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ROBBERY BY APPORTIONMENT.

A Gross Injustice Perpetrated by the Republican Party Upon the Democratic Citizens of Pennsylvania. How One Republican Has a Greater Representation Than Five Democrats—Ignoring the Constitution to Serve Party Ends—Candidate Gobin's Share in the Crime and the Spoil.

The present constitution of Pennsylvania was enacted in 1873, and went into operation on Jan. 1, 1874. Section 18 of Article 2 is as follows: "The general assembly, at its first session after the adoption of this constitution, and immediately after each United States decennial census, shall apportion the state into senatorial and representative districts," etc., etc.

A like provision is made with reference to the judiciary of the state, and common fairness suggests that the congressional districts should be apportioned just as frequently and at the same times.

How the Republican party in Pennsylvania has treated the mandatory provisions of the constitution above quoted is shown in the fact that the last apportionments were enacted as follows:

Senatorial, 1874; representative, 1887; congressional, 1887.

For 24 years, therefore, they have been persistently refusing to do, with reference to the senatorial apportionment, what the fundamental law commands; for ten years they have been similarly derelict with reference to the representative apportionment, and for a like number of years they have allowed a congressional apportionment to stand, which, by a fair rendering of the people's will, should at that time have been set aside.

The reason is plain. They derive a large advantage in representation from their remissness. Not only do they shut out the Democrats from their fair share of senators and members, but they also checkmate that element of their own party that chafes at "bossism" and the innumerable evils that always attach to it.

To illustrate the gross injustice of these procedures to the Democratic party in the senate of 1887, there were 44 Republicans and 6 Democrats. In 1896 the Republicans reached their high water mark as to majorities in the vote for president. In that year there were cast for McKinley 728,300 votes, and for Bryan 433,228 votes. By dividing the number of senators for each party into the party vote it will be found that there are:

One Republican senator for each 16,553 Republican votes.

One Democratic senator for each 72,204 Democratic votes.

Make a like calculation as to the members of the lower house of the state legislature, which had 171 Republicans to 33 Democrats, and the following will be the result:

One Republican member for every 4,259 Republican votes.

One Democratic member for every 13,128 Democratic votes.

The American system makes every citizen politically equal, and the laws are supposed, and in fact, are constitutionally ordered to be made to enforce that rule; yet here we have a method of electing senators in Pennsylvania that makes one Republican as good as four and a half Democrats—that is, that gives one Republican as large a voice in this matter as four and a half Democrats.

As to the congressional representation, the injustice is even greater. Including the two elected at large, Pennsylvania has 30 members of the national house of representatives. Of these 27 were elected as Republicans and but three as Democrats. Here we have:

One Republican member for every 26,933 Republican votes.

One Democrat for every 114,409 votes.

Which makes every Republican vote count, in this regard, as much as five and a half Democratic votes.

As showing the gross injustice of the present senatorial apportionment, many specific instances might be cited. Let one suffice. According to the census of 1890 Luzerne had a population of 201,263, and Lackawanna a population of 142,108, making a total of 343,371. The senatorial districts in these two counties, under the act of 1873, which is still operative, overlap, part of the Luzerne district extending into Lackawanna. Together, they have two senators, or one senator for 171,685 of population.

The county of Lebanon has but 48,131 population, yet she has a senator by herself.

That senator for the last 12 years was General Gobin, now the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor on the machine ticket; and General Gobin is one of the men who have exercised the most potent influence in perpetuating this great wrong by openly opposing or secretly conniving against any new apportionment.

Every legislator who has done this, or been in any way an obstructor of apportionment legislation has been guilty of perjury, for all take oath to obey the constitution which preemptorily demands it.

WANAMAKER

ON TAXATION

Startling Figures Showing the Inequalities of Taxation Under Quay Machine Rule.

The Farmer and Workmen Compelled to Pay \$2.94, While the Corporations Pay But One Penny.

Mr. Wanamaker, in a speech delivered at Huntingdon on Oct. 19, had the following to say upon the subject of taxation:

I have been waiting for an opportunity like this to say something more to the farmers and laboring men of Pennsylvania about taxation. In my Williams Grove address on Sept. 1 I declared that the people, and especially the farmers, were unjustly taxed. I stated that through legislation passed by the Quay machine there was unjust discrimination in favor of corporations, and that the masses were forced to bear an unequal burden of state taxation, and I want to reiterate those statements again tonight, and to present to you specific proof of their correctness.

The statements that the farmers paid too much tax have been challenged in public speeches by the Republican candidate for governor and the Republican state chairman.

Nominee W. A. Stone, in his Pittsburg speech on Sept. 7, in the course of his reply to assertions made by me, said: "There is not a corporation in Pennsylvania that ever for one moment realized that it was the favorite of the Republican party" (meaning the Quay machine). Speaking of our tax system he declared: "This is a great triumph for the Republican party, and one of which all Republicans should feel justly proud;" and, continuing, he said: "It seems to me that it would be much easier to prove that farmers, laborers and mechanics are the favorites of the Republican party, who have been so highly favored by its legislation."

At Hollidaysburg on Sept. 15 Candidate Stone is again quoted as saying that "The people are not taxed, and not one foot of your land (meaning the people) pays one cent of tax; we have taken the tax of the lands and put it on corporations."

ELKIN QUOTED.

Republican Chairman Elkin, at Carlisle on Aug. 31, said: "We are making the Quay machine have taken the tax of the lands, occupations, trades and all personal property, except money at interest." At Pittsburg on Sept. 7 he again declared that "the purpose and policy of the Republican party (meaning the Quay machine) has been to remove the burden of taxation from the people and place it upon those who obtain some franchise from the state, and we mean the Quay machine" have reason to feel proud of our record.

I am facing an audience composed largely of farmers. Before me are men who gain their livelihood by the tilling and handling of land. If there is one among you all who does not know that the statements of Candidate Stone and Chairman Elkin are false let him stand up and say so. There may be some farmers here who on next election day intend to vote to perpetuate the Quay machine. To them I want to ask if it is a fact, as Candidate Stone asserted in his Hollidaysburg speech, "that you are not taxed and that not one foot of your land pays one cent of taxes," and whether it is true, as Chairman Elkin stated, that the Quay machine has taken the taxes off land?

If one single farmer in this audience will come upon the platform and show that his land is not taxed I will agree to make six speeches a week for the Quay machine from now until election time, and if there is one farmer here who owns or works a farm that cannot be proved by his tax receipts that all those statements are untrue I will stand by the same offer. And if there is one farmer who does not know that he is unjustly taxed and is paying part of the corporation's share I want him to send me his name and he will be given proof of his happy ignorance.

The subject of taxation is a vast and complex question, but there are phases of it that are facts concerning it that can be reduced to simple, practical and convincing propositions. And specifically and with varied figures I want to present some of them to you.

In this argument when I make use of the word "corporations" I mean those of that class that have the right to condemn and take private property for their own use, such as steam railroads which pay no local taxes for company, township, school or road purposes used in the operation of their franchise. And also other great combinations of corporate wealth, such as pools and trusts and companies capitalized at millions, all of which maintain armies of agents and lobbyists to invade and surround legislative bodies, whether national, state or municipal.

Candidate Stone tells the farmers of the state that the corporations pay the entire cost of running the state government, and also the appropriations to public schools. This statement is grossly untrue, as is shown in the last official report of the state treasurer.

The total receipts of the state treasury for 1897 were \$12,475,070.17. Of this sum the entire amount received from all sources, from all corporations, including the thousands of smaller corporations which we are not considering, together with the tax on bank stock, was only \$6,044,131.67, or about 50 per cent of the cost of running the state and paying the school appropriations. This demonstrates Candidate Stone's misrepresentation No. 1.

Candidate Stone says that corporations are taxed higher in Pennsylvania than they are in other states. This statement is untrue. For the purpose of proving the falsity of Mr. Stone's assertion I will compare the tax law of our state with that of New York.

TAXES IN NEW YORK.

In New York state every dollar of corporate property is taxed, yet our own ex-auditor general, Jerome B.

Niles, in a public speech delivered in 1883, made the astonishing statement that there were from \$400,000,000 to \$800,000,000 of railroad property in Pennsylvania that pays no tax whatever, either locally or to the state. In New York state the dollar of value is the basis upon which taxes are levied, real and personal, and no corporation of any kind can escape paying its share of taxes. But, by the statement of ex-auditor General Niles, in Pennsylvania, through discriminating legislation passed by the machine, and purchased by the corporations, one-half billion dollars' worth of corporate property escapes all taxation. The fairest way to show the difference in taxation of steam railroads between Pennsylvania and New York is to take the trunk lines and lateral railroads that lead out of Pennsylvania into New York, and compare the taxes they are compelled to pay in each state.

The Northern Central railroad, from Williamsport to the New York state line, near Elmira, a distance of 70 miles, does not pay one cent of taxes upon its roadbed and other real estate used in the exercise of its franchise in the Pennsylvania counties of Lycoming, Tioga and Bradford, representing a value of \$2,000,000. But when it reaches the township of Southport, Chemung county, New York, it contributes in taxes to that township \$372.40. Passing through the corner of Southport, through the city of Elmira, into the township of Horseheads, it pays to the township \$837.52. It touches the corner of Catlin and pays \$36.64, and enters the township of Veteran, in the same county, and pays to the township treasury \$1,028.80. Then it passes through the counties of Schuyler, Yates and Ontario to Niagara Falls, paying at the same rate in all counties named.

They again take the Lehigh Valley railroad, which does not pay one cent of tax on its roadbed and other real estate for local purposes from the Delaware river at Easton through the counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Carbon, Luzerne, Wyoming and Bradford. When it reaches the township of Van Etten, in the state of New York, it contributes \$1,962.33 to that township treasury.

ANOTHER ILLUSTRATION.

Then take the Delaware and Lackawanna railroad, which contributes nothing to the local treasuries in Pennsylvania. When it reaches the township of Ashland, New York, only touching one corner, it contributes \$10.00 toward township taxes. To the township of Elmira it pays \$425.82, to the city of Elmira \$1,199.70, to Horseheads \$226.06, to Big Flats \$1,157.20, and so on to every township it passes through.

Then take the Tioga branch of the Erie railroad, which runs through Tioga county, Pennsylvania, and does not pay one dollar on its 50 miles of roadbed in that county. When it reaches Southport, in the state of New York, on a valuation of \$63,000 it pays to the township treasury \$41.

Then the Fall Brook railroad and leased lines, which pay nothing on their roadbed in the state of Pennsylvania, the moment it reaches the township of Lindley, in New York state, contributes to the local treasury of that township.

It should be remembered that in New York all these railroads, in addition to the local taxes specified, pay also a state tax for the general purposes of state government. Yet all the railroads I have mentioned pay no more or no less in the state of New York than the farmer, merchant, manufacturer, or money lender on their dollar. So again Candidate Stone's statement that corporations pay more taxes in Pennsylvania than in other states is proven false.

This is Candidate Stone's misrepresentation number 2.

Again, Candidate Stone asserts that the corporations in Pennsylvania pay their full and equal share of taxes. Now, under our state law, they pay but four mills on the dollar of their capital stock (not counting the \$500,000,000 that escapes altogether); but does not every farmer here know that he pays from 15 to 25 mills on every dollar of his capital stock? Is this equal and fair taxation? This proves the falsity of another of Mr. Stone's statements.

This is misrepresentation number 3.

FARMERS IN OTHER STATES.

Again, Candidate Stone asserts that the farmers of Pennsylvania are no more heavily taxed than those of other states. Yet the average tax in Pennsylvania on your lands for the past ten years, has been from 15 to 30 mills on the dollar, while in New York state it has averaged from three to ten mills on the dollar, and in some townships and cities in that state almost the entire local taxes are paid by the corporations. This proves the falsity of Mr. Stone's statements, and is misrepresentation number 4.

I might continue the list of his misrepresentations on this subject almost indefinitely, but time will not permit. You farmers who live in interior counties do not fully understand the way you are discriminated against, but the farmers who live along the New York state line, in the counties of Erie, Warren, McKean, Potter, Tioga, Bradford and Susquehanna realize how the machine made laws of Pennsylvania take the burden off of the corporations and place it upon the backs of the tillers of the soil.

All along the northern border the farms in New York state are more valuable than those of the same size and kind in Pennsylvania. A \$5,000 farm in the state of New York is not taxed to exceed \$25, while the adjoining farm in Pennsylvania of the same value pays from \$65 to \$85. And it is something New York farmers cannot understand why railroads in Pennsylvania are not made to assist in paying local taxes, and why Pennsylvania farmers support a political system that compels them to pay 20 mills on their dollar, while railroads pay only four mills on their property.

Through the machine passed and corporation protecting legislation of our state the corporations are favored to the extent of millions annually, which is paid by the farmer, land owner and laborer.

The evasions and exemptions allowed to corporations from the law requiring them to pay four mills tax on the dollar are enormous, and I believe that a thorough and faithful enforcement of the provisions and even the present unjust tax law would put millions of money in the state treasury.

SOME OFFICIAL FIGURES.

For example, the last report of the secretary of internal affairs, for 1897,

showed the cost of all corporations of this class (railroads) in Pennsylvania to be \$1,553,072,313. The total cost of equipments owned by the railroads was \$189,404,266. Stocks and bonds owned by railroads, \$282,655,815; cash and current assets, \$90,302,269; other assets, \$200,508,217, making a total of \$2,315,942,880. Taking this to represent the cash value of the capital stock of these roads, and multiplying this sum by four mills, we get the law requires, you have what the great railroad corporations alone should pay into the state, amounting to \$9,263,761. Yet the taxes paid by corporations of all kinds—big and little—together with the tax on gross receipts of corporations, and the tax on bank stocks amount to only \$6,044,131.67, showing a discrepancy upon this too liberal basis of \$3,199,631, which in some manner the corporations are relieved from paying.

Now, farmers, you ought to ask Candidate Stone, who declares that there is no discrimination in favor of corporations, to account for this shortage of more than \$3,000,000.

But the loss of that vast sum of money is not a commencement of the injustice heaped upon the farmers by the present machine made tax system, since the same amount of property—\$2,315,942,880, the value of railroad stock and investment—in the hands of the farmer is taxed five times as much, or \$46,318,855.

The railroads in this official valuation pay only \$5,448,120.47, making a balance against you under this system that Mr. Stone calls equitable of \$10,870,735.

But experts say that the value of railroad property in Pennsylvania is double its assessed valuation, or possibly \$5,000,000,000. If correct, then the railroads are paying about one mill on their dollar, while you farmers are paying 20 mills on yours.

In Tioga county last spring I was informed that \$13,000,000 of farming property in that county pays \$225,000 annually, while the same amount of railroad and mining properties pay less than \$12,000, as shown by the county treasurer, discrimination against the farmer of \$13,000.

CORPORATION TAXES.

Scores of like cases can be shown throughout the state, but time will not permit more detail on this particular point. I want to give you a few examples of how great corporations are protected.

The Philadelphia and Erie railroad, which cost upward of \$40,000,000, through the kindness of machine legislation, is not obliged to pay one dollar of tax to the state on capital stock until the road shall earn a 6 per cent dividend. Of course, that time has not and will never come, as its stock can be watered, salaries increased and expenditures kept high enough to prevent any such contingency.

Will Candidate Stone show where the machine made tax system of Pennsylvania, which he declares favors the farmer, has ever exempted \$40,000,000 of farm lands until the farmers have made 6 per cent clear, after enjoying like privileges with the Philadelphia and Erie railroad of voting high salaries to their sons and friends and raising the valuation of their farms as they see fit?

You farmers who are paying 20 mills on every dollar of farm lands you have should ask Candidate Stone to explain the following figures taken from the auditor general's report of 1896. The Delaware Connecting railway, costing \$536,568.82, paid into the state treasury only \$35.22 in 1896.

The Kinzua Valley railroad, costing \$113,450.21, paid \$28.12; the Allentown railroad, costing \$1,055,747.94, paid \$75.02; the Baltimore and Harrisburg railroad, costing \$480,000, paid \$45.73; the Baltimore and Philadelphia, costing \$9,810,000, paid \$975.00; the Baitleton railroad, costing \$100,000, paid \$10; the Clarion railroad, costing \$140,000, paid \$1.60; and the Pickering Valley railroad, costing \$481,299.08, paid the sum of 92 cents.

TAXES ON RAILROADS.

In other words, \$12,777,164.05 of railroad property paid a total tax of \$870.03 in 1896. At the same time \$12,777,164.05 of your property at 20 mills (the average) paid \$255,543.28. Stated in a simpler way: \$12,777,164.05 of property belonging to corporations and a like amount of property belonging to the farmers, together amounting to \$25,554,328.10, paid taxes in 1896 amounting to \$256,413.31, or, of this sum the farmers paid \$255,543.28 and the corporations \$870.03; or, to still further show the inequality, every time the farmer paid \$2.94 of taxes the corporations, under the tax system that Candidate Stone says is fair to the farmer, paid but one penny.

I could prolong the list showing the inequalities of taxation almost indefinitely, but time will not permit to do so. After all, it seems much like a waste of argument to try and convince the voter of what every intelligent citizen already knows—that there is no fairness or equality in our machine made system of taxation.

But there is another side of this great question of taxation that must be presented to every person within the hearing of your voice. It is the remedy. It is far easier to justly criticize the deficiencies of economic principles than to recommend intelligent and adequate methods for their equitable adjustment. It is impossible for me tonight to do more than give in general terms the fundamental principles upon which, I believe, the opinion of our people should be founded.

A REMEDY SUGGESTED.

The dollar of value should be the basis upon which taxes are levied. The man owning \$1,000 worth of property, either in railroads, farming lands or corporate interests, should pay ten times as much tax as the man who owns but \$100 worth.

No taxable property should be given advantages or concessions in the hands of one owner that the like property of any does not receive in the hands of every other owner. A full assessment of all property should be made, and an impartial indiscriminating tax should be imposed.

The assessed valuation of property in Pennsylvania, real and personal, according to the last census, that of 1890, was, in round numbers, \$5,500,000,000. According to the best expert authority the actual valuation of real and personal property in Pennsylvania at the present time is \$10,000,000,000. If the value of assessable property is \$10,000,000,000, the present tax rate of four mills (that corporations are supposed to pay, but do not, though it is only about one-fifth the rate the farmers pay) would

yield \$40,000,000 to the state annually, or about three and one-half times the amount collected under the present law. This would pay the running expense of the state government and give the \$5,500,000 to public schools that is now allowed, and leave \$28,000,000 to be paid back to counties to aid in reducing, or wiping out entirely, local taxation.

Nothing is plainer than that the heavy burden of taxation borne by certain interests results alone from the total or partial exemptions granted vast corporate interests, as the result of machine legislation.

The resources of Pennsylvania are so vast and her wealth so great that, if each dollar of property paid its just share, taxation would be so light that it would scarcely be felt by any. But the machine paid speakers will reply to this statement by telling the farmers that Wanamaker advocates a tax system that will place (we will say for argument) a four mill tax on their lands.

To this I want to say, yes, I favor the placing of a four mill tax on your lands and your homes, if by so doing I can strike off the 20 mill tax that the machine made laws now compel you to pay.

I believe I can do no greater service to the people of my state than help to change the perpetual machine made mortgage of 20 mills for a reasonable and moderate tax rate of four mills or less.

The above article by Mr. Wanamaker is a full expansion of the general points made by George A. Jenks, the Democratic candidate for governor, in several of his now famous campaign addresses. Vote for Jenks and equality of taxation and equality in all other respects before the law.

JENKS AND QUAYISM.

Some Extracts From the Jefferson County Statesman's Speeches That Show Clearly Where He Stands on That Subject.

It has been alleged that the nomination of Mr. Jenks for governor by the Democratic convention at Altoona was brought about through the influence of Quay. Some of Mr. Swallow's stumpers are even yet so asserting in their speeches. The allegation is absurd upon its face. Quay knows Jenks knows him to be an honorable, high toned gentleman, who can neither be corrupted, nor by any power swayed from the straight line of what he esteems to be right and for the good of the people. Had Quay been in position to exert any influence in the Democratic state convention, George A. Jenks is about the last man in the state for whose success he would have employed it.

Least there should remain in any Democratic or independent Republican mind any doubt as to where Mr. Jenks stands on Quay and Quayism, the following brief extracts from his campaign speeches, etc., are herewith presented:

"It is well known and cannot be denied that Senator Quay has ruled legislatures for years past. His will was the law of the majority, and no bill of any importance was passed without his approval, nor defeated without his consent."—Interview with Philadelphia Ledger, Sept. 1, 1898.

"Upon the Republican party, with its glorious traditions, there has grown an ulcer, M. S. Quay, for twenty-seven years an office holder, twice a United States senator, and once a United States senator and again a candidate for election, has acquired his power by keeping an eye single to what benefits him."—Speech at Warren, Pa., Sept. 16, 1898.

"Quayism is now the proper name of the Republican party in Pennsylvania. The particular characteristic of its managers is selfishness, as all officials are chosen, not for their peculiar fitness, but because of their willingness or ability to strengthen the hands of Quay and help him throttle the will of the people."—Speech at Erie, Sept. 17, 1898.

"The concentration of power in the hands of a single man in a republic is dangerous. The car could not rule here because the people still have the spirit of liberty, yet they allow themselves to be ruled just the same by Czar Quay through indirection."—Speech at Oil City, Sept. 20, 1898.

"The real contest and issue in this election is between Quayism and the people of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The question you must answer on your conscience and on your character is: Who shall rule, one single autocratic ruler, or the voice of the people honestly expressed by ballot?"—Speech at Meadville, Sept. 19, 1898.

"The whole of Quayism is corrupt and rotten, not only in dollars and cents, but in the principles that underlie it. The government of the whole state by any one man or by 50 men, is a violation of the constitution of Pennsylvania."—Speech at New Castle, Pa., Sept. 21, 1898.

"We must settle this Quayism by saying that the people's rule should be resumed, and these wrongs should be no longer perpetrated."—Speech at Pittsburg, Sept. 24, 1898.

Hon. Jerry N. Weiler will receive a large vote from the organized workmen in the state. He has served them long and faithfully.

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