

lated to show that the proposed sale would be a fair one, that it would be a public auction and the road would be sold to the highest bidder.

Senator Warren inquired: May I interrupt my distinguished friend the senator from Nebraska? As I understand the procedure proposed, it is not a sale at \$28,000,000, not a sale at \$45,000,000, it is an auction sale to the highest bidder, and it is open to the whole world to bid. No person, corporation, or association is restricted from bidding. Is that not true?

Mr. Allen. I discussed that question twenty minutes ago, before the senator was here, and admitted that.

Mr. Warren. Yes, sir, it is true.

Mr. Warren. May I ask another question?

Mr. Allen. It is nominally true.

Mr. Warren. If, as the senator claimed, a few minutes ago, it is now impossible to get any bid from any quarter owing to the organization of capital, in what way does the senator propose at some other time to dispose of the railroad?

Mr. Allen. I propose that the government should reduce it to government ownership and operate it.

Mr. Warren. Then may I ask still another question? What does the senator propose to do in cases such as those in the power stations where the inhabitants have settled upon lands, have gone into business, have made their homes, and paid the government price for lands and depend upon the building and operating of these railroads, and that such roads should pay their proportion of taxes to support state, county, city and school expenses? What does the senator propose to do to provide for the payment of the taxes, state and municipal, when the government shall own the road? The government, as the senator knows, never pays taxes upon its property.

Mr. Allen. There is nothing in that; there is no substance to the question. In the first place the people in those towns and communities would save infinitely more than their taxes by low freight and passenger rates.

Senator Gear here interrupted to inquire concerning the payment of taxes, and attempted to show that the schools could not be supported except by the taxes paid by the Union Pacific railroad. Senator Allen replied that the people pay all the taxes ultimately anyway, if they did not pay them as a direct tax, they paid them in increased charges for freight and passenger rates. When they had finished their questioning Senator Allen continued:

When diverted from the course of my remarks by the interruption of the senator from Wyoming and the senator from Iowa I was proceeding to say that the populist party in Nebraska were not in favor of that kind of a foreclosure which was referred to by my colleague, but in favor of that other kind, which is as much a foreclosure at law as a decree at court, namely, the taking possession of the road under the terms of the mortgage or lien, under the terms of the statute in this case. What Mr. Bryan may think of this matter I do not know, nor would it be proper for me to say if I did.

The senator from Iowa uses much trouble in the government owning and operating railroads. I wish the senator would speak out, so that we can get it upon the record.

Mr. Gear. I said I do.

Mr. Allen. He says he sees much trouble; and yet it is not at all a new thing. A great many governments of the world own their entire system of railroads and operate them. I have here a list of some.

The Argentine Republic owns 620 miles of railway. Five-sixths of the railways of Australia belong to the various colonial governments. In Austria-Hungary about 40 per cent of the mileage is owned and about 73 per cent is operated by the state. Three-fourths of the mileage of Belgium is owned and operated by the state. The state owns one-fourth of the total mileage of Brazil and does one-half of the railway business of the country. In Canada one-tenth of the mileage is owned and controlled by the government. One-half of the railways of the Cape of Good Hope, or English South Africa, is owned by the government. In Colombia the railways have been subsidized by the government with the understanding that at a certain period they will become government property. Denmark owns and controls three-fourths of the total mileage of her railways. Egypt owns and operates its railways. France owns the railways of the government. They have a mixed system of state and private ownership. Ninety per cent of the railway mileage of Germany is owned by the government. In England, by the act of 1844 it was provided that the government should have the right to acquire any railroad constructed with its aid by purchasing the same for a sum equal to twenty-five years of annual divisible profits estimated on the annual profits for the three years preceding the date of purchase. A part of the railways of Greece are owned by the government. Guatemala owns and operates a part of her railway system. Holland owns one-half of her system. Two-thirds of the railways of India belong to the government. In Italy the railways are owned by the government and leased to private individuals. A small percentage of the railways of Japan is owned by the government, while it retains the right to purchase all railways built since 1887.

In Mexico the charters granted to most of the railway companies contain a provision allowing the government to purchase them after a certain lapse of time. The roads of Nicaragua are owned by the government. Norway's railroads are owned by the government and so are Paraguay's. Thirty-eight per cent of the mileage of Portugal is owned by the government, and the law provides that the railways shall revert to the government in ninety-nine years. In Russia the government owns and operates 40 per cent of the mileage, while all of the remaining roads have been subsidized by the government. The government is represented by boards of directors, and all expenditures and declarations of dividends must be recommended by the board of directors and approved by the government. One-third of the railway mileage of Sweden is owned by the government. The railway mileage of Turkey belongs to private companies, but Turkey is the "sick man" of Europe at one time constructed a railway, but subsequently sold it.

Senator Gear injected a few questions concerning some campaign documents which he claimed the populist national committee had prepared and refused to issue because it did not make a showing

favorable to government ownership. Senator Butler as chairman of the national committee denied the charge that such a document had been prepared and Senator Allen continued. Turning to Mr. Gear he said:

The senator from Iowa will not get me to follow an ignis fatuus of his own creation.

Mr. Gear. I do not want to coax the senator off. I like to hear him.

Mr. Allen. The senator can not do it. I bring the senator back to the proposition that the solution of the railroad problem in this country is government ownership. He denies it. I wish to call his attention to the fact that the great governments of the world are rapidly passing to government ownership of railroads.

Mr. Gear. I fail to see it.

Mr. Allen. Why are they doing that? Because a railway is a great natural monopoly. It is a thing in which all the people are interested—like the sunlight, and the air, and the water. A railroad is a necessity to a community. All people are interested in the question of transportation. All are interested in the transmission of news by telegraph. So the government not only has the right, but it is a duty to its citizens to reduce those properties to government ownership.

Now, here is an opportunity. Here is a property the government of the United States built. There is not a stockholder in the Union Pacific Railroad Company who, practically speaking, put a dollar into it. It was a gift of the government. Why not take possession of this road and reduce it to government ownership and operate it in the interest of the people who paid for it? There is no reason, none whatever, why that should not be done except that which lurks behind the reasoning of the senator from Iowa, that some private corporation wants to fatten upon the road.

Mr. Butler. I will add that it would force the railroads which have to compete with the Union Pacific to reduce their fares and rates to a reasonable and honest basis. The Southern Pacific would be afraid of the competition if the government would operate the Central Pacific and the union pacific as a through line. So would the Northern Pacific and every other railroad. Here is a chance to test what you charge, that the roads can not be operated practically by the government, and you are afraid of the test, and run from it. This would make a fair practical test and would kill government ownership forever if it did not prove successful. We are ready to make the test, and you are afraid of it.

Senator Tillman interrupted with the question, "is not this railroad now run by the government?"

Mr. Allen. Yes, sir; and it has been for several years.

Mr. Tillman. I mean has not the judicial arm control, absolutely?

Mr. Allen. Yes, sir.

Mr. Tillman. Why should not the president or the executive arm try this thing for a while under congressional action rather than that irresponsible judges should be allowed to do it?

Mr. Allen. The government is running it through its judicial branch in the interest of private citizens, in the interests of certain stockholders. For the government, through its executive branch, to take the road and operate it in the interests of the people would be in the interests of the government, and there is a vast difference between the interests of a private corporation and the interests of the people, according to our friends on the other side.

Mr. Tillman. I call the attention of the senator to another fact. Not only is this road being run by the government, but about one-fifth of the railroad traffic of the United States is being done by the judicial arm of the government, and we have consequently governmental ownership or direction—that is, control—through the judiciary over a large percentage, one-fifth of the mileage of this country.

A considerable discussion precipitated by Senator Thurston followed as to what roads were in the hands of receivers and who they were, and whether they were members of the proposed reorganization committee after which Senator Allen continued.

Mr. President when interrupted I was discussing the question of government ownership of railroads, and I had taken the opportunity to show a great many of the governments of the world own and operate their own railway systems.

The senator from Iowa who has honored me with his presence until now made the statement that railroads cannot be operated by the government as cheap as by private corporations or by private enterprises. But I am ready to question the accuracy of the statement of my friend, for I do not see how it is possible for a man to be so thoroughly and accurately posted on the details of a great movement like this when he has no means of refreshing his memory on an impromptu discussion covering almost the entire subject. I know also the roseate imagination of my friend from Iowa. His imagination helps him sometimes. But a careful revision of the facts and statements made by him with some divergence between his statement and the truth.

Mr. President, the practicability of government ownership cannot be denied. The man who investigates the question from the standpoint of one desiring to have accurate information, apart from any particular personal interest he may have, cannot doubt the practicability of the government owning and operating the railway mileage of the United States.

Mr. Butler. And you might say the necessity.

Mr. Allen. And the necessity for it. There is no doubt about its necessity either. But many men who hear the matter merely stated say that it will take \$11,000,000,000 to buy out the railroads, and they hold up their hands in absolute horror at the thought of the government becoming indebted to the amount of \$11,000,000,000 for the railroads. Populists in their advocacy of this doctrine do not mean anything of that kind. Nobody but the unscrupulous man who gives his imagination all play ever reached such a conclusion.

The government should take the Union Pacific railway in charge, and the Central Pacific and other bond-aided roads, and add one or two transcontinental lines of road, all the water in the railway stocks would be squeezed out in thirty days. There would be railroads for sale, not at \$10,000 a mile, as is the present indebtedness in one form or another of the Union Pacific railway. The very rates fixed by the government upon its lines would force every competing road to come to the terms of the

government. If they failed to do that, all the passenger and freight traffic would be turned over to the government roads and the others would stand idle and rot.

Sir, there is not an argument that can be made against it except that prompted by greed, except that argument that is all-powerful and all-potent in the congress of the United States, that a few corporations must have an opportunity to fleece the people at their will.

Now, sir, here is an opportunity to test the doctrine of government ownership. Of the nations of the earth that have railways the governments themselves own and operate 75 per cent of those railways in whole or in part. Several of the states of this Union have tried it. Some of them are operating railways today with profit, making money out of them. We have constructed canals and locks and own them, charging toll. We are talking of constructing the Nicaragua Canal, 168 miles long, and owning and operating it, putting probably \$300,000,000 into it before we get through, and charging tolls. What is there, Mr. President, to prevent the government from owning and operating this or any other bond-aided road of which it may legally and rightfully take possession?

Mr. President I have said about all I care to say except to make the suggestion that a speedy settlement of the affairs of the road are of vital importance to the people represented in this chamber by my colleague and myself and the people of our western states reached by this line of railroad.

There must come a time, and that speedily, when the whole matter will be adjusted, when the interests of the government will be cared for properly and when the rights of the shippers over this road will be cared for equally as well. I do not think I am going too far, certainly not beyond the bounds of the truth, when I say there are certain portions of the west which are absolutely at the mercy of this railway. Every bushel of wheat and corn and oats and every pound of beef produced there are controlled in price by the rates fixed by this company. There is but one solution of the problem in my judgment, and that is to foreclose the government lien upon the property, reduce it to government ownership and control, as provided by the act of 1892, 1894, and 1897, and then fix the rates at such a figure as will keep up and maintain the road in fairly good repair and pay its operating expenses, and be just and reasonable to those who are compelled to ship over it. If that is done, sir, I have no doubt it will save millions of dollars a year to the people of Nebraska alone.

I have no doubt that the government could operate this road and keep it in repair and pay its expenses on rates at least a half lower than the present rates exacted by it of shippers. That money would go into the pockets of thousands of men scattered over the prairies of Nebraska who to-day are engaged in the profitless pursuit of agriculture, made profitless to a great extent by the unrestrained exactions of this company in fixing its freight rates.

If that shall not be done, sir, the people of the state of Nebraska and adjoining states reached by this road will be taken by the throat and held up by this company or by whatever company may succeed it for generations to come and their property confiscated by reason of the imposition of unusual and unjust rates. If the government does not see fit to follow the plain provisions of the statute, if this administration, like the last, shall refuse to follow out three mandatory statutes on the subject and take possession of the property and reduce it to government ownership, then the people of the sections through which the road runs must submit themselves to the mercy of the company as now constructed or as it may be reorganized; and if the latter, the people will suffer to the extent of millions of dollars a year for all time.

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It is amusing to learn from the republican papers how bitter the pops and democrats feel toward each other and how utterly impossible it will be for them to "get together" this fall. Much obliged for your solicitude.—People's Champion.

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It will be well for populists to note the fact that whenever the democrats have any sort of a chance for their candidates without populist aid, populists can get no recognition whatever from them, yet there are persons in this state, and in Polk county, too, who claim to be populists, that are willing right or ten thousand dollars should dictate the policy of seventy thousand populists.—Sisley Sun.

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## PESSIMISTS AND PATRIOTS.

Mrs. Whitehead Sets Forth Briefly Why the Former Are Multiplying. [Special Correspondence.]

Hundreds of years ago a man wrote, "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." I was reminded of this today by some things I read in a paper. One of them was this extract from a speech recently made in Philadelphia by President McKinley:

But let me tell you, my countrymen, a re-creation will not be promoted by re-creation. The distrust of the present will not be removed by distrust of the future. A patriot makes a better citizen than a pessimist, and we have got to be patient, for much as we may want to move out of the old house, we cannot do it until the new one is finished. A tariff law half made is of no practical use except to indicate that a little while a whole tariff law will be done, and it is making progress. It is reaching the end, and when the end comes we will have business confidence and industrial activity. Let us keep stout hearts and steady heads.

The country is not going backward, but forward. American energy has not been destroyed by the storms of the past. It will yet triumph through wise and beneficent legislation.

The same paper which recorded this speech contained accounts of 13 suicides which had been committed in the immediate vicinity of New York in less than two days. What a pity that such of them as were dependent because of hard times could not have been within sound of the voice of the apostle of confidence and protection! How much they needed the exhortation, "Let us keep stout hearts and steady heads!" It is perhaps somewhat easier to keep a stout heart with a \$50,000 salary which the whole people are pledged to pay than it is when "out of a job" and empty of stomach.

"Starved in the street!" Mary Broch, aged 19, walked about the city until she fainted. Three days without food. That is another heading in the same paper with Mr. McKinley's speech. Here is still another: "The Sullivans have no home. Evicted, he is sent to a hospital, but his aged wife and children sleep outdoors." We read these things every day if we read the papers, but they are not always accompanied by confidence speeches. First it was the election that was to restore confidence and prosperity. How utterly that prediction failed all the world knows. Now "the tariff" is held up as an object of hope. We seem to be in the condition of the donkey which the farmer, sitting in the cart behind, kept going all day by fastening a turnip to the end of a long stick and holding it just beyond the donkey's nose. The poor, patient beast trudged on with the turnip held out, always just so far before him. He could never overtake it. So has "prosperity" been held out for and by the optimists till hope deferred has made many a heart sick.

Governor Bushnell said to Mr. Bryan a few days ago, "Every promise that was made will be fulfilled if you will but give the Republicans time." Perhaps so; but, as Lincoln used to say, "That reminds me of a story." A bet with B. that he could throw him (B.) across a river. A. tried it, and B. dropped into the middle of the river. He swam to the bank and demanded the wager—a large sum. A. refused to have it given up. "Do you suppose I get discouraged with one trial?" he asked of his dripping victim. "I do if you don't," replied B. This is only a story, but when the Republicans plead for "more time" in which to perform an impossible task while we are buffeting the waves of adversity I think of it. It is quite as possible for one man to throw another across the Mississippi river at its widest part as for the tariff to cure the hard times, and a good many people object to even the "one trial" of what is sure to end in disaster.

There seems to be a good deal of a graveyard whistle, keep up your courage sound to Mr. McKinley's speech. Does he not know in his heart that a tariff law cannot help a people crushed under the weight of national, state, county, town and individual debts? Does he not know, so long as 95 per cent of the business of the country is done on credit, that the only ones who can prosper are those who draw interest in one form or another? Can he not see that as long as business is done on the buy and sell plan a large amount of money coming to the people without bonds is just as necessary to a healthy state of business as a good supply of blood flowing with out restriction through the veins and arteries is necessary to keep a man or woman in good health? Until these things are recognized and acted on "pessimists" will increase faster than "patriots," notwithstanding Mr. McKinley's exhortation.

CELIA B. WHITEHEAD.

A Parallel.

You have never heard of there being a scarcity of postage stamps, have you? You have never heard of postage stamps depreciating in value, have you? You have never heard of postage stamps being at a premium, have you? You have never heard of postage stamps going to Europe, have you? You have never heard of postage stamps being hoarded, have you? You have never heard of the government having to issue bonds to buy postage stamps, have you? You have never stopped to think why these things are not so, have you? Well, do so right now for about five minutes.—Living Issues.

A Fluoroscopic Trick.

One of our Examiner readers wrote as the other day as to whether we had seen that great scoring of the Standard Oil trust by the New York World in a recent issue and whether it didn't look as if that paper was really coming over to the side of the people as against their oppressors. Yes, we saw the "scoring," but that's all. This has been a successful trick of the World's for a long time. It helps the paper as a business enterprise, and then it serves to secure and hold the sympathy of the people that the World may carry that sympathy along with it to the ballot box for a renewed lease of power to the people's oppressors.—Hartford Examiner.

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NOTICE.

To George Stock, Ferdinand Stock, and William Stock, defendants, will take notice that on the 25th day of June, 1897, J. W. Kerns, the plaintiff herein, filed his petition in the district court of Lancaster county, Nebraska, against the said defendants, the object and prayer of which are to foreclose a certain mortgage executed by the defendants to the plaintiff upon the following described premises situated in Lancaster county, in the state of Nebraska, to-wit: "A parcel of about 40 by 100 feet, described as follows to-wit: beginning at the southwest corner of lot 6 (six), in block 25 (twenty-five), and thence running east along the south line of said lot 6 (six) forty feet, thence running north one hundred (100) feet to the north line of lot 5 (five), block 25, thence running westerly feet to the west end of said lots 5 and 6, and thence running south one hundred feet to the point of beginning, according to records, township, of the village of Hickman, in block 25 (twenty-five), and thence running north one hundred feet to the point of beginning, according to records, township, of the village of Hickman, Nebraska," to secure the payment of a certain promissory note dated June 17, 1896, for the sum of \$200 and payable in one year from date thereof; and there is now due upon said note and mortgage the sum of \$292 for which sum the plaintiff prays for the sale of the premises or that the premises may be sold to satisfy the amount found due.

You are required to answer said petition on or before the 25th day of August, 1897.

Dated June 25, 1897. J. W. KERNS, Plaintiff.

By LAMB & ADAMS, his Attorneys.

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