PREMIER BALFOUR'S LUCK

By T. P. O'Conner M. P.

better to be born lucky than rich, Mr. Christians who in life had differed on strongest, Mr. Parnell's power was points of doctrine and ritual. Balfour was born lucky. If one will points of doctrine and ritual. compare his career with that of most Fourth party together—that small and which were to ruin him and to ruin for the scale of his contemporaries and rivals one famous group whose exploits have bewill see at once the truth of this recome almost as legendary in the where he had forced on the constitu-

There were two great rivals in his fiction. But here again the different volt; but that wondrous man had path at two epochs of his career; much, natures of the two men revealed them-indeed everything, seemed to favor selves. Lord Randolph Churchill was as if his power could withstand every-these rivels; and often Mr. Ralfour's always in his place, Mr. Balfour was thing—even his own dark secret, and these rivals; and often Mr. Balfour's there occasionally; Lord Randolph at- his own recklessness. And it was, greatest enemy and the greatest ally tacked the ministry by foul means as therefore, with something approaching of his rivals was Mr. Balfour himself. well as fair, Mr. Balfour always re- to amazement as well as ridi-And yet here he is now—the prime minister of the greatest of empires, and prime minister with assent of ers of his own party, Mr. Balfour rible, so united. They would have every man of almost every party and never departed from the limits of been a little less surprised if a deevery section of the country. One of strict courtesy and respect. his great rivals died years ago in the Cimmerian darkness of utter defeat; It will be understood with what feel- truth of the saving principle and the other has lost forever the glit-

very remarkable career. What is the secret of this enormous success? It is not to be found in the usual qualities which go to make successful ambition. Ambition should b made of much sterner stuff than Mr Balfour. He is one of the least pushful of men; he does not particularly care for political success; he has never thrust anyone else aside with that rude heave of the shoulder wich ambition so often and so readily employs. In some respects he is the most uncalculating of men; he is modest in his self-estimate, and he takes as much pains to conceal as other men do to manifest his best qualities. Let us, then, take rapid survey of the career which is in so many respects a surprise and a departure from the accepted canons of political success. Luck will be found to play some part in its astounding prosperity. The earlier years of Mr. Balfour's parliamentary career did not give much ground for high expectation.

There are many men whose characters appear to be quite different under different circumstances, who, in fact, are so because they are the creatures Without the inner of circumstances. and volcanic fire of tremendous energy, boundless ambition, voracious appetites of one kind or another, they may pass through life unnoticed and enjoying the universal affection which is often the most poignant expression of universal indifference, or regarded by

a weak will and indolent disposition Mr. Balfour narrowly escaped being a man of this type. He entered parliament with a score of things in his favor. He had considerable wealth: he was allied with the greatest and ost ancient names in the British aristocracy, and his intellectual gifts were high, palpable, undeniable. In a England, where the aristocracy still reigns almost supreme in at least one political party, such man is pointed out for great and alimmediate success A few speeches of promise, a sign of even occasional industry in the House of Commons, and he is under secretary at an age when the ordinary wayfarer and struggler in English life is on a high desk and over distracting account books Furthermore Mr. Balfour entered parliament in 1874, while he was still a youth; he was only twenty-six years of age when he became a member for Hertford, and he has been a yet, in spite of these advantages, he was in parliament for thirteen or

BALFOUR AND CHURCHILL.

If one compares his career with that Parnell. of his first great rival, one will see the then at the head, not merely of a bril- which assassination might be the difference in their temperaments; and liant and united party in the House of weapon on one side, and lengthy and the reason for the contrast in their Commons, but also of a mighty orcareers. The late Lord Randolph ganization which in a sense was more Churchill entered the House of Comthe real government of Ireland than mons never accepts gladly, and the he ought to be reading Hansard—Han-Balfour, and his first few years of ships and the bayonets of British rule. distinguished than those of Mr. Bal- the country so complete by the then four, with the additional disadvantage new organization that contracts for that Lord Randolph was popularly land, most, even, of the affairs of life, supposed to burn the candle of life at were regulated, controlled, dominated convincing speech. When the time and almost incredible—as Mr. Disthan a pattern of the virtues. In Among the members of Mr. Parnell's house that the suspension of the conyouth, as in middle age, he has been party were men whose parliamentary stitution in Ireland had become necesserene, passionless, equable, apparent- gifts were equal, if not the superior, ly without any longings for violent of those of any other party in the might be inattentive and unsatisfac- of Ireland was inspired by the pen, Mr. Goschen that his measure had a laughed, he never even seemed to look tory, but he was always decorous. at onct mordant and eloquent, of one chance of general acceptance. But the up; so still was he that you were al-Lord Randolph, on the other hand, of the greatest of combatant writers coercion bill was passed, and then be-most surprised and frightened while his own party were in power, after man of both political parties had while that feared and wondrous figure tried conclusions with the mighty Irish of the Oriental Sphinx was dictator of that party, and even while Lord Ran-broken on the wheel; Mr. Forster, one dolph's own father was a highly-placed of the most ruggedly strong men of his Balfour, instead of enjoying the tranministration, Lord Randolph got up did courage and tenacity, but at the and attacked, sneered at and ridiculed end of two years he was a discredited some members of the ministry in politician and a broken man. language of frank bad taste and can- Frederick Cavendish had fallen bravedid scorn to which the House of Com- ly fighting for the life of a comrade mons was up to then entirely unac- in a pool of blood in the Phoenix customed. Mr. Balfour, in the same Park. Sir George Trevelyan, entering period, had taken a very different office with hair black as a raven's course; he had introduced a burials' wing, left it after a couple of years. and the liberation of the people. Outbill, for at that epoch the ministers of white, old and prematurely ruined in different Christian communions had health.

The furthermore the Tright movement were arrayed against Mr. Balfour men were arrayed against Mr. Balfour men not yet reconciled themselves to the Furthermore, the Irish movement

THE WORLD SURPRISED.

ings the world one day heard the as- which I started this article was once

and incalculable accession of strength from the adoption of home rule by the then most potent personality in Eng. By T. P. O'Conner M. P.

| land—Mr. Gladstone. At the moment, too, of the entrance of Mr. Balfour on the chief secretaryship, the National League—as the Irish organization of Mr. Balfour's aid. The constant the period was called—was at its mands upon him for speeches, The two men were, it is true, in the pers of the scandal and the tragedy realms of politics as the adventures of ency the candidature of Capt. O'Shea

cadent poet had suddenly been promoted to the position of commanderin-chief. And then it was that the

tounding rumor that Mr. Balfour was more proved. Mr. Balfour required tering prize which was to be the fitting and magnificent climax of his in succession to Sir Michael Hicks- out his qualities, and to show to the

PREMIER BALFOUR.

was a storm of laughter, ridicule, even mistaken their man. fourteen years before anybody ever contempt. For of all the offices in the thought of him as anything beyond a ministry at that time, the chief secremere indolent amateur who gave to taryship of Ireland was the one which four began by doing much to prove the politics the little time he could spare demanded the qualities in which Mr. misgivings with which his appoint-Balfour seemed to be so conspicuously lacking. It was the great days of Lord Randolph ganization which in a sense was more is a proposal which the House of Comlife were even more un- There was, in fact, a government of mbition. Furthermore, Mr. Balfour House, and the Nationalist journalism

BALFOUR MAKES GOOD

But even in his new office Mr. Balment had been received. It was his mournful duty to propose coercion, and That matchless leader was to enter into the awful conflict in epoch he had not yet learned any selfmodern warfare.

> quility and perfect security of the orpolitics, found himself living in an atmosphere such as was breathed in Mazzini and Garibaldi preached gospel of the bullet and the knife as with a spirit quite as fearless as his Man after man defied him, mar after man went to jail, man after man left the comforts of home to sleep on plank beds and eat the coarse and sparing fare and endure the awful solitude and confinement of the cell. There were bloody encounters between

Throughout all that trying time Mr. fore, very easily assimilated. Balfour never qualled. He took up his position, and stuck to it with inflexible resolution. Threats, vituoerations, pleadings—all were in vain. He fought, and fought almost single-handed, some of the mightiest of parliamen ary gladiators—Gladstone, Parnell. John Morley, Sexton, William O'Brien, John Dillon; later he had even to encounter the formidable assault on his flank of as their early strivings and youthful brain food. Churchill, with that fierce self-assertion and that absorption in political success, which were his characteristics. Sary food for Tissue, Blood and cross-currents that are at once unaccountable and irrational, "The truth had in just a few years raised himself from obscurity and even laughter and contempt, to the position of leader of his party in the House of Commons: and he was on the steps of the throne of supreme command when that rest-less, uncertain and impatient temper of his made him slip; and when he once slipped it was as from the top of an Alpine mountain—there was from crag to crag to the abyss of ruin, madness and death. But before the end came, Lord Randolph had turned on the men who had risen on him and then trampled on him; and he became the critic of the minister who had once neither hope nor mercy, nor even pause for him till he crashed down from crag to crag to the abyss of ruin, been his subordinate. But even this did not discomfit, though it palpably

At all Druggists,

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Balfour has the same family tendency to look askance at the rude and uninformed wisdom of crowds, and to pre-

pained, Mr. Balfour. And anyhow the luck remained with him, and had like the feeble jade it is, abandoned poor Lord Randolph Churchill.

BECOMES A GREAT DEBATOR.

And luck, and the necessary pressur vehemence and constancy of the at-tacks upon him, had compelled him to energy and frequency of speech: and to the surprise of the House Commons, and perhaps to his own, he suddenly developed into one of the most powerful and convincing debator of the house. The hesitancy of speech was occasionally there, and the awkwardness of pesture and the slight wardness of gesture, and the sligh harshness of voice; but, on the other hand, Mr. Balfour showed that great power of analyzing and then crushing the arguments of an opponent, which is the special quality of the logical Scotch mind. The despised and halting and abashed speaker became the triumphant parliamentary athlete who seemed to long for conflict, and was ing the blows simultaneously delivere from all his many parliamentary foes. What the final outcome of the struggle between Mr. Balfour and the Irish movement would have been if things had taken their normal course, it is impossible to say. Some have though that the British constituencies would have backed up his policy; others be lieve that it was leading him to disaster. In any case, things did not their ordinary courses, Luck again came to Mr. Balfour's assist The divorce case in which Mr. Parnell was implicated came on: and hen the split, and its hideous controversies and mudslinging; and then the death of Parnell and then the breakup of the once omnipotent combination which Mr. Balfour had been con fronted. And so it was that when Mr Gladstone sought for the verdict of the nation on Mr. Balfour's Irish policy there was an indecisive result: Mr. Bal four was overthrown, it is true, but Mr. Gladstone's power depended upon the very uncertain foundation of miserably small and insufficient ma-

The extraordinary run of luck which had attended Mr. Balfour up to this point was apparently inexhaustible. W. H. Smith-the leader who had succeeded to Lord Randolph Churchilldied just at the moment when Mr Balfour's Irish record had placed him in the very zenith of his power and fame. Mr. Goschen was an older, ir some respects even a greater, parliamentarian, and he had come to the rescue of the Conservative party at that awful moment in its when it was reeling under the shock of Lord Randolph Churchill's revolt But the claims of Mr. Balfour were too strong to be resisted, and sowhile still in the merest parliamentary youth, as years are counted in an assembly mostly of middle-aged and elderly men-Mr. Balfour attained to the great position of leader of the of Commons. He had done it all by the work of a few sessions o parliament. Such are the surprises of

AS LEADER OF THE HOUSE. But again luck and Mr. Balfour had

to fight a hard battle for his success.

cisive. The external force of the chief

and for years the struggle was inde-

secretaryship, which has always been necessary to bring out Mr. Balfour's qualities and his strength, was removed. It may appear very curious to anybody who does not know Mr. Balfour and the House of Commons, that the leadership of the house should not be a position to bring out a man's best parliamentary qualities. But the leadership of the House of Commons is one member of parliament ever since. And Beach-retired by ill-health. There world that they had all along entirely of the positions that will be just what in who takes the place likes to make it. It may be very effective, it may be very ineffective, it may be laborious, it may be indolent, it may be a great thing, it may be a small thing. Take two of the great leaders whom the House of Commons has known in our own times. Disraeli took his position so seriously that he once said to a young parliamentary aspirant-the late Sir John Pope Hennessy burden of proof is on the minister who sard being the reports of the parliaproposes it. Mr. Balfour, even now, mentary debates. He himself acted up is often a halting speaker; but at this to this principle. He was always in his place. Indeed, of the many strange confidence, and he had never up to things I have seen men do, I never that time made even one decent and saw anything so strange-weird, even, came, then, for him to convince the racli's demeanor in the House of Comsary, he made a very poor plea, and passivity that made him look like a it was not till his case was backed up statue. The face never changed its by the more practiced oratory and by expression; ne never frowned, he never gan one of the fiercest conflicts of you saw him do anything so human as lift one leg over the other. And The unloosing of coercion brought into the field the revolutionary forces into the field the revolutionary forces was yellow, skinny, drawn, with ring-ernor didn't kill the fatted calf." in Ireland and in America, and Mr. lets of raven-black dyed hair, with the other features of the typical Jewdinary British minister in the orderly ish face—you can understand what a and peaceful development of English strange and striking figure he made in porters of Mr. Balfour that he should the house. Of course, it was all pose- absent himself from the house when Italy-for example-at the time when world was always looking at him, who his political opponents that,

than any other emulsion of Cod Liver Oil, for the following he desires as far as he can to be at good and sufficient reasons:

It is a perfect emulsion of police and the crowds that gathered the finest Cod Liver Oil that to Irish meetings: and in short there was something like civil war in Ire- can be obtained, and is, there-

> It is the only emulsion which contains Iron, which is absolutely necessary for the production of rich, red, healthy blcod.

It contains Phosphorus in his old comrade-in-arms. Lord Ran-dolph Churchill. The subsequent fates proper quantity, and is, there-ness. In his inner mind, Mr. Balfour, dolph Churchill. The subsequent fates the the two men had been as character fore, an admirable nerve and people think, looks upon the House of Commons as any other body of partial-

Nerve, it acts as a splendid summarizing Mr. Balfour's attitude to-tonic, and enables the system looks on us as vulgar fellows." Such

Gladstone was the very antithesis di this. He was restlessness itself; and his face was as transparent as the hanging face of a lake under the hangeful April sky. And he was all trenuousness-except for the couple of hours every evening after dinner when he settled himself down to some-hing between sleeping and waking by vork in the hours immediately before and immediately after midnight. His ery entrance into the house revealed he strenuousness of his character. questions to him were placed last on the order paper, and as it was an nflexible rule of his life not to waste single moment of his time, he never urned up in the house until immedi-utely before the moment when his uestion had to be answered. You ould see when he entered what a race ne was running always with the evereeting footsteps of Time. He came n breathless; for some moments after ie sat down he panted almost painully: there was a certain wildness of ook about his eyes; it was evident hat he had just returned from the ong walk he took every day; and that ie had run, perhaps, the last few teps. He used to choose one particuar entrance into the house for the haracteristic reason that he saved hereby one minute and five seconds ver any other route; in short, ould see at once that here was a man f strenuous life, who lived every noment to the last possible amount o alue he could extort out of it. Mr. Hadstone always went out for a ouple of hours to his dinner; this vas one of his inflexible rules, so much o that I saw him dine for the first ime in the House of Commons; and hen he had been sixty years in the louse, and people were brought to ook at the strange and unwonted ight. But except for this brief inter-al, Mr. Gladstone was always in his place, not only taking an interest in ll that was going on, but this with uch persistence that he never, or arely, allowed any other minister to allowed any other minister to

HIS CILATORY ATTITUDE. Compare these two great exemplars

peak if he could manage to speak

imself.

with the attitude and conduct of Mr Balfour during many years of his eadership. The very way he sat eemed to be a revelation of character. nstead of sitting he stretched himself n the treasury bench, and looked as t his whole body was resting on the ape of his somewhat delicate neck. and as he was physically, so he appeared intellectually. The leader of he House of Commons never seemed o have an accurate knowledge of its ay-to-day life. At his side had alvays to be the chief ministerial whip whisper into his ear the names of he bills that have to be discussedhat can be postponed or that must e immediately dealt with. He was onstantly making mistakes, talking of the army estimates when he should peak of the navy; of Tuesday when ne meant Thursday: of bill No. 13 on he order paper when it should be bill Vo. 23, and so on. The house is disosed as a rule to take these things ightly, but when it gets angry or impatient, or has a sense of neglect, or whenever the tide is running against he government-as it must sometimes lo, whatever be the strength of the government-these things are remempered are resented, and they were ised as weapons against Mr. Balfour. And when party passion ran high it was certainly aggravating to the sup-



the pose of a man who felt that the the debate was at its hottest, and to tract attention, and who regulated his pearance, he should be mainly employed in moving the closure. All that could be said on the other

ide was often overlooked. It was forgotten often that Mr. Balfour has a sweet and pleasing temper, a judicial mind, a tolerant disposition, and that peace with all men. He is courtesy itself, his word is accepted with implicit reliance by opponent as well as friend, and he is the most popular man personally in the whole House of Commons. He was not a strenuous leader: but then the Conservative party does not always want strenuous leaders, and perchance his very easy-goingness does something to make things run more smoothly and more expeditiously n the end than if the guidance of the machine were in more impatient and

But the real basis of the irritation which Mr. Balfour often created in the House of Com-mons was the sense that he did not sufficiently care for it-sufficiently rely informed and partially enlightened men-liable to caprice, ignorance Besides supplying the neces- gusts of passion, eddies and flows of to make proper use of the food thus supplied.

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CONTRASTED WITH CHAMBERLAIN. All these things were, however, just fact, it was the end of his chances of the thing to turn the eyes of certain the premiership. If the war had gone nembers of the ministerial party to on, if the distress and the fatigue, and that other figure—pallid, with a head at the same time the grim determinalike a spear; watchful, energetic, car-tion of the nation had deepened, there ing only for politics and looking to the must have come a cry for such a resuccess even of the hour or of the construction of the ministry as would speech as more important than the have put at its head the strong, stern, the eternal destinies of man. There never appeared to be shaken. There were plenty of moments when the must have come the same cry for Mr. triumph of the strenuous man over Chamberlain as at an earlier epoch the apparently indolent and careless there came for Lord Palmerston man seemed to be inevitable. Especial- But the war ended, and with it the ly was this the case when the war chances of Mr. Chamberlain's premierbroke out, and notably when the war, ship; and so, amid the acclamations of beginning in disaster, seemed to throw the whole world, Mr. Balfour became the whole empire back upon itself. The premier.-T. P. O'Connor, M.P., in cold courage, the never-failing selfconfidence the restless industry, the fierce defiance, all these qualities which Mr. Chamberlain displayed during the war seemed to point him out as the one man who was required to steer the vessel of state through the sea?" repeated the New Bedford

his own guardian angel of persistent truth, I'd have to look at my log book luck, seemed to do everything in his to tell you just what happened on power to belittle his own great quali- Christmas Day in our cruises, for we ties and to exalt those of his great don't observe the day anything differrival. Mr. Chamberlain was defiant, energetic, thorough. Mr. Balfour made ently from what we do with any speeches which deepened the impres- other day. sion that he was a mere dilettante, "You see, after a ship's been out at that he was entirely out of harmony sea for five or six months everybody with the great demands of a terrible begins to lose track of the days. They and agonizing epoch. As a matter of are watched sharply mough by the fact, Mr. Balfour was nothing of the officers for the purpose of navigation kind—as recent revelations as to Sir and such, but in every other way it Redvers Buller have proved; but that gets so that one day is like another, was the impression Mr. Balfour's and at last we don't know any more speeches created, and in politics impressions are often as important as "Now, I see," continued he, running

past all recovery. ner, came to Mr. Balfour's rescue. He before that-well," said he, no national passions or complications. Atlantic Ocean, where it's Mr. Chamberlain made speeches which mile and a quarter deep. event, and that event, curiously enough, was the one which seemed most calculated to make Mr. Chamber-

lain triumphant. There is a sketch extant-it is pub- dusk. lished in the interesting History of Parliament, by Philip Smith and Arnold Wright, and is due to the photographic zeal of Sir Benjamin Stonewhich represents Mr. Chamberlain on nounced. It was a day on which Mr. Chamberlain received the congratua-

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Do Without Christmas.

And Mr. Balfour, fighting against whaling captain. "To tell you the

realities. It looked as if the one rival over the log book that he had opened.

Mr. Balfour had were rushing ahead of "that last Christmas day we were off nim, and as if his chances were ruined the Azores and struck four whale, one of 'em a hundred barrel fish, so you But luck and circumstances again, can bet we didn't have any time left and in the usually unexpected man- to celebrate Christmas. And the year was delighted that he could thus at- brief and distant intervals of his ap- made some foolish speeches, but at ling. "my first mate spent a good part least they were decorous, safe, offend- of Christmas day with his crew tryed no national susceptibilities, roused ing to stay on the surface of the South were as torches in a powder magazine. had been caught by a fluking whate But even these things Mr. Chamber- and smashed into little hits, and as lain might have overcome but for one event, and that event, curiously why, we couldn't give 'em any help. we comforted 'em by telling 'em to hold on good and hard until we could get 'round to 'em, which we did about

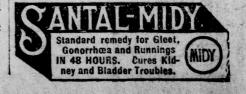
> "In the meanwhile they laid their oars across what was left of the boat was mighty little plum pudding where they waited. "No, we the terrace of the House of Commons Fourth of July or other fixings on the day when peace had been anboard a whale ship, unless it happens

to be lying in some civilized port at the time."—Chicago Tribune. A CAREFULLY PREPARED PILL-Much time and attention were expended in the experimenting with the ingredients that enter into the composition of Par-melee's Vegetable Pills before they were brought to the state in which they were first offered to the public. Whatever other pills may be, Parmelee's Vegetable Pills are the result of much expert study, and all persons suffering from dyspepsia

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