

J. HOLCOMB, Proprietor. C. L. TRACY, Editor.

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IS THE CONSTITUTION A DEAD LETTER?

The attention of the members of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and especially the Senators and members from this county and Senatorial district, is directed to the following provision of the amended Constitution of the State, under the head of RAILROADS AND CANALS.

ART. XVII, SEC. 3. All individuals, associations, and corporations shall have equal right to have persons and property transported over railroads and canals, and any undue or unreasonable discrimination shall be made in charges for, or in facilities for, transportation of freight or passengers within this State, or coming from or going to any other State. Persons and property transported over any railroad, shall be delivered at any station, at charge not exceeding the charges for transportation of persons and property in the same class in the same direction, to any more distant station; but excursion and commutation tickets may be issued at special rates.

Sec. 12. The General Assembly shall enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

Sec. 31. of the Schedule, which was adopted as a part of the Constitution, prescribing the time at which the people are to vote in the election of the President and the manner of carrying it into effect, provides that:

WE ARE VINDICATED.

The present issue of the Republican marks another one of Volume seven. With it we enter upon the seventh year in the life of our paper with brighter prospects than hitherto has ever before. From a Republican standpoint, we have from the outset battled manfully for the rights of the people. We have insisted that in the people primarily resided the source of all political power. That they should be allowed perfect freedom in the expression of their preference in respect to the choice of candidates for office "unawed by influence, unbridled by gain."

Penna. Editorial Association.

The Ninth Summer Excursion of this Association will take place June 21st. Long branch N. J. has been selected by the Executive Committee as the place of holding the Ninth Summer meeting. The stay at Long Branch will probably be about four days. In the mean time, it is expected that a steamboat excursion to Coney Island and return will be arranged for. This will no doubt prove one of the most pleasant of the annual summer gatherings of the Association. No pains will be spared by the Executive officers to render the excursion successful and satisfactory. The attendance will be unusually large, so many will wish to hear "what the wild waves say."

It will be recollected that while prominent Republicans of the State were at Harrisburg using their efforts to induce the Legislature to pass the four million dollars riot-damage fund, and our contemporaries here and elsewhere in the State maintained an ominous silence, we denounced the measure in vehement terms and applauded our members, Messrs. Madill, Nichols and Harkey, for their opposition to the outrageous expenditure. When after conviction and sentence, the Pardon Board set the convicted legislative bribers at liberty in contempt of every principle of public justice and public morals we held the Board up to public execration for its action.

While aiming only to do our duty as we saw it, in the interest of justice and political integrity with no vindictive purpose toward any one, we think we have a right to feel that the course of the Republican has been productive of good results, and our action is now recognized by its thousands of readers as eminently right.

In the face of the bitter opposition we encountered from local politicians who assumed leadership in our home politics, and whose test of Republicanism was subservience to the personal supremacy of one man as the ruler of the party in the State, it required moral courage to stand up unflinchingly in defence of our convictions of right. For our actions we were denounced as a "disorganizer," and political "malcontent." We steadily, persistently and consistently pursued our course, unswayed by threats of organized ostracism of ourself and paper, and have won our way to the front. We are not unaware of the secret consultations, plottings and orga-

Bi-Centennial of the Founding of Pennsylvania by Wm. Penn.

The Bi-Centennial Association of this State, with the co-operation of the Municipal authorities of Philadelphia, has provided for an imposing Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of Pennsylvania by William Penn, in the year 1682. The first Grand Public Demonstration preparatory to the Celebration will be made on the Fourth of July next (1881) in the Centennial Building, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. As stated by the circular issued by Edward C. Knight, President of the Bi-Centennial Association: "This will be a great State Mass Meeting of Citizens, and will comprise many sources of popular enjoyment. There will be Eloquent Addresses by distinguished Orators; Music by an immense Combination Orchestra, which will perform, among other pieces, the new Bi-Centennial Grand March, specially composed for this occasion by Prof. Clarke of the University of Pennsylvania; Drill and dress Parade by the Military, Vocal and Instrumental Concert, and other holiday amusements."

The whole day will be observed as a Grand Festival, at the Centennial Building. It is anticipated that 100,000 people will be present. State pride in the grand old Commonwealth, whose founder two centuries ago, was the venerated Penn, should stimulate all true Pennsylvanians to be present on no other light than as a victory in favor of popular rights.

The Senatorial contest now waging at Albany, N. Y., in which the Legislature refuses to re-elect two ex-Senators, who resigned their seats because they could not rule the President and their fellow Senators in the matter of Federal appointments, is another healthy exhibition of respect for popular government by our representatives of the people.

The force of popular sentiment in opposition to arrogant personal dictation, for the maintenance of personal supremacy in the rule of political parties is unmistakably manifest in the recent political occurrences referred to. It is a healthy reaction, and is strengthened by President Garfield who exhibits the requisite moral courage to meet the issue of Senatorial usurpation of the Executive prerogative in official appointments with an unflinching determination. He is sustained by the popular judgment of the people because he is right.

The political atmosphere, now disturbed by existing conflicts between popular government and personal rule, will soon settle down on the right side, and the Republican party will be the stronger for having made the issue.

The Decline of the Caucus.

The caucus as the expression of the party will and the agency of party action has completely failed in the Senatorial contest at Albany. Every sign indicates that it would have been important even if it had been formally called and regularly held. Had a majority of the Republican members united in appealing to this arbitrament it would still have been abortive, since a large proportion had avowed their purpose in any event to disregard it. But in this case it failed at the very first step. A caucus must be called by established authority or by a majority of the representatives for whom it is presumed to speak, and here it was impossible to secure either. It is thus far a complete break-down of the caucus system.

In the Senatorial struggle at Harrisburg, the caucus was equally a failure. There it was called by the regular authority and recognized by a majority of the Republican members. Yet it was not more successful in uniting the party support and in accomplishing the purpose of those who promoted it, than the caucus at Albany. It merely half the members declined to accept its mandate and followed their own individual judgment, and the only way in which the Republicans could be brought together was by a compromise effected outside of all caucus authority. The February election in this city was a popular illustration of the same tendency. The citizens' movement was a repudiation of the party caucus and convention. All the sanctity which may be supposed to surround the customary methods of declaring the party will was impotent to restrain the public purpose, and the tide of popular feeling broke over every barrier.

Has the caucus, then, passed into the limbo of discarded agencies? Has irregular and uncertain chance taken the place of party law? Are we thrown back upon the haphazard possibilities of disorganized movements? Far from it. Parties are vital to free government and recognized, established methods of determining the will of the majority are essential to party organization. There can be no party without the agreement of men upon the principles and policy of government, and there can be no practical and lasting party success without a code which shall ordain the right of the majority to rule. Parties belong to the machinery of administration and the caucus belongs to the machinery of parties. But beyond and above all this is the higher truth which overrules its application. Parties are themselves a means and not an end. They are the means by which men who agree in principle aim seek their successful attainment. When they cease to answer this purpose they crumble and decay. In the same way within the party the caucus is simply a means of determining the party will; so long as it honestly serves this end it commands respect and secures acquiescence; but when it is perverted and becomes an engine for overriding the real will of the party it loses its binding obligation and men revolt against it.

The failure of the caucus at Harrisburg and at Albany is a fact to be recognized and pondered by all who sincerely desire to maintain the ascendancy of the Republican party. The reason is so obvious that the remedy is plain. The caucus will, regain its force whenever and wherever it is seen to be a fair and honest expression of the party will. When it is made the instrument of stifling and defeating the real sentiment of the party, and of enforcing arbitrary rule, it will be repudiated. But when it shall faithfully reflect the prevailing judgment—when it shall establish in fact the rule of the majority which it recognizes in theory—it will be accepted. These lessons are significant and impressive. The managers who disregard them are strangely blind to the signs of the time.

The Supreme Court of New York has granted the order to change the name of the corporation from "The City of New York" to "The City of New York City." The order to take effect on the 1st of July. The order is signed by Justice Smith and Justice Peck. It will have the new corporate imprint.

WASHINGTON LETTER.

A dispatch said to have been authorized by Mr. Conkling was received here from Albany last night, which is interesting as showing what distinguished politician then expected and as an indication of what he will probably do. The dispatch said he was absolutely sure of a majority of Republican members of the legislature, and that he would come back to the Senate. This could be only by Democratic votes, and hence the significance of the telegram, if, as alleged, it was authorized by the ex-Senator. It is not believed here that he can be elected, or that he can possibly get more than a few Democratic votes. As this contest is narrowing down and becoming clearer by defined, beyond the hosts of the contending factions, can be seen now almost as clear as a certainty, the result of it all. The factions are so divided that neither can win a complete victory. Mr. Conkling and Mr. Platt cannot secure a re-election, nor can two candidates opposed to these gentlemen secure the prizes. The balloting which will commence in all probability, on next Tuesday, will be a deadlock, and the only way out will be by a name one man, and Conkling the other, then harmonize and elect them. The Democrats finding it impossible to convince sensible people that Secretary Blaine's recent visit to New York was in the interest of the anti-Conkling men, now start a rumor that the visit was for the purpose of covering up some undefined connection with the Star-route frauds. This rumor is attended by the fact that it is attributed to a man, and Attorney General McVeigh says it is as false as if his own name had been substituted.

It is said by the knowing ones that Commissioner of Pensions Bentley will, upon the return of Secretary Kirkwood, retire to private life. Please excuse short letter this week.

The Phases of the Conflict.

The controversy which has culminated in the desperate Senatorial struggle at Albany has passed through several stages. At the outset there was simply the question of fairly recognizing all sections of the Republican party. General Garfield had been elected by the cordial co-operation of all wings and factions. Under the inspiration of a great cause the Republican hosts had marched through the canvass in solid and triumphant array. No leader appreciated more than the new President the importance of preserving the unity and strength which had thus been secured. In the organization of his Cabinet and in the distribution of his favors he attested his honest and earnest purpose to deal justly and honorably with all who had contributed to the common success. He especially emphasized his desire to maintain a friendly understanding with Mr. Conkling by nominations whose significance could not be mistaken; and if the method of determining the Collectorship was calculated to impair this understanding, it was clearly an error of judgment and not of purpose.

When the nomination was once made and when it was met with a declaration of war, the subject passed to a second stage and a very different issue presented itself. It then became a question whether Senatorial assumption should override the Presidential prerogative. Had the President been approached in the right spirit even after the nomination of Judge Robertson there would have been no serious difficulty in adjusting the difference. But the temper in which the act was received and the measures taken against it put the President upon his honor and dignity. The way was not attempted to smooth the way to an honorable agreement. On the contrary, it was openly proclaimed that the President must withdraw the nomination or else all the resources of the old Senatorial methods would be employed to defeat it. It practically became a question whether a single Senator or the President should exercise the rights of the Executive. Under such circumstances the President could not abandon his position without humiliation, and the issue of Senatorial dictation had to be fought out. This assumption of all power in the Senate was odious to Republican sentiment. It had blighted the party, it had produced the popular revolt at Chicago. If it had not been checked as it was in the overthrow of the unit rule and the nomination of Gen. Garfield, it would have plunged the party into disastrous defeat. If the attempt to revive it in the Senate had been successful it would have aroused the popular disgust again, and would have renewed the perils from which the party and the country had happily escaped. We may see portents of danger now; but had the Senatorial yoke been fastened upon the President and the country, we should have seen others of a still graver character.

The first question was one of dealing justly with all elements of the party and the President recognized and respected the obligation. The second question was whether Senatorial usurpation should be permitted to crush out the freedom and life of Republicanism, and it was defeated. And now, in the third place, the question is one of preserving the integrity and unity of the party. It will not serve this object to re-elect Senators who make their appeal upon the distinct issue of hostility to the Administration. A party cannot make war upon its own Administration, unless it becomes recreant to its high trust. To return the Senators from New York upon their present platform would be to commission them to carry the black flag against the chosen representatives of Republican principles. In a question between personal friendship and public duty honorable men cannot hesitate, and it is evident that in a Legislature originally containing a large majority of their supporters the men who abandoned their posts cannot be re-elected. The Republicans of New York will not array themselves against their Administration. But it is not enough to preserve the integrity of the party from such an assault. It must be preserved from the danger of a failure to elect or of the possibility of Democratic Senators. The Republicans of the country will expect the Republicans of New York to effect an election at the present session; and if, after a period of ineffectual balloting, it can be accomplished by a union of the two wings on unexceptionable men representing each, it may be the most fortunate issue of the struggle.—Phila. Press.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the confirmation of Hon. Stanley Matthews, the Pacific Railroad candidate, as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, is a signal and alarming proof of the purpose and the power of corporate monopolies; of their purpose to pack the Supreme Court with judges who will reverse its decision in the Granger cases, affirming the right of the people through their legislature to control corporations—of their power to secure the confirmation of their candidate in defiance of the popular will manifested through the press, and against an almost unanimous report of the statesman and lawyers of both parties, constituting the Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolved, That we view with apprehension the power of monopolies in the legislative, judicial and executive departments of our Government; that the recent prominent part taken by the railroads in electing candidates for the Senate of the United States, and the nomination to positions of power and influence of Mr. Matthews, the railroad advocate in the United States Senate; Mr. Elliot F. Shepard, the son-in-law of Andrew C. Crowly, and Hon. Wm. H. Robertson, the life-long attorney of the same interest, and who but recently was instrumental in killing the bill to prevent telegraph monopoly—all point to a settled policy on the part of monopoly interest, to push their creatures into power where they can thwart all attempts of the people to hold them to a proper responsibility to the public.

Resolved, That the tendency is ever marked to monopolize the enormous resources of the country, and to use them as a means to tax the public and to use them as a means to tax the public and to use them as a means to tax the public.

Guarding Against Loss of Life.

WASHINGTON, May 27.—In view of the terrible steamboat disaster in Canada, where more than two hundred lives were lost by alleged reckless management on the part of the person in charge of the Victoria, it may be interesting to know that Secretary Windom has anticipated the necessity of a vigorous enforcement of the steamboat laws by the officers to whom their administration is intrusted by calling to account several of the Supervising inspectors who have either ignored the Department regulation of July 26, 1880, or complied with it in such manner as to evade its intent and meaning. He has issued the most stringent orders looking to the prevention of such disasters.

Execution yesterday, issued out of Court of Common Pleas No 1 in the suit of William D. Kelley, Sr., vs. The Herdick Personal Transportation Company for the recovery of \$45,474.24 due Mr. Kelley for money loaned by him to the Company and money spent by him for their use.—Phila. Press.

Chicago Tribune: "Mr. Beecher has given his personal approval to the revised edition of the Bible. To know that Mr. Beecher is on their side will be very gratifying to the families of Arphanax, Eldad, Jotkan, Almodad, Hazaraveth and other gentlemen mentioned in the work, many of whom are now dead."

Death of General Hozeby. General Thomas D. Hozeby died May 30, at Haledon, of exhaustion consequent upon overwork in the gubernatorial campaign of 1880, when he was a candidate for Governor on the Greenback ticket. He was in the 67th year of his age.

Roscoe Conkling has now been in private life two full weeks and the country still seems to hold together.

Good Company Double Number. Good Company (\$3.00 a copy, Springfield, Mass.) issues Nos. 19 and 20 together, making a double number. Lieutenant Frederick Spaulding, the commander of the Franklin Search Expedition which returned last autumn, has two volumes of articles on expeditions and adventures in the Arctic world, under the title, "In the Land of the Midnight Sun."

The first tells of previous Franklin expeditions, and the second begins the narrative of his own. In future articles he will continue the story. S. J. Douglass has a paper on the Eskimo race.

A long installment, about thirty pages, of a new serial story is given. It is printed anonymously under the title of "Mildred's Captive." There are also three complete stories.

As holds the season there are numerous articles about travel and adventure in a wide variety of localities. Perhaps the most important of these is a picture-painting from Spain entitled "The Gaithe of Godey's." It is enough to say that it is in the best style of Mrs. Lizzie W. Chapman, who made a trip through that country last season. Being a picture painter, she has a special interest in Long's Peak by Mr. Sylvester C. Dunham, and Personal Recollections of the Uses by Mr. Ernest Ingersoll. Others are Quays and Western Pastoral Life by Alfred P. Bacon; A Forting in the Palace of Beoda, by Maurice Thompson; Paris Street Orde, by John J. Jones; An Old Maid's Dispositions Abroad, by Rachel Carver; Antonio of Bagdad.

Mr. George M. Towle summarizes the life of Carlyle. Articles on miscellaneous topics are Economy of Charity, by Mr. D. Otis Kellogg; The Decadence of American Shipping, by Alexander McLean; Modern Whist, by Charles F. Johnson, Jr.; and among the poems are included one to the Poet Whitman by Marian Douglas, and a verse on May Day by Miss Dora Read Goodale.

The opening of the new serial, and the papers on Arctic experiences by Lieutenant Schwaltz, offer special attractions to new subscribers, who if they like a read of novel scenes in strange lands will find this number additionally attractive because of its articles of this kind.

How to work. All men and women who work hard with mind or body are subject to periodical attacks of biliousness, which may end in disordered kidneys or liver and dangerous illness. A bottle of \$1.00 of Parker's Ginger Tonic will keep these organs active, and by preventing the attacks have you much sickness, loss of time and great expense. Many families are kept in perfect health by using the Tonic when Spring or Fall sickness threatens. Delay at such times means danger.—Detroit Press. See other columns. May 26-1m

Ed. Mouillesseaux, (Formerly with Healdman.) HAS OPENED A

Jewelry Store

IN THE MEANS' BLOCK. Formerly occupied by Powell & Co. Main Street, Towanda, Pa.

Where he keeps a FULL ASSORTMENT of Gold & Silver Watches SWISS AND AMERICAN; CLOCKS, — JEWELRY, SPECTACLES, ETC.

REPAIRING DONE PROMPTLY. ENGRAVING A SPECIALTY.

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HELLO! Having sold my Retail Furniture and Undertaking business, known as the Bridge Street Furniture Store to E. B. Pierce, I respectfully recommend in case of my removal to call on him at his old stand. Send for samples and write to put up and exhibit. Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded. Large profits. Address: U.S. Telephone Co., 123 N. Clark St., Chicago.

DR. H. C. PORTER'S

Old Established Drug Store.

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PARIS GREEN AND LONDON PURPLE

AT WHOLESALE OR RETAIL.

Cor. Main and Pine Sts. Towanda.

SPRING AND SUMMER CLOTHING, Gents' Furnishing Goods, HATS AND CAPS AT

M. E. ROSENFELD'S, Now proposes to knock the bottom out of high prices, and for the next 90 d will offer his immense stock of Spring Ready-Made Clothing for

MEN, BOYS & CHILDREN'S WEAR AT FIFTEEN PER CENT LOWER

Than the goods can be bought in any other house in the county, and every one whether they need clothing or not, should not miss this great opportunity, as it will pay you to buy for the coming season.

M. E. ROSENFELD. I now feel confident of success in this line as I am turning out daily the hand somest and best finished garments in town. Don't forget the Place. CALL EARLY AND SECURE BARGAINS.

Towanda, March 7, 1879. M. E. ROSENFELD.

A. D. Dye & Co. "Lookee allée Sameel" —AT— "JAKE'S" CLOTHING, HATS, Caps, and Furnishing Goods,

before you get your new "SPRING RIG," and save 20 per cent over any other dealer in Bradford County.

AN IMMENSE STOCK OF Fresh Spring Goods coming every day for you to select from, comprising all the NOVELTIES of the SEASON.

An experience of fifteen years in the Clothing trade prompts me to say that I can suit your fancy as well as your pocket-book at

No. 2, Patton's Block. H. JACOBS. Feb. 26, 1880

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Fastest for Forty-five Days. CINCINNATI, May 28.—John Grison, of New York, began his forty-five days' fast at noon today. Before that hour, in company with Dr. Tanner, several representative doctors and members of the press, he partook of a hearty meal in the Sherman House. When 12 o'clock arrived he ceased eating, and while the others continued at dinner he explained the nature of the fast he had undertaken, which is to be solely in the interest of science. He will not eat anything and will confine his drinking solely to pure water. Three rooms have been engaged for his use over the entrance to the Olympic Theatre. Drs. Harrison, Lyman, Haynes, Danforth, Curtis, Joy, Reading and other well-known physicians have arranged to watch and attend the faster.

A special to the Philadelphia Press, from York Pa., May 27, says: "A Board of Arbitrators to day awarded Elizabeth Husson damages to the amount of \$8,500 against the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for the death of her husband, which occurred in July last. The deceased was employed as brakeman by the Company and while engaged in coupling cars loaded with sections of an iron bridge which extended over the humpers of the cars his head was crushed and instantaneous death resulted.

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