

The Centre Democrat.

SHUGERT & FORSTER, 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.

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The Centre Democrat.

BELLEFONTE, PA.

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

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THE SOLID SOUTH.

We make the following extracts from an article written by HENRY WATERSON and published in the January number of the *North American Review*:

It is given out, apparently by authority, that the President has no idea of joining the stalwarts of his party in this new crusade against the South, but that, confessing a certain disappointment in the reception accorded his conciliatory policy by the Southern people, he will proceed without malice upon the line of his duty, executing the Federal laws with rigorous impartiality.

Assuredly, no one can complain of such a course, carried out in good faith. But everybody knows that, as a rule, there is considerable divergence between the professions and performances of men in great place; and, as the relation of the South, to the Government is still sufficiently equivocal to tempt partisans to rush in where statesmen dare not tread, and, moreover, as partisan legislation has furnished machinery to that very end, thoughtful people may well regard the position assumed by the President as lacking in specification, and therefore to be accepted with allowance, if not with anxiety. For example, the President need not say that in withdrawing the troops from the South he merely accepted the situation, carrying out the plan already agreed upon by his predecessor. Again, he might well spare himself the trouble of mentioning that, even if he desired to undo what he has done, he could not. Suggestions of this kind are presumptuous and misleading. They are unworthy to come from the Chief Magistrate of a great and united country, who is conscious of having done his duty by the whole people. They smell of the old heaven of sectional bigotry, and make one doubt whether the official who permits such expressions to escape him is capable of executing the Federal laws, designed in the first place for party service, impartially in the South.

An election never occurs, North or South, but that on the side of the defeated there is plenty of outcry. Perhaps too often there is plenty of reason for outcry. If the foundation of this, true or false, are to be carefully collected by hostile agents appointed at Washington for the purpose, how shall we hope ever to be rid of the sources of sectional strife? There will never be a party in power which will not use the machine made to its hand. There will never be an election in which it may not be used. It is the machine itself, and the President's unquestionable application of it, which constitute the danger; and, as he declares himself disappointed in the Southern people, it can hardly be hoped that he will not give his ear rather to the adventurers who run to him with wild stories than to the less enterprising and demonstrative elements of society, which recognize neither his paternity nor his right of servitude.

For why should he be disappointed in the South? He came among us, and we treated him as a President and a gentleman should be treated. Did he expect us to break up our party connections and relations and join his party, or unite with him in making a new party? What has happened in the South the last twelve months which has not happened in the North? We have reached the millennium in neither section. In both there are disorders and violence; the strong are unjust; the weak are trod upon; and good men are not always able to quell bad men. But is this situation to be mended by renewing sectional bickerings, and throwing into the flame of evil, which always burns, the combustible materials of partisan interest and malice?

The principle of home rule has not yet been denied by any responsible American authority. By the operations of the administrative policy its practice

was restored in the South. The President claims that in restoring it he only did his duty, which is true, and in which event party payment should not be asked. Undoubtedly beneficial results have followed. Undoubtedly beneficial results will continue to follow. The partisan solidarity of the South is referable, not to unfair elections, but primarily to the courses pursued respectively by the republican and democratic parties of the North. The one has been friendly; the other has been proscriptive and unfriendly. The South, on the issues of the last few years, is Democratic, and for good reason. It would be strange if it were not. It is the effort to array the North against us on a line of proscription, simply because we have resisted and do resist proscription, which seems unreasonable, and which we contest. At this time there is, practically, no republican party in the South, to contest elections with the democrats. In South Carolina and Louisiana, where it subsisted by military suzerainty, and was represented by armed encampments, the withdrawal of the troops left it without a reason for continued existence. It fell to pieces literally by its own rottenness. In Louisiana, at the recent election, its remnants united themselves with the wildest rag-money lunatics; in South Carolina, there was not enough left of it to put a ticket in the field. Yet the Republican press of the North, taking the old set of bankrupt vagabonds and jail-birds for their witnesses, are shrieking for "a free ballot," and pointing to Democrat majorities in South Carolina, where there was no Republican organization, as proof of foul play. And because the people of the South dare to defend themselves, they are denounced *en masse* as traitors to liberty and humanity, whose chief delight is "bulldozing" and ballot-box-stuffing.

Against this unfair and illiberal dealing the South protests, and the protest is universal, embracing all the responsible elements of life. There is thus a real difference between a "Solid South" and a "Solid North." The South is "solid" in its own defense. The Republican leaders would have the North "solid" in continued pursuit and persecution of the South. At this rate we should never have any peace, never have any sectional repose, never have any national prosperity and glory in which all might share; but we should go on forever, criminalizing and recriminating, steadily impairing the public credit, ultimately to close the account in bankruptcy, repudiation, anarchy, and despotism.

To this feast the sectional policy of the republican invites us. That policy is not only aggressive, but is based upon an assumption which, if it be true, means the overthrow of republicanism—the incapacity of the people of the South for self-government.

The people of the South are nothing if not sentimental. Climate influences have, of course, had much to do with this idiosyncratic feature of Southern life; but it is also the offspring of conditions equally potent; the institution of slavery which built up great homesteads and homestead affections, for one; a leisurely, isolated, provincial existence, affording the opportunity and the means for the equivocal culture of the voluptuary, not the severe training of the schools; for another; a traditional reverence for England and things English, and inherited love of old English literature, a belief in the social, domestic, and political system of England, or rather in a mistaken conception of that system; for a third. The Southern lad who has been educated at home knows a little Latin, less Greek, and a great deal of English; his repertory embracing a mass of crude knowledge, sometimes familiar, sometimes useless, but always engaging, crowded in between Addison and Swift and Hallam and Macaulay. Of mathematics he is almost as ignorant as of Greek; and, with a store of what, for the want of a better term, the world agrees in calling *polite* learning, lacking not in readiness, he lacks accuracy, the source and resource of modern thought and action. He is thus, in the materialistic debates of a thoroughly materialized generation, an ill match for the cool and wary disputant, who throws rhetoric to the dogs and plies on the heartless logic of statistics.

The whirligig of time, come at last to the aid of the North, has brought in its revenges. For fifty years, during the bucolic period of the republic, the South sent its best men into public life, the North its worst. The Southern statesman may not always have been a planter or even a rich man; but, when he was not, he still sprang from the dominant class, and was a conservative. In a sparsely settled agricultural community, yielding to the foremost talent, professional incomes necessarily small, a seat in Congress was, in dollars and cents, as lucrative employment as was to be had. To him whose fortune made him independent of venal considerations, the place itself was sufficiently tempting. So the South never wanted for efficient representatives; men in full sympathy with the spirit of the age; men adequate to all the exigencies of the time; good judges of constitutional law, though poor judges of facts and figures, which did not happen to rule; good declaimers and debaters upon the theoretic topics which arose out of an angry sectional controversy. The North, on the other hand, in many instances, sent her lackeys to Congress. Her rising merchants, lawyers—citizens of real worth and mark—could seldom afford to abandon great and paying enterprises, to give up richly rewarded professional pursuits, to struggle for political preferment, which not only demanded sacrifices, but required the

exercise of low arts and imposed the contamination of vulgar association. With rare exceptions they staid at home. The scrub who could scuffle, the pettifogger who might not get a practice but who would serve a corporation, went to Washington; and these were unable to cope with the gentlemen of the South either in honesty or in capacity. To be sure, there were many notable exceptions. When Tom Marshall stumbled upon John Quincy Adams in the House—when Hayne shied an unwary lance at Webster in the Senate—the force of the whole culture upon half culture showed itself, to the discomfort of two men of real genius. But such scenes were rare. The rule was that the Southerner came off victor in most of the fights and got most of the glory; and for the reason given, and no other.

Times have changed; conditions are reversed. Beneath this illusory stream of glory a steady undercurrent ran. A conspicuous Southern statesman, Mr. Toombs of Georgia, recently boasted that during eighteen years' service in Congress he had never obtained a dollar for his district. His Northern colleagues were neither so sublimated nor so squeamish. While he declaimed they manoeuvred; alight-house here, a custom-house there; to-day a railway subsidy, to-morrow a river improvement; fat cuts in all the general appropriation bills; land grants and water grants, year in and year out, from one session to another. Truly, the Southerner had to pay dearly for his glory! Finally the war came, and the North equipped, the South without equipment—a victim to misleading theories and calculations, each of which in its order came to grief—the issue was simply that of force against force, and, as discerning men on both sides saw at least a year before the close of it, there could be but one result.

The overthrow of the Confederacy verified the predictions and vindicated the opinions of the conservative intelligence of the South, which had opposed disunion, and was dragged into the secession movement by the violence of the times. It also produced an element previously unknown in the South—a bright, self-reliant young manhood, in the rude school of war. Since 1865 the republican party has done what it could to debauch and destroy these germs of a new and sound political life; and if it has not quite succeeded, its failure has been due rather to the strength of the germs than to any lack of tormenting ingenuity in its methods. I shall not burden this hasty *requis* with a recital of the nagging which divided time with the muzzling, throughout the short-sighted treatment bestowed upon the Southern people and the Southern question by the republican leaders. It is sufficient to say that the charge of exceptional hostility to the negro rests mainly upon devices brought about to produce antagonism and to prevent an honest understanding and co-operation between the native races, and that the cackle about "social ostracism" rests upon no foundation worthy of the respectful consideration.

The wonder is, not that there has been so much bloodshed at the South, but that, under the circumstances, there has been so little. But, much or little, the country at large can look with hope only to domestic forces for improved conditions. Outside political pressure tends but to inflame. Administrative meddling begets conflicts of jurisdiction in the courts, State and national; between the two stools, justice falls to the ground and malefactors make their escape. He is a poor judge of human nature, or else very ignorant of the Southern character, who does not know that the well-being of the negro must originate at home; most certainly it can not be shaped or hastened by missionaries carrying banners on which sectional and partisan inscriptions, carefully worded to convey the greatest possible offense to the native white population, are emblazoned. The negro is placable and kindly—the fortunate possessor of a sweet, loving, and generous nature. He is yet half a savage. His future is shrouded in mists which are not very penetrable. A free man, a citizen, a voter, he should be left to work out his destiny—a hard one at best—in his own way. Rescued from the agitation of which he had been the victim, he is likely to grow in grace and good works; to educate himself and to be educated, slowly of course; to be useful, contented, and happy; perhaps to develop, with increasing aspiration and advancing civilization, faculties now merely susceptible and imitative into forces of which he does not dream. But, employed for party service as he was employed for domestic service, he is a devil incarnate, a barbarian, useful to the basest purposes; the easy prey of the vilest. No true friend of his but would take him out of politics as a factor or leading issue. Handled for ten years as an instrument of torture and pillage by unscrupulous camp-followers who remained in the South to rob the dead and dying left by braver and better men upon the field, the time may come when he will compose the Tenth Legion in the Army of Repudiation, already mustering in the North, to sweep down upon New England, with New England's own battle-cries in his mouth and the reflection of hell itself in his eyes. Better, far better, leave him where he stands, to be "bulldozed," if you please, into voting the Democratic ticket, than attach him again to the fortunes of a corrupt and heartless body of mercenaries, having no local interest or to be used by them for incendiary purposes. Better, far better, leave him to his fate with the conservative intelligence of the South, which comprehends his peculiarities and sym-

pathizes with his real wants and needs, than have him trained and sharpened for official service in future agrarian movements.

It is absurd, if not monstrous, to suppose that he can ever govern in the South, or anywhere else. The scheme to force his ascendancy is merely a job to transfer Tweedism from the North to the South, and to multiply the Tweeds in the fancied interest of the republican party. The negro is a creature of circumstance, easily led. He voted the Republican ticket while there was a Freedman's Bureau to serve him rations, while there were promises of "forty acres and a mule" to lure him into camp, while republicanism seemed synonymous with the glittering paraphernalia and the power of the armies he had seen sweep over the country. These withdrawn, he fell under the ordinary domestic influences, and is to-day voting the democratic ticket with the cheerful adaptability of his nature. He is at least out of harm's way. He is beginning to depend less upon the government and more upon himself. In his person and property he is as safe as a man, ignorant and poor, can be. A true philanthropy, whose first duty is to advise itself, would see the wisdom of letting well enough alone. Nobody pretends that the condition of the negro is an enviable one. It is only affirmed that it is better than it was under his old or his new master, the planter or the carpet-bagger; and that his future can not be improved by going back for counsels or practices into the period of reconstruction.

In its organized capacity, neither party cares anything for the negro. Each would enslave him to its uses. But there is in the South, as there can not be in the North, a humanity which is not partisan, born of old ties and associations, common griefs, fellow feelings, which link the homestead and the cabin, not perhaps by hooks of steel, but by the "mystic chords of memory" which stretch across the chasm between the present and the past. To this humanity, and to it alone, the destiny of the negro may be safely entrusted. If it does not educate and elevate him, the fault will be his, and not its want of interest and effort. The republican party has done much to stamp this out; but, thank God, it is not yet extinct!

In these random notes upon the "Solid South," I have attempted to give, in a suggestive way, the case of the Southern people against the republican leaders, with some reference to their case for themselves; and by the term "Southern people" I mean, distinctly, the responsible classes, on whom the Government and the Northern people must rely, if the rule of the bayonet is not to be restored; the native white population as distinguished from the irresponsible, entirely ignorant, and helpless blacks, who, having no volition of their own, must and will be controlled, either in the home interest by those who represent it, or in the rotten-borough interests by partisan agents sent down to usurp the honest and beneficent functions of home rule. I have charged that the republican party, which for ten years had sole custody of the Government, ignored all that was good and cultivated all that was bad in the South. I have hinted that there are people in the South, who, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," not only love their country, and are loyal to all that should constitute its greatness and pride, but entertain sound opinions upon the material issues which press upon our day and generation. My conclusion is that, if the republican policy of meddling and muddling, of nagging and double-dealing, continues, it will at length complete the demoralization which it has only half accomplished; that it will loosen the South from its conservative moorings; and that, when the unlucky moment comes, instead of a reservoir of wholesome ideas, we shall find the South a magazine of combustibles, ready to be used by adventurers and charlatans.

The circumstances attending the last Presidential election put a serious strain upon our elective system, and it was the South which saved the country from civil strife and secured the peaceful settlement of a most dangerous issue. It is the South to-day, the "Solid South," to which the friends of social order and honest money will have to look for reinforcements when the tug of war is really at hand. How shall they fare if, in the mean time having leveled suffrage in the South to the low standard of suffrage at the North—yes, to a lower—having elevated ignorance into a power, and employed this power to prostrate and debauch the intelligence which could only organize and direct it for good—they find the South detached from its fixed principles, a monster without a head, broken into worthless cliques and ripe for political adventures?

Be it remembered that this cry about the "Solid South" and a "Solid North" is but an echo, after all. The country had four years of a "Solid South" against a "Solid North." Each side spoke its mind freely out of the cannon's mouth; the declamation was vociferous, the rhetoric was magnificent, the argument was conclusive. Good men on both sides, satisfied with the result, wish to forget the unhappy events which led to it. Is it possible that any wise man can believe that continuous debate on the old sectional lines can bring us nearer to a happy consummation of the questions in dispute?

But the republican leaders say: "We don't want to do this; it is you. Cease to mistreat the negro, learn to love your country, guarantee the security of life and property and freedom of speech; that is all we ask, and, by all the gods of a solid North! this we mean to have."

In reply, the South, conceiving itself a peer and not a vassal, might say: "What right have you to use such language? The assumption on which you base it is false. The spirit in which it is delivered is born of cowardice and cant. You seek no peace. You care nothing for the negro. Freedom of speech and the security of life and property are the last things which you would have established in the South. Your aim is continued disturbance, on which you hope to trade and derive a profit. Your game is to goad us into the imprudent utterances of outraged manhood. For years you legislated against us. For years you have maligned us. You loose no opportunity to insult us. Well, if the North can stand it, the South can. The present generation of Southern men is not responsible for slavery or the war of secession. Nearly all of the active leaders of the South were obscure young men when the war began. The leaders who are coming on were in their cradles. In all that constitutes good government, the government of the people, we are equally interested with you. In private virtues, as in public spirit and in public virtue, we claim to be at least your peers. As for you—the radical leaders of the republican party, who would rekindle the smouldering fires of an almost extinguished sectional fury to gain a partisan victory—we make no disguise of our feelings toward you; we detest and distrust you; detest you for your mean pursuit of us; distrust you for your hypocrisy and corruption. You alone, among Americans, have caused the check of honest Americans to blush for their country in every part of the world. You alone mountebanks and malignants that you are, have driven our flag from the seas, to convert it on the land into a drop-curtain to conceal your machinations against the liberty and peace, the prosperity and fair good name of a section of your countrymen, sprung from the same origin as yourselves, and having an equal right to share with you the glorious achievements and the birthright of our fathers. If you are able to drag your neighbors, a majority of the good people of the North, down to your baseness, to poison very blood with lies, and to array them 'solid' against us on the line of an insincere, proscriptive charlatanism, so be it. We wash our hands of the consequences. Degrade ourselves by alliance with you, contaminate ourselves by intriguing with you—that we will not do, because you have exhausted the resources of human forgiveness by transcending the limits set upon human endurance. In seeking to dishonor us, you have dishonored yourselves; and, though death and the devil stood at the door, we'll none of you!"

The South might say this, and more; and, in moments of exasperation, many an honest, liberal Southern man, who entertains opinions and sentiments and sympathies with the foremost thinkers of the North, has been tempted to say it. I am sure that he does not live, if in a discourse of this sort one may be allowed a personal reference, who more thoroughly respects the character and polity of New England than I do; who warms more heartily to her prowess, her courage, and her gentility; who has a kinder laugh for her grotesquerie; who is freer of prejudices against her, having none except such as favor her, and would elevate her munificence, her culture, and her thrift into examples to be constantly set before the ill-taught, the half-taught, the indolent, spendthrift, and impoverished South. And yet, speaking to the radical leaders in question, and to them alone, I do make bold to reiterate the words I have written down and hold them true; and, sure of the intelligence and candor of the average Northern audience, and fearing not to disturb the ghostly back numbers of the "North American Review" by recording them in these pages, I should be surest of all in Faneuil Hall itself!

The republican party is a sectionalist. It has done what it could to create the "Solid South" in order that it might compel a "Solid North." At length it has the appearance of the desired array of sectional forces. The effect upon parties affords pretty and timely speculation for the newspapers. The result, for the people at large, may be foretold by any thoughtful person; for vicious agitation leads inevitably to loss of business, public confidence, and credit, opens the way for corrupt engineering and adventurers, and in the end, threatens the demolition of either liberty or property, and oftenest of both.

Public Schools.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction in his report makes some very judicious suggestions, from which we copy the following:

For myself, I have long been convinced that the matter of instruction in our elementary schools is not as profitable as it might be. A considerable portion of the ordinary text-books in geography might be omitted without loss. Tens of thousands of children are given lessons in arithmetic every day that they cannot possibly understand, and an immense amount of time is thrown away in the attempt to teach the principles of abstract grammar in primary schools.

In general, the base of the knowledge imported in our schools is not broad enough; little children are crammed with abstractions, definitions, formulas and calculations that they cannot be made to comprehend, and the whole work of teaching is thus rendered dull, mechanical and too often fruitless. And not only have we included in our courses of study much

that might well be omitted, but we have omitted much that ought to be included. Little children are keen observers. They fairly revel in the world of nature, but our schools, for the most part, deny them lessons on objects, animals, plants, mineral, men, and confine them to the dry, formal lessons of the text-books. A public school ought to be a powerful agency in the work of preparing its pupils to succeed in life, and yet the practical application of the branches taught is frequently overlooked, and drawing, the handmaid of so many industries, receives little attention.

The theory of our institutions is that all citizens may be made to understand the science and art of government, and, therefore, it is wise to intrust them with the right of suffrage. But what are we doing in our schools to instruct the young in the history of traditions of our country, its Constitution and laws, the rights and duties of citizens? Then, back of all, and more important than all, is the study of man himself, what he is, physically, intellectually, morally, what he is in his relations to his family, neighbors, country, mankind, nature, God. Would it not be well to have some lessons on a subject like this in exchange for the details of geography of distant countries that will soon be forgotten or for certain half-understood abstractions in grammar and arithmetic?

The Auditor General's Report.

CONTPLAINING OF DEFECTS IN OUR FINANCIAL LAWS—COSTLY PRINTING LEGISLATION.
(Correspondence of the Times.)

HARRISBURG, JANUARY 8.
Auditor General Schell's annual report was sent to the Legislature to-day, as one of the accompanying documents of the Governor's message, but the reports from the heads of departments are never read in either house and seldom attain much publicity. His report is eminently practical, and it calls attention in details to the incongruous financial laws of the State and the actual inability of officers often to do justice to the Commonwealth. He sums up as follows:

In conclusion, I desire to say that I know it is unusual for the Auditor General to speak in his annual report of matters outside of the receipts and expenditures of the Treasury Department, but I cannot reconcile it to my sense of official duty to refrain from mentioning the great defects in the laws and the grave abuses in their execution which prevail in the financial system of the Commonwealth. In referring to them I disclaim all intention to reflect upon individuals. I am of the opinion that no individual, and no party, can be justly held responsible for their existence. They have been the natural outgrowth and legitimate result of a defective system. So far as I have authority, under the law, all abuses shall be corrected. Where I have not the authority I cordially hope the Legislature will remove them by the proper legislation.

The Auditor General refers to the laws relating to public advertising. The cost of advertising the appraisers' list of mercantile and other license tax, for the year 1878, was \$84,789.01, and \$84,936 of that is paid in Philadelphia, by reason of special laws which leave the officials no discretion as to the number of newspapers in which the notice is to be advertised, and no revision of the bills beyond requiring them to be no higher than the "regular" publishing rates for transient advertising." The cost of advertising in Philadelphia is about twenty per cent. of the amount collected and in the rest of the State but little over two per cent. The County Treasurers settle and pay these bills and the Auditor General has no authority to revise them or to refuse the Treasurer's credit for the payment, unless the rates charged are in excess of the transient rates of the newspapers. The Auditor General says that "the effect of this law is to drag large sums from the Treasury without adequate consideration therefor. The Auditor General has no discretion. He must allow County Treasurers any sums which publishers may fix arbitrarily as their 'regular' publishing rates for transient advertising." He then repeats the suggestion, recently given in the *Times*, that the Mercantile Appraisers be required to serve personal notice on all parties as they are appraised and thus dispense with the cost of advertising. As such a reform would affect the patronage of the press of all parties throughout the State, and as legislators have a tender regard for the favor of their home organs, hasty legislation need not be expected on the subject.

Gov. Hendricks was on the floor of the Senate on Monday, and received very general congratulations on his health and good appearance on the Democratic side. He said to a newspaper correspondent that he would not be interviewed on the Presidential question, but he added that he should be satisfied with the Democratic nomination, whether it should be Thurman, Bayard or anybody else who had been named. When asked whether he would be satisfied if he himself was nominated, he said it could hardly be a subject of dissatisfaction, but that it would be time enough to talk of that when such an unlooked-for event occurred.

Bayard Taylor is said to have offered to write a play with a strong American character for Burbank, the humorous reader, just before sailing for Berlin.

Caleb Cushing's death will be formally notified by the Massachusetts Society next Monday night. Attorney General Devens is expected to preside at a commemorative meeting.