

A MYSTIC PLATFORM.

WHAT DOES THE MINNEAPOLIS MANIFESTO MEAN?

A Rare Collection of Glittering Generalities and Platitudes of Ancient Vintage. The True Inwardness of the Monopolistic Idea Exposed.

The Republican platform produced at Minneapolis is a document of rare interest to the student of opinions and to the critic of style. It combines the direct and almost infantile simplicity of the chap book with the mystic mistiness of the second story back clairvoyant. No one man can understand it. To take it in comprehensively and interpret it intelligently would require the best endeavors of a joint session of a kindergarten and a Browning club. No one man wrote it. No one man could have written it, not even Colonel Abe Sluspey himself.

Wonder ceases when we remember that this masterpiece of political literature is the achievement of a committee of forty-eight, operating through five subcommittees of five each, and all under the immediate and active superintendence of Joseph Benson Foraker. There was no subcommittee on the preamble. The point-with-pride department was evidently managed by Foraker in person and alone. The well-known fire alarm rhetoric is here in undiluted strength:

"The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1856, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines."

Is the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic the Mississippi river or the general convention on its shores? Is the record of the Republican party the most glorious chapter of the Mississippi river, or of the general convention, or of the indestructible republic, or of the everlasting bond? Is the majestic march of the nation vindicated by the Democratic victories at the polls in 1856; and why should it need vindication, inasmuch as the nation walks right along, whichever party wins? Is the agricultural, manufacturing and subterranean prosperity referred to by Foraker a vindication of the majestic march, or of the Republican party's banners, or of the beaten force bill, or of the billion, or of what? Foraker knows and could tell. Probably Colonel Abe Sluspey knows likewise.

But this is only the whipped cream on the pudding. We come next to the tariff plank. It reaffirms the American doctrine of protection. It points to the benefits of a policy which was the policy of the Democratic party while the Republican party was still unseemly in the mists of the future. It declares that the duties levied on imports coming into competition with American products should be "equal to the differences between wages at home and abroad." This is a distinct and specific declaration, almost the only one in the Foraker platform.

It is taken directly from the Democratic national platform of 1854, the platform on which Grover Cleveland was elected, but it is not exactly the principle inscribed on the Republican banners of 1856 or embodied in the McKinley revision. Then the platform goes on to predict that Mr. Blaine's brilliant reciprocity idea, something not inscribed on the banners of 1856, and therefore not vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, will eventually give us control of the trade of the world. And it is silent, silent as the tomb, concerning the reduction of the national revenue by the repeal of the internal revenue taxes, or of any part of them. That was distinctly inscribed on the banners of 1856. Since 1856 the Republican billion congress discovered another and an easier way to reduce the surplus.

Among the meaningless platitudes poured into the pot by the gentlemen who had a hand in composing the Republican platform of 1892 are these:

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine by home built ships.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine.

The ultimate reliance of free popular government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among men.

We declare anew our devotion to liberty of thought and conscience, of speech and press.

We are opposed to any union of church and state.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and to promote morality.

Colonel Abe Sluspey, we repeat, would never have written such trash or such cant as this and offered it to the country as a formal and careful declaration of principles made by a party professing to be a party of principles. But Colonel Sluspey, worse luck, was not intrusted with the great and momentous job.—New York Sun.

The Republican Platform.
The platform adopted by the Republicans at Minneapolis is a sweeping drag-net of glittering generalities. Everything within the range of political dispute is brought into it, most of them in a perfunctory way, and some sort of indefinite promise given to enable the Republican leaders to deal with all shades of all questions.

The planks calling for local legislation to protect employees of corporations; declaring in favor of the oppressed of Ireland and Russia; denouncing trusts and combines; demanding free mail deliveries; approving of the civil service system, the Nicaragua canal, the admission of territories as states, the cession of arid lands to states and territories, the Columbian exposition and temper-

ance are all just so much surplussage for all considerate voters.

There are three planks in the platform which will attract general attention and be more carefully considered by intelligent voters than even the leaders of the convention anticipate. These are the planks in favor of protection and reciprocity, and of bimetalism and the practical approval and recommendation of the force election bill for the south. These questions are vital, and as the party has made a positive record on all of them they will be regarded as measures which must stand or fall with the success or failure of the Minneapolis ticket.

The force bill was beaten by a Republican senate that was then a stronger partisan body than it is today or is likely to be during the next administration. That issue will be a dead weight on the party in the coming contest. The plank on bimetalism is a very adroit straddle of the silver issue.

What the Minneapolis convention calls protection is simply protection of monopoly and of oppression to labor. The McKinley bill needlessly taxes the necessities of industry and of life, and its duties are levied without any regard to the differences between wages abroad and at home. They are levied solely for employers, not for workmen. They protect capital in some instances enormously, but no actual protection is given to labor.

Under such a tariff reciprocity is simply a contradiction of the principles of the party. Reciprocity is either free trade or fair trade, and if separated from an unjust tariff policy it would greatly aid the industry and trade of the nation. The platform on this point is simply a snare, and the farmers of the west and the working people of all sections seem pretty thoroughly to understand it.

The time was when national platforms meant something, but they are generally now regarded as meaningless, mere tubs to whales or baits to gudgeons, and they have ceased to be accepted as an honest expression of what a party will do if successful in gaining power. If platforms were intended to mean what they say, the Minneapolis platform might be summed up as a bundle of contradiction and absurdity; but as they practically mean just nothing at all, it is of little consequence what is put into them or what is omitted.—Philadelphia Times.

A Remorseless Republican.

Mr. Harrison is in every way representative of his party as it is in these latter years. He is in hearty sympathy with its policy, its traditions and its purposes. He has stopped at nothing to promote its ideas. His administration has ably and unflinchingly—perhaps some would say unscrupulously—served its desires.

He has managed to do with dignity much that the party wanted done which would have subjected a less adroit self respect to a good deal of embarrassment. He has succeeded in rewarding the collector of a corruption fund with a cabinet office without offending the better sentiment of his party beyond forgiveness. He has saved his personal dignity by cutting Dudley's acquaintance, and at the same time he has rendered Dudley's "dynamite" innocuous by protecting him from prosecution.

He has turned foreign complications to account by blustering when it was safe to bluster, and by reporting his peregrinary demands upon foreign governments only when he had information that those demands had been complied with.

It must be frankly admitted also that his administration, so far as the routine business is concerned, has been successful. He has approved the squandering of the surplus and the extravagance of the billion dollar congress, and he has put a man at the head of the treasury who knows how to juggle the figures so as to hide the deficiency till after the election.

And for the future. Mr. Harrison's aims are those of his party. He believes in the control of elections by an army of "Johnny" Davenport's under a force bill. He favors such use of the pension list for party purposes as Raum has made. Those who desire such use of the Government's bounty will be more than satisfied with his nomination.

He approves the maintenance of worse than war taxes in time of peace for the sake of turning the earnings of the many into the coffers of the favored few. Those who desire to see the rule of the trusts and monopolies made permanent will rejoice in his renomination as a step in that direction.—New York World.

They Like Taxation.

The Republican party has forgotten nothing but its promises and learned nothing from its discipline of defeat. It reiterates its preposterous claim that the country has been made prosperous by taxation, which is equivalent to saying that if crops grow in spite of frosts, frost is good for crops.—New York World.

A High Priced Bauble.

It cost Colonel Shepard \$10,000 to get to Minneapolis, and he traveled on a Vanderbilt free pass at that. Calling upon him to preside over the far end of the convention was a very small recompense for his liberal outlay. The colonel has been shabbily treated.—New York Advertiser.

An Edifying Spectacle.

Senator Hiscock walking off from Minneapolis with Tom Platt hanging out of his coat-tail pocket is a charming symbol of the harmony which we shall now be told animates the G. O. P.—New York World.

A Time for Toddlers.

If Mr. Carnegie has been thoughtful enough to renew that keg of Scotch whisky, now is the time to tap it.—New York Advertiser.

A Personal Machine.

Benjamin Harrison has made of the public service a partisan and personal machine.—New York World.

THE OFFICE HOLDERS' CANDIDATE.

They Nominated Harrison in Expectation of Future Favours.

President Harrison is nominated for a second term as the result of his own persistent seeking and by means of the free use of the opportunities of the office he holds. His campaign was ably planned, splendidly managed and firmly and courageously conducted to the end at Minneapolis. The old guard of his army in the convention was a horde of federal office holders, led by federal office holders and inspired with the zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come. But for the office holding delegates and the delegates secured by the use of federal patronage at the south, Mr. Benjamin Harrison would not be the candidate of his party.

The success of General Harrison's campaign, directed from the White House in his own interest, is a public misfortune. It will impel and encourage every president of the second or third or fourth rate of ability to make a desperate struggle to retain the power which he has once gained by political accident. It illustrates with uncommon force the dangers pointed out by William Henry Harrison in his inaugural address. "When this corrupting passion," said that sage and honest old patriot, "once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gold it becomes insatiable. It is the never dying worm in his bosom, grows with his growth and strengthens with the declining years of its victim." The worm took possession of the breast of William Henry Harrison's grandson long ago, and now the worm has prevailed.—New York Sun.

THE SLAM BANG POLICY.

The Man with the Hat Wanted a Foreign War.

So far as our relations with other governments are concerned Mr. Harrison has adopted and energetically pursued a policy of slam bang.

He has an impression that the country is prosperous only when it is on the ragged edge of a quarrel with some one, no matter whom it may be, Chili or Great Britain or any one else. He is either forgetful or ignorant of the fact that we are not a belligerent people and desire to live in peace with the whole world so far as is possible. He also forgets that no nation on earth wants war—neither England nor France nor Germany nor Russia nor Italy nor Spain nor even little Chili.

It is curious, therefore, to note that while all other powers are doing their utmost to avoid a conflict Mr. Harrison seems to have bent his efforts to create some opportunity to use our battleships. The conspicuous incidents of the last three years consist of threatening complications with some foreign nation, and if it shall be our misfortune to give him a second term there is ample reason to believe that we may have serious trouble on our hands in the near future.—New York Herald.

A Dusty Miller.

One of the most melancholy figures in the Republican convention is Warner Miller. A short time since he was lying honorably outside the breastworks where Platt put him and where Harrison found him. When Platt wanted to use him, however, he pulled him in or bunkoed him and used him as he would. Miller was a respectable and worthy person so long as he maintained his hostility to the man who defeated his aspirations for governor and who tolerated his leadership as much apparently for his own amusement as for anything else, but his surrender makes him simply one of Platt's followers and subjects. As a leader he has passed away.—New York World.

An Amusing Fiction.

One of the amusing fictions of the nominating speeches was the assertion that not one of the "honored leaders" was seeking the presidency. For a lot of people who were harmoniously engaged in dragging statesmen from their modest retirement for patriotic uses there was a strangely inexplicable amount of rancor exhibited by the delegates.—New York World.

They Won't Take Notice Though.

The Republican senators will take notice that their party platform favors the admission of the remaining territories at the earliest practicable date. New Mexico and Arizona may accordingly be given an opportunity to cast their first electoral votes for the Democratic presidential candidate.—Philadelphia Record.

It Adds to the Campaign Fund.

The nomination of Mr. Whitelaw Reid for vice president in place of Levi P. Morton is a peculiar concession to the one great state in the union which Mr. Harrison could not control. If it adds strength to the ticket it must be of a peculiar quality not at present visible.—New York Advertiser.

Votes That Will Not Elect.

Mr. Harrison received in convention 236 votes from the representatives of southern states and eleven from territories. Not one of these votes represents a vote in the electoral college for the Republican candidate.—New York Advertiser.

Blaine's Hoodoo.

Messrs. Quay, Platt, Clarkson and Reed can now resume their former feeling of antipathy to the ex-secretary of state and blame each other as his hoodoo.—Philadelphia Ledger.

Now Inside the Breastworks.

Platt has a wonderful digestion. He gobbled up Miller and it didn't even make him torpid. Mr. Everts in his best days was not capable of such a feat.—New York World.

Let Democrats Remember.

Benjamin Harrison used the whole power of his office to compel congress to pass the odious force bill.—New York World.



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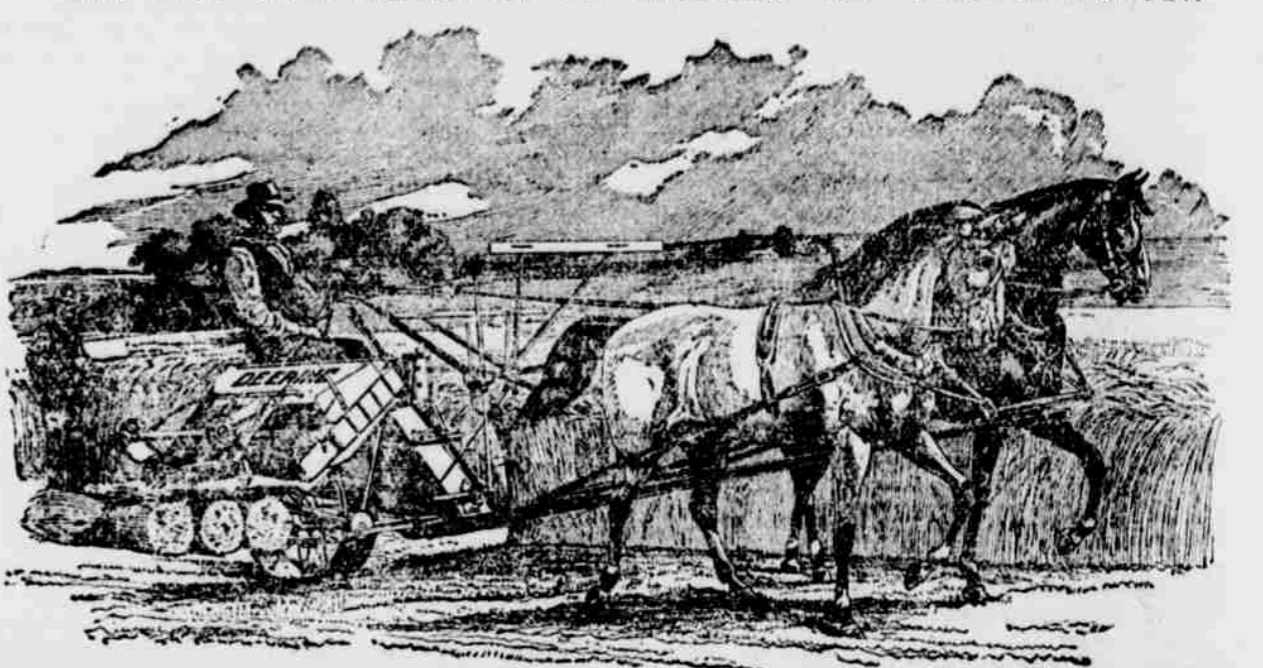
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