

GOV. SEYMOUR'S SPEECH.

He Warns a Democratic Mass Meeting in Utica Against What the Republicans Call Nationalism.

A Dissection of Gen. Garfield's Theories as to this Election and of His Plans if He Should Win.

When Governor Seymour came forward on the stage of the Utica Opera House last Wednesday evening to address the largest Democratic meeting ever held in that city, he was received with the most affectionate greetings. He was in excellent voice, and spoke substantially as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS: "It must not be forgotten that this government is no longer the simple machinery it was in the early days of the Republic. The bucolic age of America is over. The interests the Government has to deal with are no longer those of a small number of agricultural communities with here and there a commercial town. They are the interests of nearly fifty millions of people spread over an immense surface, with occupations, pursuits and industries of endless variety and great magnitude; large cities with elements of population scarcely known here in the early days, and all these producing aspirations and interests so pushing, powerful and complicated in their nature and so constantly appealing to the Government, rightfully or wrongfully, that the requirements of statesmanship demanded in this age are far different from those which sufficed a century ago."

These are not my words. If I had uttered them it would be felt that I was making a harsh charge against the Administration. They are statements put forth by one of its officials, who speaks from his experience as a member of the Cabinet, and as one who formerly had a seat in the Senate. This declaration made by Mr. Schurz is official in character. It will be so viewed in other countries and will rejoice the enemies of our Government while it mortifies the American people.

Until within the past twenty years the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial departments gave honest construction to the Constitution. They did not seek to usurp power by strained definition. They sought to carry out its spirit. They did not summon crowds of men with schemes, who were pushing, rightfully or wrongfully, to get at the public Treasury, by calling this a nation and teaching the false doctrine that we should follow the usages of other and not the constitutional law of our own Government.

The leaders in the canvass on that side are those that hold places as Senators or as Cabinet Ministers or important positions under the present Administration. All of them, in fact, and in some form ask that their powers should be increased by taking from the people some of their home rights. They say in effect, give to us your rights of making laws for yourselves, we can take care of your interests better than you can. Every demand for jurisdiction for the general Government is a demand for the surrender of rights by the people in their towns, their counties or their States. Mr. Garfield openly expresses his satisfaction and his desire if he is elected President that the Government should have more power than it had when Washington and Adams and Jefferson and Jackson filled the Executive chair. He says there has been a gain, and that there will be more by force of gravitation; not by the popular will, not by changes in the Constitution in a regular way, but that authority, patronage and power will add to themselves, will by their own weight increase and grow until they are up to the full measure of his desires. He rejoices to see this done in a way against which George Washington warned you in his Farewell Address, which was submitted to Alexander Hamilton and other statesmen before he gave it to the American people.

Another member of the Cabinet, Mr. Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, takes a different view of the state of affairs from that given by his colleague. He dwells upon the business prosperity of our country. Overlooking the industry of our people, the favorable seasons that have rewarded their labors with ample harvests, the demands for our products from other countries, he claims for the Administration the gratitude of our people for all our blessings. I have no unkindly feelings for Mr. Sherman. I regret that he does himself a wrong when he is ungrateful to God and unjust to the laborer of the land. It was not the statesmanship of the Cabinet, but the statesmanship of the plough, blessed by a fruitful season, that gives us our growing wealth. Not the skill of the Treasury Department, but of mechanics and manufacturers, that make the springs of our prosperity; not the talk in Congress, but the toil of labor in all its varied fields. In another respect he does himself a wrong. He does not warn our people of the danger which the change of

seasons may make. He does not, as he should, admonish them that at this time, when money is abundant, men should throw off the burden of debt and extricate themselves from positions of perils if times should change. He teaches the false and mischievous doctrine that government policies and not honest toil and frugal care, that the schemes of the brain, not the sweat of the brow, give competence to men. Much has been said about the absurdity of fiat money. How much more absurd are Mr. Sherman's teachings of fiat prosperity. In this direction Mr. Sherman outstrips Denis Kearney.

The points most conspicuous in the speeches and journals of the Republican party are, first that this is a nation, and next, this election is a contest between the Northern and Southern States, in which a victory will be great gain to the former party. We charge that the denunciations of the South are used to mask their designs to get jurisdiction over all the Union and mainly over the interests and people of the North, as they are the most important and varied; that the term "nation" is selected because it is a word of obscure and indefinite meaning, and if it is substituted for the legal and proper title of Government it will enable them to make changes in its character hurtful to the rights of the people and disastrous to the prosperity of their business and industrial pursuits; that the mischief it will create will not be for the remote future, but they are pressing upon us now and will be felt in their full force from this time on, unless they are averted by the results of the pending elections.

It is a marked and conspicuous fact in the political discussions of the past four years that the Republican leaders have sought to bring into use the words Nation and Nationalism when speaking of our country. These have been heretofore used without any special significance as terms generally applied to different divisions of the human race into communities governed by some forms of law. We always find that the men who use the word—and many like Senator Blaine love to call it a sovereign Nation—are in favor of a different construction of the Constitution than has heretofore prevailed. Mr. Garfield openly states this when he says that the views held by Mr. Hamilton are growing in strength, and he rejoices that our Government is gravitating to more power. We find, too, that they favor the plans of the same distinguished statesmen of gaining jurisdiction by constructions put upon the words of the Constitution. As they do not like, at this moment, to develop all their plans which would excite alarm particularly at the North, to mask their purposes and to divert attention by exciting passions and prejudices, they use the word as far as they can in connection with sectional controversies, so that it may be felt they only have in view the strength of the Union. It is this idea which gives their phrases a measure of favor with the Republican party. They also take great pains in their discussions to carry the idea that nationality means something favorable to the interests of the North. We charge that the purposes of the Republican leaders are in conflict with the Constitution; that they endanger the peace, the order and the safety of the Union. They draw to the National Capitol hordes of men who have selfish and corrupt objects, who tempt officials to violate duty from motives of ambition and greed for gold. They impair the interests and prosperity of different sections of our Union by laws framed by men ignorant of the subject upon which they act and by legislation not only in conflict with the letter of the Constitution but with its spirit and the genius of all our political institutions, both local and general.

It must not be thought that the changes which men seek to make in the character of our Government by the use of the words nation and nationalism, and by the constructions which they mean to put upon them, relate only to the theory of politics; that their influences are too uncertain and remote to be of immediate concern. They affect us now. They not only threaten but work disastrous results to the commerce of our country, to the interests of the farmers of the Western States, and to the business prosperity of the whole country. We know that cheap transportation has led to the sale of our farm products in Europe and has lifted all kinds of business from the depression which a short time since was felt by all pursuits. The ability to send what we make and raise to the markets of the world at cheap rate is of more importance to the North than to the South. The products of the latter are of a kind that do not suffer from the competition of other countries. Europe must have the cotton of the South. Increased cost of transportation does not prevent their sale; it adds to cost to the consumer. The farmers and manufacturers of the North have to compete with those who make or raise the same products in the markets which we seek to gain. A small difference in the cost of carrying will prevent our grain and provisions from going abroad.

We find that many fair-minded men receive the terms nation and national with favor because they have vague ideas that they will give more strength to the General Government and security to our Union. We all seek to

make our Government strong. We all pray that our Union may stand forever. But it is a fatal error to suppose that the strength of a Government grows out of the amount and not the beneficence of its power. There is truth in the maxim that the government is best which governs least. That which gives the largest measure of freedom, rights of conscience, of persons and of property. That government is the most enduring which lifts up its citizens into a sense of the right and duties of their positions, which trains them to watch and guard the public welfare, which makes them bold, free and enterprising and imbues them with the proud feeling that government belongs to them and not they to government. Let us turn our eyes from this system which thus gives strength and duration to the despots of the world when all jurisdictions are in the hands of monarchs, upheld by all the powers of the state, its treasures and its armies.

The thrones which topple in civilized Europe are those which are over-ruled by jurisdiction. The monarch who holds unlimited sway over the greatest empire, who commands vast armies, who claims control over the lives, liberties and conscience of men is the one who dares not walk the streets of his capital. He trembles for his life in the recesses of his palace. This dread of assassination or revolution does not grow out of personal defects of character, but from the principles of government which constantly bring him in collision with the conscience, the aspirations and the interests of his subjects. In marked contrast with this we find another great empire that is governed by a woman, whose appearance in the streets of her capital is hailed with acclamations of loyalty and affection. But her jurisdiction is divided with Parliament, and shielded from prejudice and passion by distribution of powers. It is not true that any power given to a government which brings it in conflict with any class of the citizen or any section of its domain gives it strength. It was on account of this truth that our enemies in Europe predicted at the outset that our Union could not stand because it had to deal with territories so broad and interests so varied. It has been the marvelous wisdom which distributed fair diction between different local departments that has carried it safely and triumphantly through the first century of its existence. Our great political duty is to keep it strong by saving it from the exercise of jurisdiction which shall excite hostility towards it. Its strength must ever lie in the affections of our people. Its duration will depend upon the fact that its actions will be beneficial to all and hurtful to none.

I beg our Republican friends to look at the attitude of Mr. Garfield with regard to the Constitution and see if it is one that shows loyalty to its provisions. It is the bond of our Union. It is the charter of our rights and liberties. He has on many occasions to uphold it. On the 4th of March next he will as a Senator from Ohio take a solemn oath to support its provisions. The Senate was organized to assert and defend the letter and its spirit. Does the conduct of Mr. Garfield accord with these oaths? He avoids the use of the titles it gives the Government. These were selected to show its character and object. He uses in a marked way words the framers of the Constitution rejected and shuns those they selected. What could be thought of a clergyman who should substitute for the grand, clear tones of the Bible vague and unmeaning words which obscure the law of Christian life? Yet in this way Mr. Garfield treats the law which makes the life of our Union. In view of his efforts to change the Constitution by substituting construction for its language, you doubt if, in his oath of office, he swears for or at the Constitution. You wonder what he seeks, which is rebuked by the title of "United States," the "Union," the "General Government." What leads him to dwell upon the words "Nation" or "Nationalism," which are weak, obscure and trivial? Let us see how Mr. Garfield looks at his interest and position. We can give his ideas almost in his own words when he communes with himself. He says: "I am to be a Senator from Ohio for six years. Hamilton was right when he said that Senators should hold for life. I am glad that his opinions grow in favor. He did not like our Constitution, but said everything depended upon the way it was construed. This heavy volume upon my table called the civil list shows the names of more than seventy thousand men paid from the Treasury. This does not include the soldiers or sailors. I am glad to see we are gravitating towards more power." The Senate, of which I am a member, gives most of these men their places directly or indirectly. They depend upon confirmation by us of the President's nominations. In view of this fact, he usually sends in the names of those we want. If he does not, we throw them out. While large numbers of those in the civil list are not acted upon by our body, yet as a rule they hold under those we confirm so they all look to us for support. If we can make the civil list up to a hundred and fifty thousand we shall be able to hold our places for life."

These plain words give you the theories of Mr. Garfield and his friends about this election and their plans for the future. What they say and do shows you what they aim at. Will it

not be wise on the part of the great Republican party to learn and think who will be the victors and who will be the victims if they have their own way in this election? If they do not do this they may fall into the trap set for the people, and then we all shall feel that nationalism is a curse.

Turn from Mr. Garfield's letter of acceptance to that of General Hancock. He bows to the decrees of the Constitution. He accepts its teachings, he is imbued with its faith; its terms to him are sacred; his earnestness shines out in every line, and when he swears to support the Constitution in its letter and spirit we know he means to do so. Those who formed it not only chose fitting words to tell its meaning, but patriotism, like religion, has its symbols. No flag which floats in the winds of Heaven tells so much as ours of the history and character of the government it represents. Its stripes recall the names of the States which fought the battle which gave us liberty, and which crowned their glorious work by forming our Union. The States are numbered by the stars which glitter upon its blue field. He who would strike one star from its place, or who would blend or blur these symbols so that they would tell only of obscure nationalism, has latent treason in his heart.

We are asked why we took a soldier for our standard-bearer? To whom can we intrust it with more safety than to one who has had its deep and grand significance burnt into his very being by the fires of battle-fields?

There is not a color upon its folds, there is not a stripe upon its emblazonry, there is not a star upon its azure ground that has not been made sacred to him. The appeal which drew him and his fellow-soldiers from their homes to the battle field, was to rally round the stars and stripes and to uphold the Union. They will never make our flag an unmeaning thing; they will see to it that it remains a true emblem of the spirit of our Constitution. By the people's vote General Hancock will bear this standard on to victory in this contest as he has heretofore done on the bloody field of battle. He has learned from it the grand purposes of the Constitution by teachings amid all the solemn lessons of war, by the inspirations of the battle field, by the sad and solemn aspects of the blood-stained earth and the dying groans of men when the struggle has ended. He has learned the great lessons of statesmanship, not amid scenes of party strife, not in an atmosphere tarnished by personal ambition or scheme of plunder, but where Washington and Jackson learned the lesson of duty to their country and of obedience to its laws and Constitution. It is now charged by our opponents that we are inconsistent when we place a soldier at the head of the Government. The propriety of doing this depends upon the character of the man and the nature of the service upon which he has been engaged. The general who has fought only for victory or a conquest, or has been engaged only to promote schemes of ambition or gratify feelings of hate, has been taught upon the battle-field only lessons of force and violence. But those who have dared the perils of war to free their country of oppression, to gain for it an independent government, to resist hostile invasions or to uphold it against resistance to its rightful authority, have their mind filled with objects instructive, ennobling and patriotic.

With intellects quickened by all the dangers and excitements of the strife they see more clearly than other men the value of obedience to laws and the duty of sacrificing all things for their country's good. It was in this school that Washington learned the grand duty of laying down his sword and retiring to private life when the world thought he would claim a crown as his reward. This act, so constantly referred to in other lands as well as our own, gave him his immortality. It was in the same school, under like influences, that in the hour of victory Jackson curbed and restrained his fiery spirit and submitted to injustice and indignity because it was imposed upon him by a legal tribunal. "If called to the Presidency I should deem it my duty to resist with all my power any attempt to impair or evade the full force and effect of the Constitution, which, in every article, section and amendment, is the supreme law of the land."—WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

He who has learned to obey rightful authority has been taught the great lesson which fits him to exercise authority. He who reverences the laws of his country is the right man to administer them. He who has proved his devotion to its interests is the one to whom we can most safely trust the work of guarding and protecting them. Therefore we placed him in nomination, and go into this contest with the firm faith that we shall elevate him to the position of President of these United States.

It is better to have an opinion of your own and to be half wrong than to allow your lips to be shaped by others. The Danes say: "He who builds according to every man's advice will live in a very crooked house."

They met, they smiled, they wept, they loved. He called her Jane, she called him Thomas; a richer man came down the lane, and Tom brought suit for breach of promise.

COL. ROBT P. DECHERT,

Democratic Candidate for Auditor General.

Colonel Robert Porter Dechert, who is the nominee of the Democratic party for the office of Auditor-General of Pennsylvania, is a resident of Philadelphia and a member of the bar in that city. At the breaking out of the Rebellion he was only eighteen years of age, but yielding to his patriotic impulses, he enlisted as a private soldier in the Twenty-ninth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. Before the Regiment took the field, Col. John K. Murphy, commanding, appointed young Dechert to the position of Sergeant-Major on his staff. This position he filled with great credit until February, 1862, when he was promoted to be First Lieutenant of Co. C of the same Regiment. His promotion was made over all of the Second-Lieutenants of the Regiment by the selection of the Colonel, and was considered to be merited by his ability and attention to duty. In this rank he served with his Regiment in the campaign of Major-General Banks in the Valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, and in the memorable retreat of that General. He also served with his company in the Army of Virginia under Major-General Pope, including the battles of Cedar Mountain, Second Bull Run and Chantilly, and subsequently at Antietam and Chancellorsville. Immediately after the battle of Antietam, he was selected by Brigadier-General George L. Andrews, now a professor at West Point, to serve as his Aid-de-Camp and Assistant Adjutant-General, and on that office being transferred to the Department of the South, Lieutenant Dechert performed the same duty on the staff of Brevet Major-General Thomas H. Ruger, now a Colonel in the regular army, and prominently named for the position of Chief of the Signal Corps to succeed the late Brigadier-General Myers—better known as "Old Probabilities." At the great Pennsylvania battle of Gettysburg Lieutenant Dechert served as Assistant Adjutant-General of the First Division of the Old Twelfth Corps at Culp's Hill, and was honorably mentioned for gallant service in the official report of that important engagement.

Immediately after the battle the Western troops of the Army of the Potomac were sent to the City of New York under the command of General Ruger to enforce the draft that had been temporarily suspended by reason of the removal of the troops from that city for the defence of Pennsylvania in the Gettysburg campaign.

The draft being successfully accomplished, these troops were returned to the Army of the Potomac on the Rappahannock, in Virginia, and a few days afterwards, in consequence of our repulse at Chancellorsville, the 11th and 12th Corps were transferred to the Western Army. No time was lost in their transportation, and disembarking from the cars at Nashville, Tenn., they were marched to Chattanooga. In December of the year 1863, the Twenty-ninth Regiment was the first in the army to accept the offer of the government to re-enlist for another three years, and Lieutenant Dechert concluded to rejoin his regiment for that purpose, and he was immediately promoted to the Captaincy of his company. The return of this Regiment to their homes, on availing themselves of the veteran furlough for thirty days, has not been forgotten by the survivors or their friends. They were received in public by the official authorities of the City of Philadelphia at Old Independence Hall and at the Cooper Refreshment Saloon, and after recuperation and additional enlistments, the regiment was sent to the Hospital building at Chester, Penn., and then was removed to the scene of its former labors at Chattanooga, Tenn.

For several months Captain Dechert was stationed at Philadelphia for the purpose of enlisting additional recruits, but he re-joined his regiment in the Atlanta campaign, having been relieved from recruiting duty at Philadelphia at his own request.

After the capture of Atlanta, he was again selected by his Commanding General for important service. Major-General R. W. Slocum appointed him the Assistant Adjutant General of the Twentieth Army Corps—that Corps being the result of the consolidation of the 11th and 12th Army Corps which had been shortly before commanded by Major-General Joe Hooker.

When Major General A. S. Williams was advanced to the command of this Corps, by reason of the promotion of General Slocum, he retained Captain Dechert in the same position on the Corps staff.

During the eventful march of Major General W. T. Sherman "to the sea," and at Savannah, Ga., General Slocum again recognized the efficient service of Captain Dechert by appointing him Assistant Adjutant General of the Army of Georgia on his staff, which position he retained until after the surrender of General Joe Johnston, at Raleigh, and after the Grand Review of Sherman's Army at Washington in May, 1865. He was meanwhile promoted to be Major of the Twenty-ninth Regiment, and at the close of the war he was brevetted by the President of the United States on the recommendation of Generals Slocum and Sherman to be Lieutenant Colonel "for gallant and meritorious services during the war."

In July, 1865, he being then less than twenty-three years of age, he returned to his home with his comrades, after an active service in the field of over four years. He immediately entered upon the duty of the law in the office of his brother, Henry M. Dechert, Esq., a prominent member of the Philadelphia bar, and was admitted to practice in November, 1866. The same year he was the candidate of his party in the Twenty-seventh Ward for Select Council, and although Governor Geary had a majority of upwards of 400, he was returned defeated by but thirty-two votes. In this canvass he was supported by many of the most prominent property owners of the ward who were not members of his own political party. In 1868, on the election of Honorable Furman Sheppard to the office of District Attorney of the county of Philadelphia, Colonel Dechert was appointed Assistant District Attorney for three years, and was again appointed by the

same official for the same term on his re-election in 1874.

When Mr. Hager was elected to the same office in 1877, Col. Dechert declined a re-appointment, preferring to resume the general practice of his profession to which he has devoted his attention until called, without his own solicitation, to accept the nomination for Auditor-General. During this service as a prosecuting officer, he was independent and fearless, and conducted many important trials in which he displayed abilities that showed his eminent fitness for the requirements of the post.

While Col. Dechert held the position of Assistant District Attorney, a vacancy occurred in the First Senatorial District, to which he had previously removed, by which the Senate of Pennsylvania was left politically a tie. Both parties looked about them for their strongest candidates, and Col. Dechert was, without any solicitation on his part, unanimously made the candidate of his party, and after an active campaign, at a special election, on December 20, 1870, he was elected Senator by a majority of upwards of 1300, although the Republican candidate for Sheriff at the election in October had, in the same district, received a majority of upwards of 1000. Col. Dechert's record during the two years in the Senate was creditable and unimpeached.

He was the author of several important measures, of which the "Criminal Evidence" law is one, by which persons charged with certain minor criminal offences are permitted to testify on their own behalf.

Col. Dechert is an active member of a number of societies, among which are the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Mannerchor Society, the Penn. Club, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hamilton Lodge, No. 274, A. Y. M., of West Philadelphia, and Post No. 2 Grand Army of the Republic.

In 1878 Colonel Dechert accepted the command of the old Veteran Second Regiment, better known to our readers as the "National Guards," formerly commanded by General Peter Lyle. This regiment has been brought under his efficient management to a high state of discipline, and in the recent encampment at Fairmount Park it received the highest encomiums from soldiers and citizens.

The office for which he is a candidate is a most responsible one, and he will, no doubt, receive a large independent vote by reason of his high character, and because it is often thought that the Auditing officer of the Commonwealth can best perform his duties when he differs in politics from those whose accounts are to be audited.

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