

The Centre Democrat.

SHUGERT & FONSTER, Editors.

"EQUAL AND EXACT JUSTICE TO ALL MEN, OF WHATEVER STATE OR PERSUASION, RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL."—Jefferson.

TERMS: \$1.50 per Annum, in Advance.

VOL. I.

BELLEFONTE, PA., THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1879.

NO. 1.

The Centre Democrat.

BELLEFONTE, PA.

The Largest, Cheapest and Best Paper PUBLISHED IN CENTRE COUNTY.

THE CENTRE DEMOCRAT is published every Thursday morning, at Bellefonte, Centre county, Pa.

TERMS—Cash in advance, \$1 50. If not paid in advance, \$2 00.

Advertisements for less than 50 cents, except on yearly contracts, when half-yearly payments in advance will be required.

A LIVE PAPER—devoted to the interests of the whole people.

No paper will be discontinued until arrears are paid, except at option of publishers.

Papers going out of the county must be paid for in advance.

Any person procuring us ten cash subscribers will be sent a copy free of charge.

Our extensive circulation makes this paper an unusually reliable and profitable medium for advertising.

We have the most ample facilities for JOB WORK and are prepared to print all kinds of Books, Tracts, Programmes, Posters, Commercial printing, &c., in the finest style and at the lowest possible rates.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Time.	1 in.	2 in.	3 in.	4 in.	5 in.	10 in.	20 in.
1 Week,	\$1 00	\$2 00	\$3 00	4 00	\$5 00	\$8 00	\$12 00
2 Weeks,	1 50	3 00	4 50	6 00	7 50	11 00	16 00
1 Week,	2 00	3 50	5 00	6 50	8 00	11 50	18 00
2 Months,	3 00	5 00	7 00	9 00	11 00	16 00	24 00
3 Months,	4 00	6 00	8 00	10 00	12 00	18 00	28 00
6 Months,	5 00	8 00	10 00	13 00	15 00	22 00	35 00
1 Year,	6 00	10 00	13 00	16 00	19 00	28 00	40 00
1 Year,	12 00	18 00	24 00	30 00	36 00	50 00	70 00

Advertisements are calculated by the inch in length of column, and any less space is rated as a full inch.

Foreign advertisements must be paid for before insertion, except on yearly contracts, when half-yearly payments in advance will be required.

POLITICAL NOTICE, 10 cents per line each insertion. Nothing inserted for less than 50 cents.

BUSINESS NOTICES, in the editorial columns, 15 cents per line, each insertion.

HORATIO SEYMOUR ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

[From an article in the North American Review.]

It is also constantly stated that our system depends upon the general intelligence of our people. It is true that, without popular intelligence, virtue, and patriotism, we shall sink into anarchy, corruption, and ruin. But this is true of all other civilized nations. They speedily fall into decay without the same virtues. This great truth, as it is usually expressed, does not carry with it a full and clear idea of the nature of that intelligence upon which our government depends. We demand not only general intelligence, as it is required elsewhere, but in addition special intelligences, without which our political system cannot be conducted. Its peculiarity, which distinguishes it from all others, is, that it must be aided by those special intelligences which make its very life, and which, in numerous instances, can carry on certain functions of government, even where general intelligence may be wanting. What is meant by special intelligence is, for instance, this: A man lacking education, and with a limited knowledge, may be so placed that he knows better than much wiser men where a road should be laid or a school-house built, and he may have a deeper interest than others in having those things well done. Wise men will, therefore, give to him the control of this work. The same theory is true of many other affairs which concern the welfare of society. Our fathers, before our independence, and when they shaped our system of government, were forced by the state of society to avail themselves of such special intelligences. These not only served to promote the interests of the colonies, but they enabled the framers of our Constitution to solve problems where the world said they would fail. No man can understand the spirit and genius of our political institutions who does not trace out the uses made by our fathers of these special intelligences, nor can he feel as he should his duties and rights as a citizen, unless he sees clearly that our system imposes upon him certain work which he can perform, and which will be productive of good, despite the power of majorities, or even the lack of general intelligence in the community in which he lives.

It is not the purpose of this article to present any partisan views of the distribution of power between the General and State governments, or to touch any controverted political point. Its design is to show that every citizen, without regard to majorities and without undertaking to change the minds or elevate the general intelligence of the American people, can so use his special power and intelligence as to promote the public welfare; also to prove that under our machinery of government, if there are wide-spread abuses in local or general administrations, the guilt lies at the door of the individual citizens, because they did not do their personal duty in the particular field marked out for them by our system of laws. What is said about the powers of majorities and the rights of minorities, about general and special intelligences and duties, is for the purpose of scattering certain clouds under which we are apt to hide our duties from our own eyes.

Let us place ourselves where our fathers stood when they worked out our political system, and thus learn what they meant to do. A people thinly scattered over a continent, living under opposite conditions of climate, production, and domestic habits, were to be united for purposes of common defense and welfare. This could only be done by securing, to each section of a vast region, laws which would promote the prosperity of every part. Where was the wisdom to frame the laws to meet the wants so diversified and conflicting? They knew from experience that kings, lords, and commons, could not do it. Their failures led to the Revolution. They claimed no wisdom superior to that of Parliament, for that was the period when a

host of orators and statesmen made Parliament glorious in British annals. The colonies were practically as remote from each other as from Britain, when obstacles to intercourse were taken into account. The necessities of the case forced our fathers to frame their State and General governments upon principles the reverse of those which usually mark the polity of nations. Their theory takes away control from political centres, and distributes it to the various points that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields it to the remotest legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people. The local self-government under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, without becoming weak by its expansion, is founded on these propositions. That government is most wise which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest, when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong, when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed. These are obvious truths, but how are they to be made available for practical purposes? It is in this that the wisdom of our institutions consists. In their progress, they are developing truths in government which have not only disappointed the hopes of our enemies, but dissipated the fears of our friends.

The good order of society, the protection of our lives and our property, the promotion of religion and learning, the enforcement of statutes, or the upholding of the unwritten laws of just moral restraints, mainly depend upon the wisdom of the inhabitants of townships. Upon such questions, so far as they particularly concern them, the people of the towns are more intelligent and more interested than those outside of their limits can be. The wisest statesmen, living and acting at the city of Washington, cannot understand these affairs, nor can they conduct them, so well as the citizens upon the ground, although they may be unlearned men. What is true of one town is true of the other ten thousand towns in the United States. When we shall have twenty thousand towns, this system of government will in no degree become overloaded or complicated. There will be no more than for each citizen to do than now. Our town officers in the aggregate are more important than Congressmen or Senators. Hence, the importance to our government of religion, morality, and education, which enlighten and purify the governed and the governors at the same time, and which must ever constitute the best securities for the advancement and happiness of our country. Township powers and duties educate and elevate those who exercise them. The next organizations in order and importance are boards of county officers, who control questions of a local character, but affecting a greater number than the inhabitants of single towns. The people of each county are more intelligent and more interested in what concerns their own affairs than any amount of wisdom or of patriotism outside of it. The aggregate transactions of county officers are more important than those of our State Legislatures. When we have secured good government in towns and counties, most of the objects of government are gained. In the ascending scale of rank, in the descending scale of importance is the Legislature, which is, or should be, limited to State affairs. Its greatest wisdom is shown by the smallest amount of legislation, and its strongest claims for gratitude grow out of what it does not do. Our General Government is remarkable for being the reverse of every other. Instead of being the source of authority, it only receives the remnant of power after all that concerns town, county and State jurisdictions has been distributed. Its jurisdiction, although confined within narrow limits, is of great dignity, for it concerns our national honor and provides for the national defense. We make this head of our system strong when we confine its action to those objects which are of general interest, and prevent its interference with subjects upon which it cannot act with intelligence. If our General Government had the power which is now divided between town, county and State jurisdiction, its attempts at their exercise would shiver it into atoms. If it were composed of the wisest and purest men the world ever saw, it could not understand all the varied interests of a land as wide as all Europe, and with as great a diversity of climate, soil and social condition. The welfare of the several communities would be sacrificed to the ignorance or prejudices of those who had no direct concern in the law they imposed upon others.

The theory of self-government is not founded upon the idea that the people are necessarily virtuous and intelligent, but it attempts to distribute each particular power to those who have the greatest interest in its wise and faithful exercise. Such distribution is founded on the principle that persons most interested in any matter manage it better than wiser men who are not interested. Men act thus in their private concerns. When we are sick we do not seek the wisest man in the community but the physician who is best acquainted with disorder and its remedies. If we wish to build, we seek not the most learned man, but the man most skillful in the kind of structure we desire to erect; and, if we require the services of an agent, the one is best for us who is best acquainted with our wants, and most interested in satisfying them. The

Bible intimates this course when it says that a man can judge better in relation to his own affairs than seven watchmen on a high tower. This principle not only secures good government for each locality, but it also brings home to each individual a sense of his rights and responsibilities; it elevates his character as a man; he is taught self-reliance; he learns that the performance of his duty as a citizen is the corrective for the evils of society, and is not led to place a vague, unfounded dependence upon legislative wisdom. It not only makes good government, but it also makes good manhood. Under European governments, but few feel that they can exert any influence upon public morals or affairs; here every one knows that his character and conduct will at least affect the character of the town in which he lives. While the interests of each section are thus secured, and the citizen is educated by duties, the General Government is strengthened and made enduring by lifting it above invidious action, and making it the point about which rally the affections and pride of the American people, as the exponent to the world at large of our common power, dignity, and nationality.

Under this system our country has attained its power, its prosperity and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world. It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of freshwater lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores, and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government meets every local want of this vast region, it gives energy, enterprise and freedom, to each community, no matter how remote or small. And this is done so readily and so peacefully that the process resembles the great and beneficent operations of Nature.

This plan of carrying down classes of duties to those who have a special intelligence with regard to them, and peculiar interest in their wise and honest execution, is a wonderful educational system, without which it would be difficult to carry on our governments. Its workings are more clearly seen in the country than in cities. In many instances in our new and wild settlements, uneducated men have been made school-trustees, holding their meetings in log-houses or in other humble tenements. All have been struck with their efforts to act wisely, regulated by their anxiety for their children. The writer has watched such men as they gradually gained knowledge of town laws. He has seen them fill different local offices, become members of county boards and of the State Legislature. As Governor of New York, he found them better grounded and versed in all that relates to legislation than many who had had the advantage of wealth and of education in academic or collegiate form, but who have never been placed in positions where they have taken part in the work of local duties. The plain men thus educated are those who, within a few years, have gone to the West, and have founded, organized, and set in operation great States. They have done wisely what would be deemed works of statesmanship in other parts of the world. Many of us remember when Illinois, now the third State in importance in our Union, was but a part of a vast wild territory. The immigrants, trained in town duties, made their homes there. In a little time they built up a State, one of the most prosperous in the Union, adorned with cities, and enlightened by learning and religion, with more railroads than most of the empires of Europe. Yet this great work has been done as quietly as if it were a matter of course, and with the same ease with which they built houses and barns and fences.

While we differ about the rights of the States or of the General Government under the Constitution, we agree that there is a distribution of jurisdictions; that all the forms of local government spoken of do exist. The purpose is to inquire what duties these distributions impose upon each, and how far their honest, patriotic performance will work out reforms in government, and bring back simplicity, economy and integrity, in the conduct of public affairs. It is not only believed that this can be done, but that we have already made progress in that direction. Wrongs no longer can be perpetrated with impunity, which aroused no resistance but a little time since. This is true alike of local, State and national affairs. Put back into power the men who plundered the city of New York; give them all the advantages of the laws, organizations and alliances, they then had, and they could not hold their ground for a single day. No one would now venture upon the plunder of the national Treasury by Credit Mobilier or kindred schemes, or would dare to destroy our great channels of commerce in New York by fraudulent contracts.

We do not now ask what should be done by State or General governments. We reverse the inquiry, to learn what each citizen should do where the control of majorities is restrained and the rights of minorities and individuals guarded, where a field of duty is marked out for every man, and where the spirit and genius of our institutions demand that the special intelligence of each citizen shall be used to promote the general welfare? We must look to this groundwork whenever we seek to correct public abuses, or to reform the administration of State or national affairs. When the lofty spire of some temple of religion sways from the true line, we do not discuss the influence which its pinnacles exert in throwing it from its proper position, but we look to the

condition of its base and buttresses, and speed our labor there to restore its uprightness, for we know that there we shall find the cause of threatened danger. Bad government is the logical result of bad morals or neglect of duty by the constituency. Men in office do not corrupt the people so often as the people corrupt officials. The men who plundered the city of New York of many millions could not have done so if there had not been a state of public morals, of wild speculative excitements, a greed for gold no matter how gained which suggested and favored all their schemes. They were made bold by seeing transactions in all the walks of life, in personal and business circles and in all departments of State and national government, which were akin to their own. They had no business skill, sagacity, or experience. They did not make corruption; corruption made them. The same causes existing all over our country produced the like results. Citizens here and elsewhere did not do their home duties; they did not use their special intelligence to check wrong in their own neighborhood. We were all swept away by the spirit of speculation, extravagance and indulgence. Bad governments are the results, the punishments, and, we hope, the remedies, for this wide-spread demoralization. They impose the penalties for neglect. God in his goodness does not permit nations to be happy and prosperous when governments are corrupt and citizens are indifferent. Indifference on the part of the public makes corruption in officials. Slight changes in public morals act with intensified force at political capitals, as slight contractions or expansions in the bulb of the thermometer make great changes in the rise and fall of the slender column of mercury which marks the temperature. For a like reason any loss or gain in the morals of a people is potent for good or evil in the conduct of public affairs.

So completely does the state of the public mind shape legislation and official action, that it is more correct to say that laws are passed through Congress or State Legislatures than it is to say they are passed by them. They are conduits rather than enacting agencies. The opinions which suggest, the minds which shape, the wills which demand their passage, are outside of legislative halls. The great business interests of the country, the sentiments of the people, the tone of public morality, give form and hue to political action. Hence all acts of official corruption are justly looked upon by the world as stains upon the American character, every commitment of crime as indictment of the American people. Hard times and general distress are the remedies which cure public ills. They teach that neglect of duties and disregard of obligations to society are expensive, and thwart our very schemes for gain or self-indulgence. The influences of such distribution, and of the use of special intelligence in the performance of official work, reach beyond the lines marked out by statute-books. They educate us to do many things which elsewhere are thought to be the work of government. To get clear views of the genius of our political institutions, we must look not only at written constitutions and laws, but also at the unwritten laws of usage which grow out of them.

More is done to promote the public welfare outside of the domain of laws than by force of their enactments. Churches, colleges, academies, hospitals, and a thousand charities, are organized and upheld by the funds of individuals and by the care of unofficial and largely of unpaid influences. Their positions, forms, religions or educational aspects, are all determined by the special intelligence of the particular communities in which they exist. They make the bases of our social and political system. Beyond all other influences they govern and save society from disorder and corruption. The restraints in our Constitution against any tyranny by majorities, the safeguard thrown around the rights of minorities and individuals, the freedom of conscience and worship, the sacredness of persons, the sanctity of homes, the liberty of speech and action, the distribution of political duties, the policy of using for the public welfare the special intelligence of each citizen, all point in one direction, and bring home to every man his personal duty to serve the public, to promote its virtue, its prosperity, and its glory, in some of the many paths which are open to him. These influences are not limited to the particular field in which he labors. Virtue is catching as well as vice. Good example is as potent as bad example. He who does his duty sheds a light which makes other men see their duties. The ways and means for public reform in morals, politics or business, are not outside of the ordinary pursuits of life. They are at our firesides, they lie in our pathways, they exist in all of our business and social relationships.

The condition of our country is favorable to reform. All honest teachings tell upon the public mind. Argument is now enforced by suffering. The springs and sources of governmental power are under our control. The virtues of economy or of integrity which we practise ourselves we will require of our representatives. They will feel and respond to our demands. Reforms are not to be gained by railing at political parties, while neglecting our individual duties. This is a device by which we blind ourselves to truth. It is inconsistent with an honest self-respect. Neglect of political duty is but a shade better than violation of official duty. It grows out of a lack of true manhood, a want of sense and virtue, and a feeling that personal and social position do not make men equal to the work of battling

with wrong. The strength of Britain in no small degree is owing to the fact that the Peers of the realm meet in many ways the rough duties of political struggles.

Political parties are, in public affairs, what John Doe and Richard Roe used to be in legal proceedings, fictitious names to conceal the real actors. We are too apt to satisfy our consciences and blind ourselves to our own neglect by railing at them. As parties embrace the whole population, why not say that the American people have been corrupted, or made extravagant, or indifferent to their obligations as citizens? This is what the future historian will say of this period. Shall we not also make him say that this sad condition was followed by a revival of national virtues, and that the beginning of the second century of our existence as a people was marked by a return of the integrity and patriotism which inspired our fathers one hundred years ago?

The social, political and business evils which affect our country are not to be cured by political strategy nor by any tricks of statesmanship. No country can be legislated out of distress, crime or poverty. No laws in civilized countries are potent for good which do not emanate from the sentiments, habits, and virtues of the people. They demand personal, fireside and local reforms. They cannot be made by others for us. They must be wrought out by each man in the use of his special intelligence and personal power, in office and out of it, in all forms of unselfish work for the general welfare, in convention, upon the platform, in the pulpit and through the press. The immigrants of varied lineages and creeds who come to our shores excite fears in the minds of some. These spring from narrow prejudices. All phases of civilization give broader views about social, religious and political questions. Men of loyal faith in our Government feel that this mingling of European races on this continent will give us higher civilization, greater power and prosperity, than have yet been seen in the history of the world.

The "Bloody Shirt" Issue.

The Democrat who desires the success of his party more than he deprecates sectional hostility, could not wish for a more favorable issue for the campaign of 1880 than the one which the Republicans have selected for the principal plank of their platform. In unflinching again "the bloody shirt," and summoning their followers to rally under it once more, Messrs. Blaine and Edmunds have taken the most direct and expeditious way of effecting a solidification of the Democracy.

There are other questions of public policy on which Democrats are not united. There is some diversity of opinion, for instance, on the part that should be assigned to silver in our National financial system. The Democrat who hold that the standard silver dollar is not an honest dollar; that it should be increased in weight until its intrinsic value equals the standard gold dollar. There are those who insist that the gold dollar should be clipped until it is reduced to the intrinsic value of 42½ grains of silver. Others are strongly inclined to the opinion that silver has survived its day of usefulness as money, and that its day of universal demonetization is demanded on grounds of equity and expediency. In various sections of the country, the advocates of these conflicting views are found among those who belong to the great National Democratic organization.

Again, there is the question of national banks, on which there is want of unanimity. Many Democrats believe that these banks are an expensive and dangerous monopoly, and that the heavy expense entailed on the public for the maintenance of the system is worse than a waste of public funds. They hold to the theory that all paper money should be issued by the Government, as the greenbacks are, without the intervention of any other agency. Probably the great mass of Democratic voters entertain this view. But there are Democrats of influence whose opinions are just the reverse. They believe that the banking system is an invaluable aid to business, and that any attempt to do away with it would result most unfavorably to the industrial and commercial interests of the country.

On the question of internal improvements, too, we find a similar dissimilarity of opinion. In some localities it is held to be violative of the Democratic creed to extend the aid of the Government to any enterprise intended to develop the resources of the country or foster its commerce. In other localities we find the leaders and the rank and file of the party earnestly advocating a comprehensive system of public improvements. They hold that the time has gone by when an anti-internal improvement policy was either wise or politic; that we have gone too far in the extension of aid to such works to think of pausing now, leaving but a portion of our people to enjoy the benefits that all have helped to pay for. They insist that other sections shall have their turn, and that the advantages shall be made National, instead of remaining sectional.

But there is one question on which no two Democrats differ, and that question has been selected by the Republican managers as the central idea of the campaign of 1880. A year and a half before that canvass will be formally opened by the assembling of National conventions, it has been virtually inaugurated by Mr. Blaine and other statesmen of his party. It was demonstrated in 1876 that the Republicans were in the minority on the popular, as

well as the electoral vote. It has been shown in the elections of this year that they are in much smaller minority than they were two years ago. All that was needed to insure their overwhelming defeat was Democratic unity. This unity and that defeat are made certain by the blunder of Mr. Blaine. These gentlemen propose to make the issues growing out of the war last through another four years. They propose to rekindle the fires of sectional animosity, and to attack the theory of local self-government.

The Democracy hold that the war ended long ago; that sectional hate should have ceased long ago, and that every interest of our people demands that this agitation should be brought to an end. As one man, the entire Democratic party, with thousands of reinforcements, will come up in solid phalanx to meet this "bloody shirt" issue and settle it so effectually that it will stay settled. Holding in abeyance their differences upon other points less vital to the peace and prosperity of the country, they will meet the Republicans on the paramount issue selected, and will sweep from power a party that expends its force in striving to perpetuate strife and keep up the bitter animosities of war half a generation after the last soldier has returned to his civic pursuits and his allegiance to the old flag.

Not the least among the surprises that await Mr. Blaine will be the defection of thousands of Republicans whose business interests are jeopardized and sense of justice violated by this ceaseless strife. They will join the party of peace in its final, triumphant crusade against the party of the "bloody shirt."—Washington Post.

Death of Rear Admiral Hoff.

AN OLD-TIME OFFICER OF THE NAVY WHO SAW SERVICE WITH THE CENTURY WAS YOUNG.

A dispatch from Washington announces the death Christmas day in that city, from congestion of the brain, Henry K. Hoff, rear admiral on the retired list of the United States Navy. Born in Pennsylvania in the year 1809, he was appointed a midshipman from South Carolina October 28, 1823; served successfully on the Porpoise, schooner; Bran'ywine brig, and Constitution, frigate, and in 1825 was one of the officers of the Brandywine when that vessel was detailed to carry Lafayette back to France. He passed his examination in 1828, and March 3, 1831, was promoted to be lieutenant. In the same year, while serving aboard the Potomac frigate, on the East Indian station, he distinguished himself at the affair of Qualla Battoo. Landing with a division of seamen, he carried one of the forts by assault after a fight of nearly two hours, killing the Rajah and eleven Malays, and then rendered efficient service to the division under Lieutenant Shubrick in the reduction of the second fort, the fall of which secured the success of the expedition. He was promoted to lieutenant commander in 1843, commander in 1854 and captain in 1861. During the first year of the rebellion he served in the Pacific aboard the sloop Lancaster. In July, 1862, he was promoted to be commodore, ordered home, and during the war served on ordnance duty at the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He was commissioned Rear Admiral April 13, 1867, and from October of that year until October, 1869, commanded the North Atlantic Squadron, his duties during this period being of an arduous as well as a very delicate character, owing to the existing complications with Spain flowing out of the Cuban troubles, and being discharged with credit to himself and with honor to his country. Leaving this command, he was placed on the retired list. He married the youngest daughter of the late Commodore Bainbridge and for several years made his home in Philadelphia, where some of his family now reside. At the time of his death he was visiting his son, Lieutenant Commander William Bainbridge Hoff, on duty at Washington.

An Up-Hill Task.

[From the Washington Capital.]

Now that the Radicals are raising a great hue and cry because the negroes do not solidly vote the Republican ticket, it is in order to remind them that the results we see in the South are exactly what all thinking men predicted when the fifteenth constitutional amendment was adopted. It was plain enough to any person capable of reasoning from the commonest facts that a Republican party in the South composed exclusively of blacks, led by alien adventurers, could not continue indefinitely. It was steadily predicted by thinking Republicans, as well as by Democrats, that the negro would see that his interests were identical with those of the landowners, his employers, and that he would soon fall again under their influence. And this result, inevitable in any event, was foreseen and foretold as a thing which would come about, not by violence and intimidation from the whites, but all the sooner because of their abstention therefrom. All the leaders of Southern politics have recognized this from the first, and have, therefore, set the example of moderation. Spontaneous acts of violence at the South have precisely the same kind of insignificance as Molly Maguireism in Pennsylvania, or vigilance committees in the West. Mr. Blaine and his followers have undertaken an up-hill task, and will find their work continually undoing of itself.