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THE REPUBLICAN TICKET.

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It sounds strange to hear the Philadelphia Ledger arguing that in politics the end justifies the means. It often does; but we believe this is the first time that our very conservative contemporary has admitted so much.

The Sober Second Thought.

In another column we have given a number of extracts showing the trend of opinion in the representative newspaper press concerning the deplorable tragedy at Lattimer. The collection has been made from our exchanges impartially and every shade of judgment is accorded a hearing. It will be noticed that while certain journals here and there jump heartily to the conclusion that law should not be enforced in Lower Luzerne if in its enforcement blood must be shed, the preponderance of opinion stands bravely for law and order and is not driven by sympathy for the fallen rioters into offering any encouragement to the kind of lawlessness which precipitated the stern penalty of death.

And this, after all, is the real nub of the problem: Is lawlessness to be condoned or upheld? Those who are so ready to censure the sheriff and his deputies forget that every word of such rebuke acts at this inopportune time as an incentive to continued turbulence. The sheriff, we must assume, until it is otherwise proved, did his duty as he saw it. If he erred or if his subordinates erred, it was not more than others might have done under similar circumstances, and the courts, in calmness and deliberation, will pass on this point after the excitement of the moment shall have subsided. Even though we accept the hypothesis that their course involved a misconception of duty, it does not do away with the prior fact that if there had not been on the part of the strikers themselves a prolonged sacrifice of the rights of the community and a persistent defiance of the laws of the commonwealth there would not have been the occasion for an error of judgment on the part of the officers of the law. Consequently in any view the strikers are primarily to blame and the consequences which all now deplore were primarily of their own manufacture.

And this brings us to another point concerning which public opinion appears somewhat inclined to get twisted—the law as to the highways. "That the public highways can be used for almost any purpose," says the Philadelphia Ledger in an editorial precisely covering this point, "one of the popular misconceptions of the day. The public have the right to travel over the highways freely and without obstruction or molestation at all times. A tumultuous assembly which blocks the way and prevents its free use by travelers in pursuit of their lawful callings is an unlawful assembly and should be dispersed by the strong arm. It is true that free assembly is one of the primary rights of citizens; but it is a right, like all other fundamental rights, which must be regulated by law. The use of the public highways by large, riotous bodies of men passing from point to point to prevent workmen by force from continuing their lawful employments cannot be permitted in a country which assumes to protect its citizens in earning their livelihood. It is not the legitimate function of government to furnish industrial opportunities to all, but it is its fundamental function to see to it that men may go to their daily toil, engage in it and return from it at all times without forcible molestation or hindrance."

In a situation such as this has been forced upon the public attention by the occurrences at Lattimer it is becoming to good citizens to weigh the facts carefully before giving voice to their opinions, and to remember that supreme above the right of any striker in this land is the right of the community to peace, law enforcement and respect for public order. There can be no worse enemy of the American people than he who would seize upon a time of excitement to fan the fires of disorder and give momentum to the forces which make for social destruction.

Richard Croker will not run for mayor of Greater New York, very likely for the reason that Greater New York has no use for Richard Croker.

Nearing a Crisis.

The arrival at San Sebastian of Minister Woodford and his reception by the queen of Spain bring us near to impatiently awaited developments in the Cuban problem. A variety of guesses has been made as to the purport of the instructions which General Woodford bears, but beyond the fact that these instructions are phrased in conciliatory language nothing authentic in the line of information on the subject has yet appeared in print.

The Washington Post of yesterday presents what purports to be a digest of the note borne by General Woodford to the foreign minister of Spain, and while its accuracy is not officially certified many indications point to its substantial correctness. According to

the Post the chief significance of this document is that the United States asks to be considered a party to the settlement of the Cuban question. The reasons why the United States takes this step, which ordinarily might be considered interference on the part of one nation with the domestic affairs of another, are set forth at considerable length and also quite forcibly. The long continuance of war in Cuba, the destruction of property and of commerce, the number in which the interests of the United States have suffered, the large number of American citizens involved in one way or another, the constant anxiety and expense caused the United States government in maintaining its attitude as a friendly power, and, above all, the distress inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of peaceful people, are all dwelt upon.

Mention, says the Post, is also made of the large number of claims preferred by American citizens against the government of Spain without any immediate prospect of settlement. President Cleveland's warning in his last annual message that unless better conditions were soon to come in Spain it would be necessary for the United States to interfere in behalf of commerce and humanity is cited. The note then points out that instead of better conditions worse appear, and in support of this statement the situation in Cuba is reviewed at some length. Without distinctly averting that the struggle is a hopeless one on the part of Spain, the note intimates Spain has made such slight progress that no hope of an early conclusion of the war can be entertained. The note also contains a rather significant allusion to the power of public sentiment in this country in favor of Cuba, and the Spanish authorities are permitted to understand that this sentiment cannot be much longer held in check. In conclusion it is averred that the president in guarded language suggests to Spain a plan whereby the deplorable hostilities can be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The Post does not undertake to say just what the details of this plan are, but an intimation is given that autonomy on liberal lines is the pivot of the solution suggested.

Until the accuracy of this digest is established there can, of course, be only tentative comment upon it. Autonomy for Cuba of a genuine kind, under the guarantee of the United States, would doubtless be the best thing for all concerned if all concerned would exhibit sense enough to accept it gracefully. But we fear that what Spain will ultimately require in order that there may be secured from her a just appreciation of the situation in Cuba will be the form of procedure from which our presidents appear to shrink, namely, the curt Anglo-Saxon command, backed by force if necessary, to pack up her belongings in Cuba and get out.

A dispatch from Lincoln, Neb., says Mr. Bryan looks ten years older than a year ago. We regret that he seems no wiser.

Teach Them a Lesson.

The Wilkes-Barre News-Dealer is entitled to the unenviable distinction of being the first paper in the United States to try to make political capital out of the Lattimer riot. The News-Dealer has gloried in the vocabulary of anarchism ever since the riot took place, and now it frantically endeavors to array the strikers against the Luzerne county Republican ticket because Sheriff Martin is a Republican.

We doubt if the News-Dealer realizes how contemptible its course is; but none the less if there are any politicians in Luzerne so small as to meditate a campaign of this character, the respectable citizens of the county, without regard to party, ought to combine to teach them a much-needed lesson.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor adds his voice to the chorus of those who predict in the near future an unexampled prosperity. At this rate calamity howling will soon become a lost art.

Three Cheerful Facts.

Three interesting facts bearing on the general condition of business in the United States were chronicled in Saturday's issue of the New York Sun. One is contained in the assertion that there are at this time fewer idle workmen in New York city than there have been at any other time in many years. The reports of the various trades unions in New York show an increase in the number of men employed today over a year ago of nearly thirty-five per cent. The heads of various trades unions who have been asked to estimate the number of unemployed say that of late there has been less than five per cent. unemployed today against from thirty per cent. to fifty per cent. one year ago.

The second fact is embodied in an interview had by a Sun reporter with John Claffin, of the H. B. Claffin company, wholesalers of dry goods, confirming the report that that company's sales for August, 1897, exceeded by more than \$1,000,000 its sales for August, 1896. "I believe," said Mr. Claffin, "that we are at the beginning of at least two of the most prosperous years this country has ever known. I can compare them only with 1879 and 1889, the two most prosperous years in the history of the country. Those years, I think, are about to surpass. It is a well-known fact that every period of depression is followed by a period of corresponding great prosperity. We have just had four of the worst years in the history of the country. The spell has been broken now. From one end of the country to the other industries are starting up again and prosperity is found. If we can judge by the conditions that prevailed in 1879 we should have at least two prosperous years. For myself, I do not see why we should not have four or five. The outlook is never so bright as it is now, and business was never in a better condition. As I said before, we have stopped comparing this year with last because the difference is so great that comparisons become worthless and now we are calculating how far we shall exceed the top notch record of 1882."

Fact third appears in a dispatch from Washington, which says: "The Postoffice department is convinced that prosperity is not only coming but is

actually here. This is due to the figures for the business transacted last month by the thirty leading offices of the United States, a statement of which was issued today. The increase of business over August of last year was eight per cent. The significance of this fact becomes more apparent when the figures for the other months this year are given. For January the returns showed a decrease of 5.5 per cent. February showed a decrease of 4.5 per cent. In March things took a turn, and the receipts increased 2.2 per cent. over those for the corresponding month in 1896. April showed five per cent. increase, May seven per cent., June five per cent., and July three per cent. But in August business took a bound from three per cent. the month before to eight per cent. If this rate of increase keeps up the coming fiscal year will show a tremendous increase of business and receipts over last year, and the department believes that this is a harbinger of the business situation in the United States."

These citations of evidence carry their own comment.

To what extent the present yellow fever epidemic along our southern coast is due to our communication with fever-infected Cuba is not yet clear; but it is worth while recalling that the menace to the health of the United States involved in the bad sanitation characteristic of Spanish rule in Cuba has been set forth in a way of warning by eminent medical authorities. It seems to us that we would be justified as a measure of self-protection in moving for the disinfection of Cuba.

The next mayor of New York may try to be non-partisan but conditions beyond his ability to modify will force him to line up on one side or the other of national party politics, and therefore the Republican organization in New York has a right to demand that the man whom it supports for mayor will agree, if elected, to remember his friends.

The lesson of most of these recent railway accidents in the West is that the best roadbed, the best cars, the best general equipment and the best paid labor with a high requirement of efficiency in the long run are the cheapest. Cheap Johnsonism in railroading is a gamble with death in which death holds a majority of the points.

The Press on That Lattimer Affair

The Law in the Case.

Does any good citizen believe that if the rioters of Luzerne county should now be permitted to disperse and should attack the soldiers whom Governor Hastings has sent in force to restore order and uphold the law, the commander of the state troops would not be justified in performing his duty, even at the cost of the life of every man in the mob which persisted in defiance? The governor of Pennsylvania is a higher officer than the sheriff of a county, but in facing a law-defying and law-breaking mob the two officers represent exactly the same supreme authority. The proclamation of the governor issued from Harrisburg, means no more than the riot act read on the highway by the local representative of law and order, except as it warns the law breakers that the law will be enforced by an agency more powerful than is at a sheriff's immediate command. The posse of deputies lined guard at the road and the regiment on guard at the scene of violence are performing the same duty, and the penalty of the law-breaker is the same in resisting the one or the other. Confronting and defying a single officer of the peace, or a sheriff with his sworn deputies, or a company of militia, or an entire brigade, the position of the rebel band with their rebels against law is the same. He persists that he can shed blood flows, his blood is on his own head.

Liberty Not License.

The appalling tragedy at Lattimer, was the latest outbreak of the kind which have been tolerated in some of our mining regions for some years past. That the sheriff and his posse were entirely conscious of the law, and that the mob and the infuriated mob may be questioned; but if such measures are necessary to teach the lawless alien element of the mining region that they do not mean license to interfere violently with the rights of others or to destroy property or life, it must at least be executed in such a way that the lawlessness is painfully manifest in some of our great industrial centers, and the crisis precipitated by the Lattimer tragedy, startling as the results may be, is likely to clear the atmosphere and teach the majesty of the law alike to alien and citizen.

The Real Culprits.

Whether or not Sheriff Martin and his men exceeded their authority the authorities will doubtless determine and place the responsibility where it belongs if any wrong has been done. The law-abiding people everywhere will, as a rule, be disposed to lenient criticism of the officers of the law, realizing that in all their dealings with these vicious fellows they take their lives in their hands, and they were in a critical position and felt compelled to act promptly in accordance with their best judgment. But back of this whole trouble, the corporations that have food the coal fields with this class of foreigners are largely responsible for the misery that has come upon them and upon others.

Think Deputies Were Precipitate.

We can find no legitimate excuse for the severity of the sheriff and his men. In five minutes five times as many poor creatures fell before the bayonets of Martin's followers as were slain in the whole course of the Debs outbreak in the neighborhood of Chicago. There are times when it is necessary for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the lives of law-abiding people to use arms for the slightest provocation. This is the last resort of men fit to guard the peace. The incendiary mob feared during popular disturbances by men whose business it is to administer the law is the fool or coward whose weak heart causes him to fire a rifle when a calumny or at most a stout counsel would be quite as effective in reducing disorder.

Deputies Went Too Far.

Evidently organization was lacking in that force of armed deputies. Had they been commanded by some cool man, the slaughter would not have been so great. For it is in evidence that many of the victims were shot in the back while endeavoring to escape. This feature of the tragedy gives an appearance of wanton killing.

Primarily Responsible.

It is to be remembered that the strikers were ignorant men, unacquainted with the law and language of the country. For this, for the importation of a dangerous class of workmen under such

circumstances, the mine owners and operators are primarily responsible. If they seek cheap labor from such sources they incur grave risks of creating anarchical conditions. Much depends in the final estimate of the responsibility, as to how far the strikers have been in the use of violence and how far the sheriff was justified in assuming that they were on an errand that entitled him to deprive them of the right to march upon the highway.

Richieu's Theory Wins.

The Hungarian miner may be wild, passionate and uncivilized, but has been brought here by coal operators and should not be shot down till he does violence or commits some overt act of criminal insurrection. While the classes can citizen will put down anarchy and mob law with a stern hand, he yet will not wade in blood till all means are used to prevent it. The counties would be in a serious condition if labor is to be regulated by a Winchester rifle instead of civilization. The sheriff of Luzerne is always in order. "Use all means to conciliate; that failing—all means to crush."

Very Much Excited.

If anarchy is desired by corporations and their hirelings, if red revolution is to take the place of reason, let such crimes as that which was perpetrated at Hazleton last Friday, continue; let the strong mailed arm of the law keep on striking down the poor and weak; let the lawless classes be exterminated; let human lives be at their absolute mercy and let the hirelings of corporations continue to usurp the power of the peace officers of this commonwealth. If this is to be a government for the people it is time for the people to make a stand.

Promptness Pays.

The sheriff at Urbana, Ohio, was generally condemned because he parleyed with a mob which was perpetrating a lynching and fired when too late to restrain the would-be lawbreakers. Perhaps the sheriff of Luzerne county, Pennsylvania, will be more prompt in the history of riots teaches that the earliest round of ammunition is the smallest, and that temporizing with a mob of lawless men means in the end a greater loss of life.

Pat Down Mob Law.

It is high time that mob law should be ended in Pennsylvania, regardless of the sacrifice necessary to accomplish it. These troubles do not come from American citizens, but from an alien class that must either learn to obey our laws or must be compelled to take refuge in some other section of the world. There can be no peace while ignorance and lawlessness assume to rule in any community.

Marching Involves a Menace.

Another lesson made all the more conspicuous by the tragedy of Lattimer, is the marching to and fro of bodies of men who proceed from mine to mine for the purpose of coercing workmen to drop their picks and fall in line is a species of disorder involving grave menace to the public peace and to the lives of citizens, and one to which the civil authorities cannot afford to be indifferent without dereliction of duty.

The Main Source of Trouble.

The immigration laws should be so strong to the landers of the country who are not intelligent enough to read and write and who are not capable of becoming good citizens. In all the recent strikes in the coal and iron countries the turbulent element has come from these foreign swarms.

Fears the Consequences.

The deputies appear to have lost their heads and to have fired upon the mass of strikers without provocation and without direction. It is thus a case well calculated to make bad blood, to provoke angry discussion and further intensify that class feeling which is an ugly fact of the time.

They Assume the Risks.

It is clearly the duty of all persons engaged in a riotous assemblage to disperse upon the demand of the authorities. If they refuse to disperse and if they assume the extreme risks which such conduct involves.

Good Advice.

The time is offered now for operators and miners to show determination and persist in laying and in laying down the law that the strike may cease on a basis of united concessions and fairness.

Right to the Point.

Let the sternest rebuke of all lawless citizens be visited upon those who, with inflammatory speech, shall seek to make the shooting at Lattimer the incentive toward further lawlessness.

Too Often Overlooked.

These are times for a cool head as well as a sympathetic heart. Eagerness to denounce the guardians of the peace reacts in the most dangerous ways.

Fickle Followers.

The real trouble with the so-called labor movement is the curse of leadership. Men have vaulted into place and power with cheap abilities and in the heat of the great they rattle around with much lost motion which makes a big noise that they mistake for the accomplishment of something. Eugene V. Debs has eclipsed the king of France in that he has marched up the hill more times with more men than did the conqueror of the vine-clad slopes, and has therefore by that many times more, marched down again. In fact the only two leaders of labor in this country who have ever been able to command at the same time the respect of the country at large and the confidence of the conservative elements of their organizations were Terence V. Powderly and Samuel Gompers, and both these men have suffered defeat at popular elections in their respective bodies. Gompers to regain his power by the final prevailing of wiser counsels; Powderly has been continued continually heaped upon him by an admiring multitude of men conspicuous for having said more meaningless words and accomplished fewer actual results than any man who ever took a place in public life.

Honest Wealth.

A great deal is heard in these days about attacks on the rights of property, and it is indeed unfortunate that the wisest and most revolutionary talk of a certain class of agitators should find even as much response as it does among part of the population. But let wealth remember the duties it owes to society, and the dangers that menace its rights will vanish and the power of the revolutionary agitator will be broken. Let wealth pay its fair proportion of taxes; let it help rather than hinder the work of securing a revenue system that will make it easier to apportion the burdens of taxation fairly and equitably among the members of the community. Let honest wealth array itself on the side of the public and honest government whose unscrupulous wealth is trying to plunder the public. In short, let wealth remember the responsibilities which the law and language of the country which it claims will be accorded without question.

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