

FREELAND, PA., MAY 8, 1890.
THE loss to the country of United States Senator James B. Beck, who died suddenly at Washington on Saturday, was unexpected and irreparable. He was honored among all classes and conditions of men as an honest, incorruptible Statesman, a true patriot, and an earnest, sincere friend of liberty and progress.

There is no region of the Republic, however remote, where his death will not be sincerely lamented.

The absurdities of the Republican tariff bill becomes daily more apparent. The country asks of Congress a material reduction of the revenues of the Government; and this monstrousness which Mr. Carlisle has shown, will, in the revenue about \$40,000,000 per annum, is tendered them by the Republicans of the House. There is only one good thing about this bill, and that is it will furnish a lot of tip-top Democratic campaign material for the coming Congressional fight.

"The most eloquent advocate of tariff reform in Philadelphia," said James M. Beck, of that city, in a speech at a Democratic celebration in Boston, "is the sheriff of our county, who has closed since the election of 1888, in this promised era of good times, over sixty-eight woolen mills and houses alone." Last year the failures of firms engaged in the woolen manufacturing in Philadelphia averaged more than one in every week, and yet in the face of this disaster it is gravely proposed to further cripple this falling industry by heavier taxes on wool.

The Democrats of Berks county are preparing to carry on the tariff reform during the coming summer and fall by a series of picnics, to be called tariff reform picnics. They will be held in various parts of the county; and at each one of them a part of the time will be devoted to listening to addresses on the tariff by prominent advocates of tariff reform. We believe a movement of this kind would be popular in this county also, and would be productive of much good to the Democratic party. The matter is certainly worthy of consideration.

EX-GOVERNOR OSBORN is quoted as saying, "We have been rolling up Republican majorities by pressing home on the farmers the old time doctrines of Horace Greely, that protection would build up factories at our doors and furnish a market for the sale of our products. Unless something is done to show Kansas people that protection, as practiced by the Republican party, works out that result, we shall have trouble. We cannot any longer furnish the big Republican majorities and let the manufacturers down East, who are rich, get all the benefits, while we have nothing but mortgages to show for it."

On the subject of protection and bankruptcy ex-Speaker Carlisle writes in the Forum: There has never been a time in our history when there was so much discontent and as little prospect of improvement as there is now among those classes that ought to be prosperous. Nearly every trade, occupation and profession is organized to formulate and present its demand for relief, and the Republican party responds to their appeals by proposing to extend and strengthen the protection system of taxation under which they have been reduced to their present condition. This and the appropriation of public money out of the Treasury for the benefit of a few favorite classes is the only remedy it proposes.

A bill which will not meet the approval of the newspapers, and which ought never to come from the committee to which it was referred, is that of Congressman Sweeney, of Iowa, providing for the "exclusion from the mails of any paper devoted to the publication of principally made up of criminal news, police reports, containing accounts of criminal deeds, etc."

Dictator Quay's Dilemma.
The circumstantial narrative of the daring career of the Republican leader in the United States, which appeared some time ago in the New York World, was read by the people of this country at large with much pain and some shame. But inasmuch as the policy of silence in regard to it was immediately adopted by the Republican press, it was impossible to measure its effects. In Pennsylvania the slightest possible public notice was taken of it. The Republican newspapers studiously ignored it and the Democratic and Independent papers seemed to doubt its authenticity or were afraid to handle it. It has been suggested that many of the newspapers of this State have been forced to spare Quay as they have hitherto spared Wanamaker, by the dread of loss in their advertising patronage. We prefer not to accept this view of the case. It implies an imputation upon the honor of the press too gross to be tolerated and it would furnish a sign, if true, of moral decay of the most ominous kind. Some newspapers may have been throttled in this way. The suspicion, at all events, becomes very strong when a newspaper containing columns of Wanamaker's loud advertisements, permits the most flagrant of that person's offenses against public decency and public morals to pass without a word of editorial comment, allowing its readers to understand that he is a public servant as well entitled to their confidence and respect as others who in the past have attained to his official position.

But then came Henry C. Lea, a lifelong and distinguished Republican leader, a gentleman of the highest private character, and he personally adopts the articles of accusation exhibited by the World. He not only adopts them as his own, but he republishes them substantially over his signature, and calls the special attention of the President of the United States to them. He practically asks Harrison if he does not know the character of the man who elected him, the notorious means by which he elected him, and the fact that all the patronage of his administration available for the purpose is being used to discharge the infamous obligations incurred in the election and to support the licentious and tyrannical partisan machine of which the Pennsylvania boss is the sole and confessed autocrat. He tells him what every one else sees and knows, and what, no doubt, Harrison himself sees and knows quite as well, that in the State of Pennsylvania, where Quay must sustain his offensive boss-ship if he would maintain his authority in the party at large, the whole power and patronage of the administration is employed to crush reputable Republicans and to smother honest Republican sentiment, and if the Republican party has no better excuse for its existence, or a Republican administration no higher purpose than the exaltation of such a boss, Mr. Lea, speaking for himself and for the large number of respectable Republicans who agree with him, informed Harrison that the time has arrived when his party should be swept out and kept out until it can be at least partially purged.

He speaks of Harrison's appointment of "Quay's man Wanamaker to the great office of Postmaster General as a very base prostitution of official trust, and as one of the worst offenses of the administration against the Republicans of Pennsylvania." But if John Wanamaker is Quay's man, whose man is Benjamin Harrison? Had Mr. Lea any right to suppose that one was less Quay's than the other? When he saw John Wanamaker industriously gathering the fat of the tariff beneficiaries with which to buy a Presidential election, and carrying it over to Quay, could he, with the fine sense of honor which he now develops, have conceived that the man thus elected by Quay would be less his property than the man who furnished the money? Could he have expected Mr. Harrison, after having accepted the services of Quay and Wanamaker and Dudley, to turn his back upon them and hand over the patronage of his administration, all tainted with the original corruption of the campaign, to respectable Republicans like himself? It is a condition, not a theory, which confronts the Leas and the Barkers and the Emerys, and the many other honorable citizens who have remained in the Republican party, notwithstanding the fact that it has passed bodily into the hands of a combination of mere monopolies, represented in the management by notorious boodlers, who are there only because they are boodlers. When they undertake to remove the gangrene of corruption from their party they will find that they must cut away its vitals and destroy its life.

Curiously enough, Mr. Lea's letter has produced a much more noticeable impression than the World's publication. Newspapers which ignored the one have printed the other, and it has started an agitation in this State for relief from the shame of the boss-ship which promises important results at the fall election. Quay has already nominated his man for Governor. He cannot withdraw him or desert him. To do so is retreat and ruin. He must win everything or lose everything. If he nominates him, it is now apparent that he must encounter an opposition in his own party, which all the money of all the corporations and monopolies at his back cannot overcome. Should he run himself, or name his man Wanamaker or any other man known to be his, the situation would be the same. Quay has before him this year the struggle of his life. Unless he shall be able to nominate and elect the candidate fixed upon two years ago, the candidate whom every child in the Commonwealth knows to be his candidate, he must retire from the heavy game he has been playing, considerably worse than bankrupt. The country will look on with not a little interest, for the question to be determined is the question between government by bosses and government by the people.

Discontent Caused by the Tariff.
On the subject of protection and bankruptcy ex-Speaker Carlisle writes in the Forum: There has never been a time in our history when there was so much discontent and as little prospect of improvement as there is now among those classes that ought to be prosperous. Nearly every trade, occupation and profession is organized to formulate and present its demand for relief, and the Republican party responds to their appeals by proposing to extend and strengthen the protection system of taxation under which they have been reduced to their present condition. This and the appropriation of public money out of the Treasury for the benefit of a few favorite classes is the only remedy it proposes. The evils from thirty years of protection resulting from the protection of monopolies are to be caused by more protection, and the over-burdened tax-payers are to be retrieved by having their forced contributions given away to wealthy individuals and corporations engaged in the foreign carrying trade.

A Good Bill to Defeat.
A bill which will not meet the approval of the newspapers, and which ought never to come from the committee to which it was referred, is that of Congressman Sweeney, of Iowa, providing for the "exclusion from the mails of any paper devoted to the publication of principally made up of criminal news, police reports, containing accounts of criminal deeds, etc." The Tribune has never published sensational matter, simply, because it was sensational, but, on the contrary, has studiously avoided the publication of anything that it was not fully warranted in giving to its readers as legitimate news. Indeed, there never has been a vulgar or a suggestive line in the columns of the Tribune, and yet, under such a bill as Mr. Sweeney has introduced, it would be within the power of any one so inclined to prevent the sending of even the cleanest of newspapers through the mails. The publication of the facts of a burglary or a murder, or any other criminal action, would be sufficient, under the bill, to exclude it from the mails. Congressman Sweeney probably intended this bill to touch only such periodicals as, in his opinion, are immoral in tone; but there would be plenty of opportunities under the bill for personal enemies of the most respectable and the purest newspapers to cause annoyance and great financial loss. Newspapers that offend public morality should be severely dealt with in the criminal courts, but it would be a grave mistake, as well as a gross injustice, to enact such a law as Mr. Sweeney proposes.

May-Day at Home and Abroad.
The last echoes of the international May-day demonstration of Thursday last are dying away, and we are better able to estimate the real strength of the movement and its influence upon social development. In this country the May-day demonstration, wherever made, was confined solely to the eight-hour programme. In the practical movement of American workmen for a reduction of the hours of labor there is nothing in common with the Socialistic manifestations on the Continent of Europe. While in France and other portions of Europe the workmen devoted the occasion to appeals to governmental agencies in behalf of labor, the self-reliant American workmen invoked no power but their own.

In some of our larger cities employers in the building trades have voluntarily conceded the demand of an eight-hour day. In others the result of the contest has not yet been determined; but the prospect is decidedly in favor of the workmen. Although the carpenters were selected to open the campaign for eight hours, the movement among them is far from general. Many of them have refused to engage in a strike, on the ground that they could accomplish their purpose more speedily in another way. It may be conceded, however, that the movement has been attended with a large degree of success, although the programme of its promoters has not been realized. Such a revolution as this, involving as it does the most important industrial operations, cannot be accomplished in a May-day or in a year.

But what has been most gratifying in this movement of American workmen is the fact that it has not been attended by serious disturbances of public order in any quarter. Nor has the first advance in the eight-hour campaign justified the gloomy predictions of an industrial crisis. The movement has revealed from the beginning the existence of a strong and growing public sentiment in favor of a reduction of the hours of labor wherever this could be accomplished without endangering industrial operations upon which workmen, as well as capital, must depend for employment. This sentiment has greatly encouraged the workmen in their peaceful campaign, and it will doubtless accompany them in each successive march of the labor army until victory shall have crowned the movement.

In portions of France and Spain the May-day festivities were interrupted by riots and disorders, which the troops repressed without difficulty. But generally throughout Europe the day was marked by joyous parades and picnics of the working people, and by increased vigilance on the part of the authorities—which for the most part seems to have been unnecessary as were the solitude and alarm among the wealthy classes. The dreaded phantom of Socialism refused to materialize, in spite of many provocations. In Germany the Socialistic leaders were too wary to provoke a conflict in which they and their cause would not only have been put in the wrong but crushed by superior power. Hence they counseled their followers to refrain from every demonstration that might have afforded a pretext or an opportunity for the intervention of force. At the same time the Government wisely took the unofficial advice of Bismarck and refrained from any interference with the popular celebrations.

Yet, while the May-day demonstration of 1890 has passed off without serious disturbances in Europe, it would be rash to conclude that the dangers which threaten its social and political institutions have also disappeared. There is no doubt that the Berlin Labor Conference and its promises have inspired the European workmen with hope, and thus checked in some degree the sinister influences of Socialism. But should these hopes be completely balked by a denial of the reasonable demands of labor, the next May-day demonstration in Europe might wear quite a different aspect from the peaceful demonstrations of 1890.

How It Used to Be.
We are a bitter opponent of strikes, and can see a justification of them as a last resort only against pure and undiluted oppression or injustice on the part of the employer of labor. Before entering upon a strike campaign the workmen interested should be sure that what they intend to resist or demand is clearly what they understand it to be.

Some call a certain grievance "oppression," "tyranny" or "despotism," which, upon strict inquiry, in no way belongs to that catalogue; and when reasoning, judicious and disinterested people see those epithets applied without a cause, it only weakens our position in their eyes and gives us the name of using strong language to prop a weak argument. This ought to be avoided. If we are wronged let us prove it by a presentation of facts in simple saxon, suited to the subject, and it will carry more weight with it than a personal or vindictive attack hurled with a vengeance that only excites those whom we want to do justice. Any one who has studied himself cannot have overlooked that prominent characteristic that makes one easier to "lead" than to "drive." If he has, then has he missed one of the most important springs in our nature and cannot deal with men.

It has been our custom since we remember, in our trade disputes, for us to deal with our coal operators as if they were not human beings, but a species of animal, devoid of all the finest attributes of him whom the Creator made His crowning work of creation—man. On the other side they too often treat us as beasts of burden, incapable of thinking or doing what is right; and the moment a rupture of any kind takes place the lines are drawn between us, and we are in the day of two the mortal enemies, so to speak, of each other. Reason, judgment, wisdom, philosophy, all are thrown to the winds, and we are into the throats of those whom we want to remedy our

wrongs and they into our very vitals to starve us to submission—whom they expect will serve them faithfully and make wealth for them.

Is this the proper spirit to cultivate by those who are dependent on each other? We think not. We know it is not. In most trades the employing interest and workmen have their quarrels and their strikes, but they are not as frequent as ours, nor do we think they are as bitter. Why are they less frequent? We think there is more liberal disposition on both sides to negotiate to heal up the wounds, to make terms and not to force them. It has been the ruin of many coal operators, the desire to rule imperiously and compel men to think and act just as they did. It has been our greatest folly, the thousand and one attempts, to coerce those who employ us to do as we desired.

This basis of operation, in our mind, is resorted to nineteen times for once that there is any sensible reason why it should be so, and many strikes that should not have an existence take their inspiration and means of sustenance from such reasoning, and not from any cause why it should be done. Thus such contests are oftentimes failures, when, if by a judicious interchange of opinion on the part of the parties interested, a conflict might be avoided, but if no agreement could be entered into, such a course would go a long way to smooth the path and keep the employer and employee in harmonious relations with each other.

The action of the industrial classes all over the world at the present time is being watched with great interest, and with none more so than by the coal miners of this anthracite coal region. These men, in years gone by, had to fight their battles single-handed and alone, with the result already known; and in the contest for shorter hours now going on they will remain passive spectators.

WASHINGTON, May 6, '90.
If, in drawing his federal election bill, it was the aim of Senator Hoar to avoid the objectionable features of the Lodge bill, he has not been entirely successful. On the contrary, the Massachusetts statesman has introduced features which stamp his measure as not only impracticable, but threatening to the very foundation of popular government. If there was ever a general demand or good reason for the passage of a national election law, it would seem that the present is hardly the proper time to attempt it. In almost every State in the Union efforts are being made to revise and reform the election machinery, and it is almost a certainty that wholesale changes will be effected. With this spirit abroad, it would seem indecorous to say least, for Congress to enact such a radical measure as Senator Hoar proposes. The boom of self government has not ceased to be an attraction to the American people, and all efforts in the direction of centralization of power will be looked upon with suspicion and resented whenever opportunity offers.

It will not do to assert that election reform is unnecessary. Quite recently the people of the South, and in some of our most humiliated exhibitions of overruling the will of the people, but the people are capable of correcting this evil, and public sentiment will prove a strong enough motive power in that direction.

The people of this country are not lacking in patriotism or honesty, and they will require similar traits in their public servants, and this will be accomplished without the aid of any unarchical or centralized assistance. The Republicans of the Senate Finance Committee are at work on a tariff bill to be reported to the Senate as a substitute for the McKinley bill. They expect to have all their work done and to be ready to report very soon after the McKinley bill passes the House. The understanding is that the McKinley bill is to pass the House practically as it is, but there is no expectation of its becoming a law in that form. The Senate is expected to pass quite a different bill, and the whole matter will be settled in conference on a disagreement between the two Houses. It is said that there has never been any expectation among the party leaders that the McKinley bill would become a law in anything like the form it was reported. It is understood that the plan was pretty well settled on from the first, and that with this in view there will be no serious difficulty in passing the bill through the House. It was not possible for the party leaders of the two Houses to agree upon a general plan for tariff revision, which could be put through in the form of a bill adopted as a party measure, though there was an attempt to do this.

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