

**MORE SENTINEL SQUEALING**

**Alleged Democratic Paper in Indianapolis Worried Over Mr. Van Vorhis Exposures**

The communication from Hon. Flavius J. Van Vorhis, published in The Independent of March 5, under caption of "The Sentinel Squeals," has called forth a column editorial from Mr. Morss, editor of the Indianapolis Sentinel—a pretended democratic sheet.

Under the heading, "Another 'Mare's Nest,'" Mr. Morss attempts to be funny by saying that "the irrepressible Flavius Josephus Van Vorhis, who seems to have engaged himself to Mark Hanna to do what little he can to divide and demoralize the democratic party of Indiana so as to keep smooth sailing in this state for the party of the trusts, writes . . . a long letter from which we extract the following:" (Here quoting the part showing Mr. Morss' connection with the National Economic League.) "This is one of the mare's nests which Flavius Josephus Van Vorhis is always discovering in his persistent efforts to stir up trouble in the democratic party for the benefit of the Mark Hanna plutocracy."

And then follows copy of a letter from S. B. Dutcher, chairman of the National Economic League, to Mr. S. E. Morss, inviting Mr. Morss to become one of the league's "editorial associates and contributors;" and copy of Mr. Morss' reply, stating that he should be "very happy to become a member" if it were the purpose of the league to oppose all forms of socialism, "including that which tends to build up special interests by a system of bounties or subsidies, and taxes for the benefit of private industries."

Mr. Van Vorhis now calls attention to some further facts which will keep the Sentinel explaining for some time to come:

Editor Independent: The Sentinel's explanation of the relation of its chief editor with republican politicians, corporation officials and trust magnates, admitted in its editorial, must have required an expenditure of brain tissue that left its editorial department in a state of mental exhaustion. The sarcasm attempted by a consumption of space to print my name in full was, no doubt, a dangerous strain upon its editorial nerve centers. The morbid play of editorial imagination that could make it possible to suppose a Bryan democrat or a Lincoln republican "to have engaged himself to Mark Hanna" suggests that the editorial chief has hallucinations that may make it necessary for him to take another health trip to the Pacific coast by the way of Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

The childish simplicity of the letter

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to Chairman Dutcher, president of the Hamilton Trust company; and the confidence implied that Steward L. Woodford, Lyman J. Gage, Henry Clews, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and a long list of trust officials, railroad corporations, and republican politicians, with a sprinkling of clerical worshipers of wealth, had in the spirit of purely disinterested and unselfish philanthropy and patriotism organized an "economic league" to engage "in an impartial non-political movement" suggests that the Sentinel's chief editor is fast lapsing into a condition of political dementia. If moral deficiency is excluded, the almost incoherent recklessness of the statements made in the editorial is sufficiently indicative of mental defectiveness to justify uneasiness on the part of his political friends. It is singular that Mr. Morss knows so "precious little" about this so-called "economic league." It is surprising that he had no suspicion of the character of this organization when he read the names of the "executive committee" of this league, and of the "contributors and indorsers" on the letter-head he received. If the names on the head of the letter dated November 29, 1902, created no doubts in his mind, it is very remarkable that, when he read in the very first sentence of that letter the declared purpose—

"To instruct the people that, if we are to continue to lead in the world's industries and keep American labor and capital remuneratively employed, it must be through the organization of industries into large units, directed by the best talent,"—

it never occurred to him that "the organization of industries into large units, directed by the best talent" meant the organization of trusts to be controlled by trust magnates.

What transparent nonsense it is for the Sentinel, in the face of the facts disclosed in its own editorial, and the clear proof of its chief editor's alliance with and approval of this association of republican politicians, trust officials, and trust supporters, to attempt the "stop thief" dodge.

It will not work this time. It cannot make anybody believe that this so-called association is a hoax by calling it a "mare's nest." It has been caught in the act, and it cannot escape the just condemnation of the voters of Indiana by pointing its trust-stained fingers at some one else. Its pretended opposition to trusts is on a par in the market of sincerity with its support of the national democratic ticket in the last campaigns.

Mr. Morss, it must be remembered, is not only a member of this trust association of republican politicians and democratic reorganizers, by his own confession, but a member of its press committee. He became such in answer to a letter, which declared the purpose to advocate the organization of industries into "large units."

During the latter half of January a letter, on a letter-head upon which Mr. Morss' name had been placed by his authority, was sent out and signed by A. H. Mattox, editorial manager National Economic League, 13 Astor Place, New York, and in which occurs this sentence:

"Only by the literature that was sent out by the republican party and auxiliary organizations, educating them to the danger of the election of Mr. Bryan, was the country saved from that disaster."

And yet Mr. Morss would have the readers of the Sentinel believe that he was deceived by the audacious assertion in the letter to him that this "Trusts' Economic League" was "an impartial, non-political movement." Simple-minded, unsuspecting Sammy!

It is not disclosed just what the editorial manager of this league meant by "auxiliary organizations" to the republican party, but there were more of them in this state in 1900 than appeared on the surface or by name. The democratic voters, and other supporters of Mr. Bryan in 1900, had a right to rely on the democratic state committee not being one of them, but, if the Sentinel and other influences that controlled this committee wanted to elect the ticket which they pretended to be supporting, is there any reason, that can be imagined, why they never lost any opportunity to treat with courtesy, to the point of actual insult, the voters outside the party who wanted to help them? Can there be any reason given for the fact that many of the most prominent and truest men in the party were persona non grata at the democratic state committee rooms?

If there was any doubt about the real wishes of the Sentinel, the chief editor allowing his name to be placed as an associate editor of this organization, and an indorser of the declaration that the country was saved "from the disaster" of Bryan's election by the republican party and

"auxiliary organizations" discloses the whole truth.

When a republican governor, before the sun has set twice on the election, announced his purpose to appoint the chairman of the democratic state committee to a lucrative office, and that office was eagerly accepted, the Sentinel had not one word to say about the impropriety and inconsistency of such acceptance, but left the public to conclude that the republican party, at least, knew how to take care of its auxiliaries.

I care very little what the Sentinel thinks of my knowledge of democratic principles. One thing is certain: if I had depended upon it for information, I should have known far less than I do. The Sentinel has said some very flattering things about me in the past, but I did not get much puffed up over it, because I knew it was no more sincere in that than it was in its support of Bryan, or in its present opposition to trusts. It said this when it thought it was possible to string me upon the tail to its political kite.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.  
Indianapolis, Ind.

**As to Baby Rattles**

Editor Independent: I have received two copies past my limit (February 19), so please find 10 cents in silver—and cut me off.

There is, in my opinion, nothing more pathetically silly and childish than the continued faith of the populist in his ability to do something. And the incessant bleat of the populistic sheep in process of incessant shearing would be piteous if it were not ridiculous. The only place for a sincere and sensible populist is in the ranks of the socialist party—the party that proposes to take the government and run it in the interests of the producer. When the next crisis comes, many a farmer will get his eyes opened and find out where he is "at." Until then I wish you joy with your little baby rattle.

J. H. STEFFEE.

Macon, Ga.

(Many thinks for good wishes. In return, permit The Independent to say that, in its opinion, there is nothing more "pathetically silly and childish" than the antics of the man with a formula—the political Procrustes who expects to fit every sort of production to his particular iron bed. Granted that the Marxist theory of "surplus value" be true; granted that the capitalist employer buys labor power at cost of production, uses it up, and sells it again in a transformed condition for more than he paid for it—and how does that affect the man who employs himself?

The chief difficulty with Mr. Steffee and his fellow socialists is in assuming that the whole question is resolved into one of capitalist and laborer, employer and employee, robber and robed, for all classes and conditions of persons. They ignore the farm problem. They ignore the fact that there are yet millions of farm owners who operate their own farms; who employ themselves and members of their own family. Where does the "exploitation" come in in such cases?

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Granted that the census statistics do show an increase in farm tenantry; can it be shown that this resulted solely on the theory of "surplus value" and "exploitation" of labor? It is possible to account for part of this increase when we examine the immigration records. Thousands of foreigners, with but little except stout hearts and limbs, have come to the United States and engaged in farming; they have taken the place of the farmers' sons who drifted into the city to be "exploited" in offices, stores and factories.

It is possible to account for another part of this increase because of private ownership in the great means of distribution—the railroads and the banks of issue. How can the self-employed farmer be "exploited" at all, if it must be done according to the "surplus value" formula? How many hours of surplus labor time does he give to the "boss"—and who is his "boss"?

Granted that there is an irresistible tendency toward consolidation and combination in manufacturing, railroading, banking, and many lines, it has not been shown that this applies to agriculture, or at the most only to a limited degree. Bonanza farming seldom pays except in especially favored localities. There is economy in farmers' co-operative institutions to handle and market farm products—but not in raising them. The solid, substantial farmers are those who have "exploited" very little labor except that of themselves and their own families.

The socialist program and the single tax program are both open to the criticism that they are argued wholly from the standpoint of the city. The farmer is a factor that cannot be ignored in any scheme of reconstructing society. "He is the rock upon which both socialism and single tax will go to pieces," as Dr. Engenhardt remarked the other day. German socialists have discovered that, and have had the good sense to modify their program. American socialists will discover it. So will the single taxers. (Associate Editor.)

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