

# CHAMP CLARK'S LETTER

## The Commercial Phase of Imperialism.

### A PHILOSOPHIC ARGUMENT.

#### Shall Our Government Be a Republic or an Empire?

#### WHAT IMPERIALISM WILL ENTAIL.

**Vast Fleets and Armies Must Be Built and Raised—Our Farmers and Workers Would Be Compelled to Compete With the Products and Labor of China and Siberia—Capital Will Go Where Labor is Cheap and Raw Material Abundant—A Careful Study of a Great Question.**

(Special Washington Letter.)

One of the very ablest of the young Democrats in congress is the Hon. William M. Howard of Georgia. He possesses a fine judicial and analytical mind as does any other man in public life. His besetting sin is his modesty, which, perhaps, in this age of brass ought to be accounted a virtue. He is a fine illustration of the truth of the old adage that "still water runs deep." He represents the district formerly represented by Judge Lawson, who was universally regarded as one of the ablest men in the house.

In the Fifty-fifth congress Howard and I were both placed on the great committee on foreign affairs by Hon. Thomas Brackett Reed; consequently I got acquainted with him at an early day in his congressional career and learned to value his great qualities at their true worth. He is very much disposed to hide his light under a bushel, but gradually members on both sides of the house are coming to understand that he is one of the really forceful characters in congress. In the Porto Rican debate the subject was discussed from every conceivable standpoint except the commercial. Howard made a great speech on the commercial phase of imperialism.

"Mr. Chairman, we are now perhaps well beyond the sentimental stage of our victory over Spain, and thoughtful people are no longer willing to solve the problems that confront us as the legacy of that war by the patriotic exclamation, 'Who will haul down the flag?' nor will they accept as an accurate measurement of our responsibilities the mystical solution that it is 'destiny.'

"Our Motives Honorable. "Whether the inhabitants of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands are citizens of the United States, or whether the constitution guarantees to them a republican form of government, or whether the tariff and excise tax laws apply equally to all the territory of the United States, or whether these islands may be held perpetually as colonies without the right of statehood, and many other problems not yet suggested by this new and strange relation, alien to the spirit of 1776 and repugnant to the Declaration of Independence and unprovided for in the constitution, are questions too vital, too momentous, to be solved with phrases.

"The decision to go to war with Spain was suddenly made notwithstanding the long continued existence of the causes which we proclaimed as justifying hostilities, and the public mind was as little prepared for the ready comprehension of the consequences of victory as was our government for the conflict, and it was therefore but natural that the hysteria of our exultation should be prolonged by mysticism on the part of those who conceived that the golden opportunity was present to convert a war begun for humanity into one of conquest for commercial gain. The change of purpose was as radical as the war was sudden and involved our pledged faith to the world and with each other.

"No matter that Europe was not deceived. We ourselves believed that our motives were honorable and that we fought to restore peace and establish liberty where despotism was reveling in a carnival of death. In July, when the blood of our heroes was yet wet on San Juan hill, we spurned the suggestion of indemnity as a taint upon our honor, and in December, at Paris, we were stifling the protest of our prostrate foe with a bribe of gold that Europe might not hear her cries while we stripped her of the Philippines. It is no wonder, then, that the succeeding chapter in our history was written in the Delphic phrases, 'Who will haul down the flag?' 'It is our destiny' and 'God has given them to us.'

"It is not my purpose to enter at this time into a discussion of any of the problems which the permanent retention of Porto Rico and the Philippines involves except that of commercial expansion. There are now many people in the United States who believe they see in the annexation of Cuba and the permanent retention of Porto Rico and the Philippines vast opportunities for the expansion of our commerce and who for the sake of this supposed advantage will justify and defend a policy which results in the permanent retention of these islands.

**Republic or Empire?**

"Waiting all considerations of right and wrong involved in the policy of retention and passing the question of the constitutional power to maintain a colonial system and of the resultant effect on our republican form of government of a colonial system, I shall dis-

uss the question of commercial expansion involved in this new condition from a purely commercial standpoint of profit and loss. Whether it is desirable that grave questions of constitutional government should ever be considered from the standpoint of commercial gain, the fact is that every male citizen in the United States, not legally disqualified, is by virtue of his power to vote a lawmaker, and whether he will preserve existing institutions or overturn them is a matter of his own will, and those who would overturn settled policies must be met at the threshold of such a controversy on their own ground.

"If this government is to remain a republic, the people will be responsible for it; if it is to be converted into an empire, the people will be responsible for that, and this being so, it is the part of wisdom to talk about the things some of the people are thinking about. It is safe to say that if the commerce with the Philippine Islands was the limit of the possibilities for commercial expansion in the east the question of their permanent retention would have been settled long ago against such a policy. The average annual aggregate of the imports and exports of the islands for a period of ten years, ending with the year 1898, is \$33,000,000. If every dollar of this commerce was with the United States and every dollar of it was profit, it would not pay the expenses of a civil and orderly government in the islands."

Here Mr. Howard inserts some tables of figures showing exactly the imports of the Philippines from all the countries of the world as well as the exports of the archipelago to these same countries, perfectly substantiating the facts as stated by him in his opening paragraphs.

#### Facts to Consider.

"If this is wise for us, just to our laboring element, a contrary policy is unwise and unjust to the people of these islands, and in its last analysis the competition is that of the coolie contract labor with the free labor of the States in the production of sugar and tobacco. It is no reply to say that the island tobacco, being better than ours, does not really compete with it. Their best tobacco is better than ours and hence does not compete, but they now raise and will raise still more of a grade of tobacco which is not better than ours that will compete with us.

"Nor will it do to say that the cane and beet sugar industry of the states yields so small a per cent of the total consumed that our industries will not be affected. The price of our sugar is fixed by the price of theirs. Besides, the beet sugar industry in the United States promises in the future to supply our home market. Germany and France not only supply their home market, but export largely of beet sugar. The fact is that beet sugar supplies two-thirds of the sugar consumed in the world, and the adaptability of sections of the west and the south to its production promises some relief from the unprofitable production of cotton and wheat.

"Cotton was formerly grown in the Philippines and may be grown there again, and, while you add this industry to those existing in the islands, you increase the production of a staple the price of which, when a normal crop is made in the United States, is below the cost of production, bringing distress and want to many of the people now dependent upon that branch of agriculture."

After 20 pages of close reasoning Mr. Howard sums up the situation in a most interesting fashion. It is well written, it is good reading, and it makes the eastern situation so plain that even "a wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein." Here it is:

#### A Look Into the Future.

"If the powers in China act in concert in excluding all commerce except their own, the question is fairly presented whether we are sufficiently powerful to overcome their resistance by owning the Philippines. I take it that in our generation no American government would inaugurate a war in a large sense offensive against England, Germany, Russia and France. The question will not admit of argument. In that contingency we would discover honor and prosperity in peace.

"Let me now assume that the greater probability is from the relation between these powers that they may quarrel among themselves, and if we were in possession of the Philippines we should have an opportunity to be drawn into the quarrel on more favorable terms than those just supposed, and with the fortunes of war more evenly balanced we could better afford risks, and in this more hopeful view we keep the Philippine Islands. We will fortify and garrison the best harbors, build drydocks, equip coaling stations, build repair shops and keep a fleet of warships about our Asiatic station.

"American money is invested in China; American citizens have large interests there. The critical moment arrives, the diplomatic triggers are set, we scan the situation and make choice of sides, with whom or in what particular combination the emergency will determine. If we win, we shall have a port, a sphere of influence, of our own. The prize is a rich one. We are eager for it. We pile coal in Luzon as high as the volcano of Taal. The triggers are sprung. War is on. Luzon is the base of American operations, and whatever the combination we are in, whoever our allies may be, sooner or later our base is an object of attack. To resist successfully it must prove stronger than the assault.

#### We Overtake Our Destiny.

"Should our base be destroyed we are at least crippled. It may lead to defeat. If so, we withdraw gracefully, pay the indemnity and console ourselves as best we may and curse the hour we took the Philippines. If we win, a port of China is the reward. We select a port and whatever more

may be agreed on. We fortify and garrison the port and garrison the territory taken. The Asiatic fleet must be enlarged, our new dependency governed. We are a world power now. We must aid in maintaining peace if peace be profitable or in waging more war if war promises the greater advantage. We have attained to national manhood. We have at last overtaken our destiny.

"The Philippines were only the stepping stone in the march. Our ships must outnumber our factories if we would be respectable in the company we keep and our soldiers outnumber our voters if we would not have trouble with our republican institutions. The taxes are burdensome, the civil list extravagant, the pension list the most liberal in the world."

#### Farmer and Worker Injured.

"Our army is larger than ever; the white squadron is to be seen in every sea, our flag in every zone. What have we accomplished for our commerce? We have added Porto Rico, Cuba, the Philippine Islands, a province or more in China, and if it was Russia that succumbed in the conflict we will take some of her Siberian territory, or if it was France we shall add islands in Australasia, or if it was Germany we shall take some of her possessions, preferably in Africa, and should Germany be the unfortunate one we will despoil her in the Pacific. This, then, is our gain for commerce, for our surplus wheat, cotton, oil, iron and steel and their manufactures.

"But the wheatfields of China and Siberia are nearer than our great western plains, and they are tilled by Asiatic labor, with whose low wages our wheat growers would starve. The cotton fields of China are white with Asiatic staple, and the cotton of India is nearer than that of America, and by the law of cheaper products and cheaper transportation keeps American cotton out. When you have cut the Nicaragua canal, Indian cotton is still cheaper in your new possessions in China than American.

"The coal and iron of China, developed by European and American money and skill, are supplying the demand for iron and steel in our new domain, and Russian, Siberian, Sumatran and Chinese oil is still in the hands of the old or a new Standard Oil company, who finds it cheaper to plug up American wells and supply China from Chinese and other nearby wells. And now for the first time the American farmer, the American miner and the American factory hand learn that trade does not follow the flag, but that capital does, and leaves dear labor at home to pay the tax as best it can to fly the flag in a foreign land.

#### Where is the Imperialist?

"Where is the imperialist now? He has gone where he can practice imperialism, where labor is cheap, raw material abundant and men must work, but shall not vote. The great valley of the Mississippi is listless, and the plains of the great west seem bare. But they will reduce the acreage in wheat and seed to the sugar beet. For what? To compete with the contract coolie labor of tropical Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. The south may reduce her acreage of cotton and sow to tobacco. For what? To compete with Cuban and Philippine tobacco.

"What, then, does the balance sheet show? The total import and export trade of China for a year does not exceed \$250,000,000. Now, if the United States absorbed every dollar of this commerce, driving every rival from her market and every dollar of this trade was profit, how does the account stand? "For the year 1901 recommended appropriations for our army are \$128,000,000 and for our navy \$75,000,000, a total of \$203,000,000, taking no account of pensions incident to the Spanish and Philippine war. Add to this sum the past cost of the war, \$250,000,000, and allow for the commerce of the Philippines and Porto Rico \$30,000,000, which counts every dollar of their trade as profit, and the sheet is balanced against us by \$175,000,000.

#### The Old Way and the New.

"But the army is to be permanently increased, and the navy is to be built to proportions commensurate with the responsibilities of our new obligations. If you double the existing navy, which will make us then only a fourth rate naval power, you double at least the present appropriation and double the present army, and you at least double the present appropriation to \$400,000,000.

"In other words, an army and navy adequate for the requirements, with the attendant increase of pensions, civil government and unforeseen expenses, will add to the cost of running this government \$500,000,000, or twice what it cost us in 1897, before the war with Spain, or twice as much as the aggregate of all the commerce of China, the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii if every dollar of their commerce was with us to the exclusion of every other commercial power in the world and if every dollar of that commerce went into the pockets of American citizens as profit.

"Contrast the old way with the new, and how stupendous is the folly of it! During a century of peace, leading the national life planned for us by our fathers, our export trade has reached \$1,252,903,987, at a maximum expense for government of \$500,000,000, \$150,000,000 of which is paid in pensions and purchases no service for the government, and now it is proposed to abandon the ways of peace and conquer trade with force, and we increase the expense of government from \$500,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 for the sake of the opportunity to conquer the commerce of China, Porto Rico and the Philippines."

*Champ Clark*

## AN OUTRAGE ON DEMOCRACY

The perfidy of the alleged Democrats of the Forty-third senatorial district, who last week nominated Senator C. L. Magee for state senator and endorsed him by resolution for election to the United States senate, were fitly rebuked subsequently in turn by the Democratic county convention of Allegheny county and the Democratic county committee. The county convention, by a practically unanimous vote, repudiated the action of the so-called senatorial convention, and the county committee expelled from the body all members who participated in the treacherous performance by the senatorial convention. Colonel Guffey, member of the national committee, and Chairman Rilling, of the state committee, also promptly repudiated the action.

It has become a custom among certain leading and wealthy Republicans to maintain a contingent of mercenaries who are influenced by bribery to debase the Democratic party in their interest. This was an invention of Colonel Quay in his halcyon days, and he usually compensated the traitors by throwing crumbs from his official table to them. Some years ago Magee adopted the practice, and while in Philadelphia and other places throughout the state there are what are known as "Quay Democrats," the traitors in Pittsburgh answer to the name of "Magee Democrats." There can be no such Democrats, and the name of either is a badge of political perfidy.

The true Democrats of Allegheny county are no more favorable to Magee than they are to Quay. The practices of both these politicians are obnoxious to every impulse of Democracy, and the difference between them is simply one of personality. They were partners in plundering the people until they quarreled over the division of the spoils, and since that they have been pursuing the same purposes separately. There is nothing in common between them and true Democracy, and the nomination of Magee as a Democratic candidate by a convention palpatingly packed in his interest was an outrage which ought to be resented by every Democrat in the state.

### HON. P. GRAY MEEK.

The Democrats of Pennsylvania may well view with satisfaction the work of their late state convention. The gentlemen chosen to represent the Democratic people of the commonwealth in the national convention of the party at Kansas City not only exercised a potential influence on the deliberations of the body, but took a leading part in the councils of the organization. No state was more conspicuous than Pennsylvania and no delegation contributed more to the splendid work performed by that body in the nomination of the candidates and the adoption of a platform which is a marvel of strength and a masterpiece of political literature.

The state convention was no more happy in its selection of representatives to the national convention than it was wise and fortunate in its nomination for the office of auditor general. That office is one of the most important in the state. More than any other, not excepting that of governor, the auditor general has power to serve the people in the matter of protecting them from unjust taxes. It is the auditor general who has the power to hold the corporations to the fulfillment of their obligations to pay taxes, and it is a mild criticism to say that in recent years they have fared well, while it has fallen on the people to make up the deficits resulting in consequence of leniency to them.

In the person of their candidate for auditor general, Hon. P. Gray Meek, of Bellefonte, the Democratic representatives in convention assembled have given the people of Pennsylvania the best assurances of a faithful discharge of every public duty. For many years and in various capacities he has served the public and always with such fidelity that he is trusted implicitly by all who know him. He is a gentleman of the highest character for integrity and intelligence, and it may safely be said that if he is elected every corporation will be compelled to pay its just share of the taxes. That will be a new departure in fiduciary management in Pennsylvania, but it will be a fortunate one.

### WELLINGTON FOR BRYAN.

United States Senator George L. Wellington, elected as a Republican by the Maryland legislature, has declared for Bryan. Speaking from the same platform with the Democratic presidential candidate at Cumberland recently Senator Wellington said:

"I am here tonight to declare my unalterable antagonism to the policy of imperialism and my opposition to the representative of that vicious principle. It is an occasion of more than ordinary importance for any man to antagonize the political party which he has served for a quarter of a century, to which he has given the best years of his life, and for which he has achieved some success. It brings much bitterness and vituperation. The vials of wrath have already been opened upon me, and there will be much that is unpleasant in the work I have to do. I have, however, determined to do that which I believe to be for the best interest of my country, and in the performance of my duty I find it necessary not only to oppose the re-election of President McKinley, but to emphasize that position by supporting his antagonist, who in this election stands for free government according to the constitution."

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N. B. SPANGLER, Attorney-at-Law—Office in court house. District attorney.

J. H. WETZEL, Attorney-at-Law—Office in Crider's Exchange. Special attention given to surveying and engineering.

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## RAILROAD SCHEDULES

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD AND BRANCHES. In effect on and after May 25, 1900.

VIA TYRONE—WESTWARD.

Leave Bellefonte 9:55 a. m., arrive at Tyrone 11:30 a. m.; at Altoona, 1:50 p. m.; at Pittsburgh 5:50 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 1:05 p. m., arrive at Tyrone 2:15 p. m.; at Altoona 3:10 p. m.; at Philadelphia 8:55 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 4:44 p. m., arrive at Tyrone 6:00; at Altoona at 7:30; at Philadelphia at 11:30

VIA TYRONE—EASTWARD.

Leave Bellefonte 9:55 a. m., arrive at Tyrone 11:30; at Harrisburg 2:40 p. m.; at Philadelphia 8:45 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 1:05 p. m., arrive at Tyrone 2:15 p. m.; at Harrisburg 6:45 p. m.; at Philadelphia 10:30 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 4:44 p. m., arrive at Tyrone 6:00; at Harrisburg at 10:00 p. m.

VIA LOCK HAVEN—EASTWARD.

Leave Bellefonte 1:42 p. m., arrive at Lock Haven 10:30, leave Williamsport, 12:40 p. m., arrive at Harrisburg, 3:35 p. m.; at Philadelphia at 8:25 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 4:22 p. m., arrive at Lock Haven, 2:45 p. m., Williamsport, 3:50 p. m., Harrisburg, 6:5 p. m.

Leave Bellefonte 8:30 p. m., arrive at Lock Haven, 9:30 p. m., leave Williamsport, 1:05 a. m., arrive Harrisburg, 8:25 a. m., arrive at Philadelphia at 10:30 p. m.

VIA LEWISBURG.

Leave Bellefonte at 6:49 a. m., arrive at Lewisburg at 9:05 a. m., Harrisburg, 11:30 a. m., Philadelphia, 8:25 a. m., arrive at Lock Haven, 4:47, at Harrisburg, 6:55 p. m., Philadelphia at 10:30 p. m.

LEWISBURG & TYRONE RAILROAD. In effect May 27, 1900.

WESTWARD. EASTWARD.

11:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40 1:50 2:00 2:10 2:20 2:30 2:40 2:50 3:00 3:10 3:20 3:30 3:40 3:50 4:00 4:10 4:20 4:30 4:40 4:50 5:00 5:10 5:20 5:30 5:40 5:50 6:00 6:10 6:20 6:30 6:40 6:50 7:00 7:10 7:20 7:30 7:40 7:50 8:00 8:10 8:20 8:30 8:40 8:50 9:00 9:10 9:20 9:30 9:40 9:50 10:00 10:10 10:20 10:30 10:40 10:50 11:00 11:10 11:20 11:30 11:40 11:50 12:00 12:10 12:20 12:30 12:40 12:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40 1:50 2:00 2:10 2:20 2:30 2:40 2:50 3:00 3:10 3:20 3:30 3:40 3:50 4:00 4:10 4:20 4:30 4:40 4:50 5:00 5:10 5:20 5:30 5:40 5:50 6:00 6:10 6:20 6:30 6:40 6:50 7:00 7:10 7:20 7:30 7:40 7:50 8:00 8:10 8:20 8:30 8:40 8:50 9:00 9:10 9:20 9:30 9:40 9:50 10:00 10:10 10:20 10:30 10:40 10:50 11:00 11:10 11:20 11:30 11:40 11:50 12:00 12:10 12:20 12:30 12:40 12:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40 1:50 2:00 2:10 2:20 2:30 2:40 2:50 3:00 3:10 3:20 3:30 3:40 3:50 4:00 4:10 4:20 4:30 4:40 4:50 5:00 5:10 5:20 5:30 5:40 5:50 6:00 6:10 6:20 6:30 6:40 6:50 7:00 7:10 7:20 7:30 7:40 7:50 8:00 8:10 8:20 8:30 8:40 8:50 9:00 9:10 9:20 9:30 9:40 9:50 10:00 10:10 10:20 10:30 10:40 10:50 11:00 11:10 11:20 11:30 11:40 11:50 12:00 12:10 12:20 12:30 12:40 12:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40 1:50 2:00 2:10 2:20 2:30 2:40 2:50 3:00 3:10 3:20 3:30 3:40 3:50 4:00 4:10 4:20 4:30 4:40 4:50 5:00 5:10 5:20 5:30 5:40 5:50 6:00 6:10 6:20 6:30 6:40 6:50 7:00 7:10 7:20 7:30 7:40 7:50 8:00 8:10 8:20 8:30 8:40 8:50 9:00 9:10 9:20 9:30 9:40 9:50 10:00 10:10 10:20 10:30 10:40 10:50 11:00 11:10 11:20 11:30 11:40 11:50 12:00 12:10 12:20 12:30 12:40 12:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40 1:50 2:00 2:10 2:20 2:30 2:40 2:50 3:00 3:10 3:20 3:30 3:40 3:50 4:00 4:10 4:20 4:30 4:40 4:50 5:00 5:10 5:20 5:30 5:40 5:50 6:00 6:10 6:20 6:30 6:40 6:50 7:00 7:10 7:20 7:30 7:40 7:50 8:00 8:10 8:20 8:30 8:40 8:50 9:00 9:10 9:20 9:30 9:40 9:50 10:00 10:10 10:20 10:30 10:40 10:50 11:00 11:10 11:20 11:30 11:40 11:50 12:00 12:10 12:20 12:30 12:40 12:50 1:00 1:10 1:20 1:30 1:40