eligible as a delegate to any such convention, or shall sit as a delegate in said national convention, who is not in favor of the declaration of principles this day enunciated by this conference and who is not willing to subordinate party allegiance to the advancement of such principles and to support the nominees of said convention. The national committee shall proceed at once to organize the several states and territories for the success of this movement.

The national committee so far elected is as follows: Arizona, M. W. Brennan; Colorado, I. N. Stevens; Connecticut, Joseph Sheldon; California, George W. Baker; Idaho, John P. Clough; Iowa, Amos Steekle; Illinois, George M. Emery; Kansas, A. C. Shinn; Maryland, Gilbert T. Smith; Massachusetts, George C. Hill; Michigan, J. G. Ramsdell; Montana, W. H. Sweet; Nebraska, G. L. Laws; Nevada, George S. Nixon; New Jersey, Mortimer Whitehead; North Carolina, B. F. Keit; Ohio, Henry T. Niles; Pennsylvania, R. E. Difendorfer; Tennessee, J. H. Acklin; Virginia, A. G. Wedderburn; Vermont, Joseph Batts; District of Columbia, C. J. Hillyer.

On motion, Dr. J. J. Mott, of North Carolina, was unanimously elected chairman of the national executive committee. Dr. Mott has always been a republican, and for a number of years has been chairman of the state committee of North Carolina, and was vouched for by a number—among them Senator Butler—as one of the best organizers and most indefatigable workers in the United States. A committee on finance, one from each state, was selected. After a number of other speeches the silver conference adjourned.

THE SILVER REPUBLICANS

They Beg the Gold Bugs Not to Put
Them on a Level With Pigtailed
Chinamen.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23.—The republican silver senators signed a declaration which is intended to be used in the coming campaign as the demand which the silver men will make for a plank in the national convention. In the preamble it is recited that the present financial system endangers the industrial prosperity of the United States, which is threatened by China and Japan as a result of the decrease in the value of silver, and the difference of exchange between silver and gold using countries. It is therefore resolved that the signers favor the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, for the purpose of obliterating this difference of exchange, which is declared to operate as a bounty upon the export of products from silver using countries to gold using countries. It is also resolved that they favor a tariff which shall equalize the difference in the cost of labor between this country and the countries of Europe and Asia. It is the purpose of those who are circulating the declaration to get all the republican silver men in congress to sign it.

Stand Up for Nebraska

We know that the people are leaving this state by hundreds, leaving, in what seems to us, to be a vain hope of securing relief. They have been taxed and taxed and robbed and robbed till even hope is gone, and instead of trying to better their condition by exercising their privilege as voters, they allow themselves to be whipped into line, cast a vote for the same old gang and strike out to start again in a new country. They hope to better their condition and we honor them for it, at the same time we believe that the same conditions will confront them wherever they may go. The condition surrounding the laboring man cannot be changed by changing location. It is no respecter of state lines nor of drouth lines, but is a condition of the body politic which can be changed only by removing the cause.

We believe in standing up for Nebraska, but we cannot believe that that consists in standing up for a boodler gang that has for the last twenty years lived and prospered upon the toil of these same honest men they desire to "Pike & Plack" get a little longer.—Nuckolls County Herald.

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PROGRESSIVE BOODLE

Republicans go for the Public Funds as an
Indian goes for a Buffalo

THE WEANING OF THE THIEVES

It is Awful Hard on Them and They Bawl
Like Bull Calves

The Pop Governor Stops the Pap
LINCOLN, Jan. 28, 1896.

Editor INDEPENDENT—
You doubtless have noticed how skillfully the ring republicans play progressive boodle. They go for public funds as Indians once went for wild buffalo and seem to have no more twinges of conscience in pocketing a thousand dollars than the red man had in slaying a heifer calf. And the game is not confined to one department of the government but it covers city county and state.

During the last week the supreme court has confirmed a judgment against Lancaster county of \$2,500 in favor of Greene & Van Dusen, for services refunded for funding some county bonds that had become payable. The republican papers have had considerable to say about the pleading of the two county attorneys in the case, but not one of them dared to tell the whole truth about the claim.

A year ago some \$350,000 of our county bonds, bearing a heavy rate of interest, became payable. The state treasurer had a million or thereabouts, of school money in his hands drawing no interest at all for our schools. You see it would not answer for the county commissioners to negotiate the loan with the state treasurer, for then the stealing would not be legal. So Greene & Van Dusen were made the thieves by proxy. The job was done up to the Queen's taste, \$2,000 were paid, and now \$2,500 more with costs. Now it would take seventeen angels to convince me that Greene & Van Dusen did not agree to divide that money among the state officers, county commissioners and themselves. And if what the republican papers say is true, perhaps the county attorneys get a little snuff.

Some time ago a colored man was tried for his life and as a progressive step in the boodle line, the county commissioners had four or five high priced lawyers to criminate him and three or four high priced ones to clear him, all paid out of the tax payers money of the county. The lawyers all helped to elect the "ticket" and of course must all have a job.

Now there is another colored man to be tried and the progressive game will require eight or ten on one side and five or six on the other. We will wait and see.

The same game has been played in letting our city jobs, lighting, funding, and other jobs. But the most bare-faced progression is in permitting the gamblers to run in violation of all law, charging them a license fee of one or two hundred dollars a month, all for the private benefit of the city officers. They do not dare to take quite all the reservation money, yet, but they are progressing that way fast.

The same game has been played for years all along the line and it makes no difference, the players are re-elected without a scowl. It was played when some stone was wanted for the penitentiary. Instead of the state officers advertising for bids and letting the quarry men furnish the stone, a stink finger man bought the stone and sold them to the state at an advance of ten to fifteen thousand dollars. Then without doubt the money made was divided among the state players. That is the reason why such a fuss is made about the management of the penitentiary. The game don't progress with a pop governor in the road. Now don't be too hard on them. Calves always bawl when weaned.

H. W. HARRY.

NOT THE "THIRD PARTY"

But a Party Having a Splendid Show
to Elect a President

OMAHA, Jan. 27.

Editor INDEPENDENT—

We hear a great many people speak of the peoples party as the "third party" not realizing that the peoples party is either the first or second party in about half of the states of the union. A careful review of the fact shows that if proper judgment is used at St. Louis on July 22 the peoples party stands a splendid show of electing the president at the coming presidential election. The republican party is the third party in Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and honors are about evenly divided between the three parties in Louisiana.

The democratic party is the third party in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Colorado, Kansas, Idaho, with honors divided in California, Utah, and the remainder of the territories. The electoral vote of Tennessee is very likely to be carried by the peoples party this year. The two old parties have fully shown their inability to deal with important economic questions. Let good judgment and honesty prevail at St. Louis in July and the result will very likely be surprising to the most ardent advocates of the national reforms.

D. CLEM DEATY.

All druggists sell Dr. Miller's Pain Expeller.