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Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Polygamy in Utah.

From the Tribuno.

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The House Committee on Territories have applied to Secretary Stanton for permission to summon General P. Edward Conner, commanding the United States forces in Utah, and the Rev. Norman McLeod, Pastor of the "Gentile" Church in Salt Lake City, to appear before them and testify touching the condition of Utah and the manner in which the laws of the United States are observed and enforced. Judge Titus. Supreme Justice of the Territory, and a number of other witnesses, have already been examined by them on the same point. We are assured, semi-officially, that the Government has de-cided to appoint no more polygamists to office. There should be no harsh or hasty dealings with a community of religious fanatics; but all must acquiesce in the wisdom of this determi-nation. Indeed, justice and good policy seem portant and responsible Federal offices should be removed at once, and their places filled by men who, whatever their religious faith, re-spect and obey the laws of the country. It is a national scandal that even the United States District Attorney in Utah-the very man whose aworn official duty it is to prosecute violations of the anti-polygemy statute -is an open and avowed violator of it, being the husband of four

Pierce and Party.

From the Tribune.

Mr. Pierce has made a speech. In New Hampshire. At a Democratic caucus. Only a por tion of it has reached us-a delicate tit-bit-a crumb of old ase wisdom-the quintessence of a long and varied experience-a sort of aphorism burating with sagacity-a barrel of political philosophy boiled down to a pint-a recipe, in small, for all the country's complaints-and very kind it was to let us know what a blessed very kind it was to let us know what a Diesed "change" awaits the land, "when people will be brought to look to something higher than the nerpetuation of party power." This is a singu-lar confession to come from one born of party, nursed by party, rescened from obscurity by party, and also, we must confess, remanded to obscurity by the same agency. It is certainly an odd enough remark to be made in a caucus, and the question will arise what General Pierce was doing at the caucus at all? But we rewas doing at the caucus at all? But we re member the poor fox who lost his tall in a trap, and who, in full convention of his fellow-foxes, advised them all to have their flappers ampu tated. Not that there may not be some truth in General Pierce's remark—only he has been such a weary long while in arriving at it! If he could only have been as wise at twenty-one ! There are four years in the history of the United States which might have been brighter.

Perhaps, as a sincere penitent, it would be come Mr. Pierce to usue a sort of circular letter to his old cronies, if he can forgive their desertion, stating succinctly his new views, and advising his brethren to act upon them. He must know that a desperate attempt is now and has been for some time on foot to resuscitate the Democratic party; that Cox thinks there is life in it yet; that Vallandigham is of the same that Governor Seymour does not despair of it; that none of these worthles have any notion of going out of the old business, il it can, by hook or by crook, be made to pay. Mr. Pierce may not think the party of his old affections worth saving; but such is not the opinion of his ancient colleagues. Meanwhile, he will make no more caucus speeches, it will be a pleasure to us to count him out, and never to mention his name in connection with politics again.

The Personnel of the Administration. From the Times.

We do not think we have had an administra

has to oppose the purposes, prejudices, and interests of nearly all the Governments with which he carried on intercourse, and he has had to do so under circumstances often calculated to irritate and vox. Yet in all he has been successful, and through all he has grown up to the full measure of honor and fame.

Stanton was unknown to the country until he was named Secretary of War; but he no sooner assumed the title than the fact was patent North and South, in the army and in all the States. It is common enough now to recognize his integrity, his energy, his strength, and his great-ness, to magnity his labors and celebrate his achievements. As in Seward's case, the issue and result of his works constitute their final encomium, and by this view, he stands toremost among the military administrators of history. The burden of Stanton's labors, and the b den of Seward's may be said to have ended with the war; but the burden of dates imposed upon Secretary McCalloch is hardly less to-day than it was a year ago. Our financial movements have been and still are like the movements of our war, on the most gigantic scale. For their governance they demand nothing short of finan-

al genius. Whether we regard the volume and condition of our currency, the state of our credit, and of the money market, or the ceaseless demands and enormous expenditures, we see that the genius which through them all could maintain our honor and uphold our credit as well as it has een upheld, must have been of a pre-eminent order. Since the close of the war, as during his brief term of office while the war lasted, Secre-McCulloch has displayed consummate skill; tary and we believe that il Congress will allow him the liberty of action which he requires, he will work out for the country its financial problem, and establish the national credit sound and firm. As a political more, Secretary McCulloch is not much known to the people; but as a powerful and intelligent supporter of the policy of the President, as an enemy of ultraism, and a pureminded petriot, he lends the weight of his character and influence to the rehabilitation of the Union, the re-establishment of its ancient Constitution, and the formation of its new life. Of such a body of national servants it is but

fitting that the nation should be proud.

The Reconstruction Committee and their Latest Constitutional Amendment. From the Herald.

The special order of the day in the Federal House of Representatives on Monday next, will probably be the resolution from the Reconstruction Committee, embracing the following proposition for an amendment of the Constitution, to wit :--

That Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to secure to the curvers of each State all the priviewes and immuni-ties of citizens in the several States, and to all per-sons in the several States equal protection in the rights of life, liberiy, and property.

This is a fair proposition, but it seems to us wholly unnecessary and superluous. The Con-stitution as it is expressly declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to ail the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States;" and as this is included in that division of the constitution which treats of the powers of Congress, the enforcement of these equal "privileges and immunities" clearly be-longs to Congress. Next, with regard to the protection of all persons in the several States in the rights of hie, liberty, and property. What is this for? Enactments by Congress for the enforcement of these personal rights have heretofore never been thought of. The State Legislatures, and the State and United States courts, have answered the purpose. But while, before the late Rebellion, according to Chief Justice Taney, the negro had no rights which white men were bound to respect, he has, since the war, with the abolition of slavery, been advanced by the Constitution to the level of the "iree persons" or citizens of the United States. Mr. Bancroft, in his late Lincoln discourse before Congress, said that the Dred Scott decision had no toundation in civil law, canon law, feudal law, common law, or constitutional law; but still, under the Constitution as it was. State legislation and Congressional legislation had established a system of civil and political diseriminations against the blacks, such as to palliate to a great extent the bold and startling construction given from the Supreme Jourt by Judge Taney of the Constitution itself.

The war, however, and the amendment abolishing slavery have swept every vestige of au-thority from the Constitution for these discriminations against the blacks of this country in reference to their general civil and political rights. If the free negro of the United States had no rights which white men were bound to respect, it was because his whole race fell under the ban invoived in the Constitutional recognition and protection of African slavery. With that institution swept away, the negro born and raised in the United States becomes a citizen of the United States, and one of the people, in whose name the Constitution stands. Thus, in the amendment abolishing slavery, the power en braced "to enforce this article by appropriate legislation" gives to Congress the power to enforce the general civil and political rights of the blacks as cuizens. The distinctions resulting from slavery are wiped out, and there is no such color as white or black in the Constitution from the beginning to the end. It is a most remarkable fact, too, that the tirst appearance of the word "slavery" in the Constitution is in the amendment abolishing slavery. It shows that "the fathers" were ashamed of it, and that even while recognizing it by round bout phrases they framed their work to meet the ultimate attain-

upon and expected of the Commissioner. IV. No fire-proof building in Washington in which to keep records and papers of internal

revenue.

V. The prevailing policy of making the ap-pointment, retention, and promotion of officers of this Bureau depend on politics alone.

VI. Ignorance on the part of officers who have been selected and appointed by Mr. Lincoin's Administration. The Commission are of opinion that these

imperfections cannot be remedied without "an entire reorganization of the whole machinery and policy of the bureau." We will let the Commission describe their project in their own words:

The Commission would suggest that the first of them-the codection of the revenue-be transferred from the immediate responsibility of the corretary of the Treasury, and, subject only to his general supervision, be placed under the charge of a new officer, subordinate only in Fask and in amount of salary to the Secretary, who shall be styled the Ub.er-Secretary of the areasary in charge of the Revenue; and that to this officer should be assigned the general oversicht and direction of the collection the general oversight and direction of the collection of the revenues, and the proparation of an annual exhibit of the condition of the revenue, trade, com-merce, and industry of the country. * * The Commission would also propose that, in con-nection with the new depar ment of the Freasury, there should be appointed a Commissioner of the Contemp and a Commissioner of the Evelag with a

There should be appointed a Commissioner of the Customs and a Commissioner of the Excles, with a Solicitor of the Customs and a Solicitor or the Ex-cise; and that these five officers should constitute a Foard, to be known as the Board of Commissioners of the Revenue, of which the Under-Secretary of the Treasury shou d be the chairman. To this Board should be re erred the determination of all which and correlations for the astronomy

or all rules and regulations relating to the collection of the revenue; the expenditures to be incurred in rest ect to the same; the management of all revenue processes at law; and the distribution of all moletie received from lorfer ures and penalties, in revar-tor good service and for valuable information. The would also projose that no subordinate odicer of the revenue should receive a commission until his quali-fications for the proper discharge of his dulies had been examined also and approved of by the Board of Commissioners Commissioners.

It will be seen that this outline of the plan of the Commission, besides creating a new army of office-holders, gives to the Secretary a "general supervision," which means, we suppose, much supervision as each Secretary may be inclined to take. At any rate, this scheme, by giving to him "general supervision," makes the Secretary really responsible for the administration of the Board of Commissioners.

The report before us abstains from intimation of the proposed tenure or office of the members of the Board, and the mode of appointment, What security can and will there be in law, that this Board cannot and will not be changed with each political revolution in the Federal Govern-It is suggested, to be sure, that no subment ordinate officer of the revenue shall receive commission without examination and approval thereof by the Board; but the act of Congress of March, 1853, has a similar provision that no clerk shall be appointed without similar examnation and approval by a Board, and that accom plishes nothing, say the Commission; so that the proposal now submitted is only traading in the same old circle.

Every Board of Commissioners will inevitably be complaisant to the Secretary of the Treasury, who is a superior officer, with power of "ge ral supervision;" and whomever he or the Presucent desire appointed will, as a matter o caurse, be commissioned. No kind of legisla tion under our existing Constitution can keep the President from being virtually supreme in executive matters. He rules first by persuasion, and, it that tails, he has only to remove the re-fractory officer or Board, and appoint another more disposed to be attentive to his intima-tions, and watchful of his wishes.

The evil of incompetent officials complained of by the report cannot be remedied by creating more places, to be filled by men no better than those now in office. The only true path of reform is, first, to turn out the incapables now in power, and then elevate better people in their stead

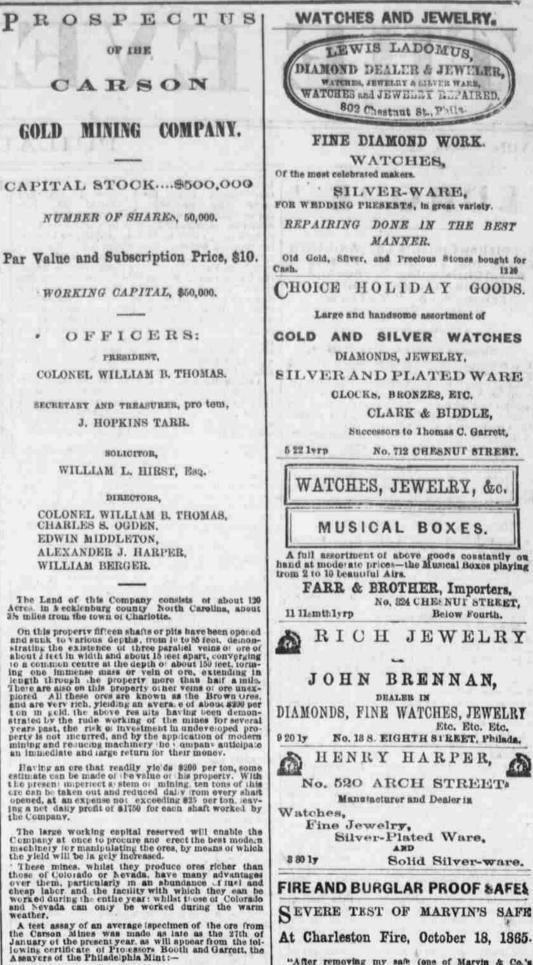
The plan of subdivision of labor proposed by report is now practically in operation in Washington. There is an Under-Secretary, Mr John F. Hartley, who has oversight and direc-tion of the collection of the revenue. There are already a Commissioner of Customs and a Solicitor of Customs, and these doubtless constantly con/er together, and so all that is sug-gested by the report. It may be that there is necessity for a Commissioner and Solicitor of the Excise, but we doubt it. Everybody knows that Mr. Hartley is the actual, though not the legal, Secretary of the Treasury in revenue

for full discharge of all the duties now devolved | finished the task imposed upon it by the | P R O S P E C T U S Rebellion, as to be able to dispense with the harmonious and cordial support of all those who are genunely and sincerely loyal to it. The present Administration, indeed, has quite as arduous and important a work to perform in restoring the late rebellious States and their people to their appropriate relations to the Union, as the previous Administration had in overcoming the insurgents in the field. And, therefore, President JOHNSON, in his efforts to accomplish a wise and sound policy of reconstruction, is just as much in need of, and just as much entitled to, the confidence, sympathy, and co-operation of every loval citizen in the whole country, as was Mr. LINCOLN during the progress of the war. Factious opposition to the Government now. in Congress or out of it, is hardly, if at all, less injudicious, less unwarranted, or less reprehensible, than it was when the armies of the South were facing the soldiers of the Union in the field, and advancing even to the very gates of the national capital. President JOHNSON feels this truth, no doubt, more profoundly and painfuily than any other man in this country, and he must have been intensely gratified on Wednesday last; when a large number of the leading citizens of Montana Territory waited on him at the White House, and pledged to him their earnest approval of his policy, and their purpose to sustain him in it to the end. Their spokesman, Mr. B. M. PINNEY, in the course of his address on that occasion said :---

> 'We are using no idle or imaginary words when we assure you that we take the greatest possible pleasure in saying that we recognize in you, as the Chief Magistrate of this great nation, a person who possesses that sound mind, that general knowledge, that firm and pariotic devotion to the ruling interest and welfare of the whole country, which are so necessary to carry it safely over the ocean of political speculation and debate. We attach no great import ance to this acceveration of our feelings in relation to yoursel, but we should be doing injustice to ourselves and injustice to the people of the Territory of Montano, and should merit them severest censure, if we did not say that we firmly believe that if you meet with a cordial and generous support on every hand, this nation will come forth from this present positical crisis a stronger and better nation, prepared to take a higher stand, and do a nobler work on the platform of history than has ever yet been allotted to any nation of the carth.'

Words like these can come only from the lips of men whose hearts are right. They are the inspiration of the highest and purest patriotism, unalloyed by any spirit of conceited egotism, or any bias of personal interest or prejudice. They are the utterances of patriots, who not only have no party predilections or party aims to gratify, but who clearly perceive that the only legitimate object of the war waged against the Rebellion will remain unattained until the Union is entirely restored; and thay, unless the President is properly supported now in his efforts to that end, it must either be defeated altogether or postponed through an indefinite period of bitter and injurious political contention in every part of the land.

It is true, moreover, that if the Union is once re-established on a just basis, on the Constitutional principles on which it was originally founded, its power and prosperity will be far grander in the future than it has ever been in the past, or could ever have been but for the terrible struggle that has tried its strength, and confirmed it beyond all hope of overthrow by domestic treason or foreign hostility. All truly loyal citizens everywhere should realize this fact. Those especially who stood by the Government daring the late civil war should not desert it now. Opposition from them to the Administration is more dangerous now than from those who opposed the Government while the Rebellion lasted. Besides, there can henceforth be but one strong and decidedly dominant party in this country, and that party must be found always and entirely faithful to the Constitution and the Union, and conservative of both as one and indivisible. President JOHNSON has plainly and squarely planted himself on that platform, and the great mass of the people will undoubledly be with him. Those, therefore, who shall attempt to fight him and them, from this time forward, on that high and firm ground, will rapidly dwindle to a miserable minority, who will not only be vanquished in every encounter, but incur an odium but little less than that which attaches to those who



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tion of our Government since its foundation which, as a body, has had higher ability and character than the present, or one in which the country has had a greater confidence and pride. The scope of our governmental affairs is much greater now than in former times, and the questions dealt with have been infinitely more difficult of solution than any in our previous history; but the heads of our principal departments have exhibited the highest capacity for their great work and the most eminent fitness for their positions. They will bear comparison not only with any of the illustrious men who figured in our Government in its earlier or in later days, but-what is perhaps at present a more fitting comparison-with the statesmen of any of the Cabinets of the great States of Europe.

No one would fear comparison between the diplomatic capacity of Secretary Seward and Earl Russell or Drouyn de Lhuys-between the financial genius of Secretary McCulloch and Gladstone or Fould, and as for Secretary Stanton, the course of recent European history has had no opportunity for the display of abilities such as he has illustrated, while he certainly would not suffer by being placed alongside of any of the War Ministers of any of the great European Powers in any of the great military epochs. In the other departments, which from their nature have less prominence than these three, the heads are all men who bring to their duties abilities of an order rarely excelled in public functionaries.

The fact is of the very highest importance to us as a nation. Besides the popular confidence in the administration of the various departments which it generates, it gives the country a feel-ing of conscious strength and dignified selfrespect, such as it has not always during the present generation been able to maintain.

In the first position in our Administration, we have in President Johnson a man whose course under the most difficult circumstanc-s-whal ever criticisms may be made as to forms and details, or whatever may be said by malignants like Phillips as to motive or object—has been signalized by protound patriotism, by unim-peachably integrity, and by courses; and whose policies have been comprehensive, far-reaching discreet, and conservative, and of a nature ca culated to effect the purpose which he has de-clared to be his sole ambition-the perfect reunion of all the States in fact and in spirit.

While on the one hand President Johnson has approved himsell a man of most energetic forces, which are constantly demand-ing expression, he has also recently shown himselt to be possessed of 'the rare power of conserving or holding in check his torces-of patiently permitting events to move on and develop themselves, where he lacks the power of interference, or where his hasty interference would retard their progress towards the end which he desires consummated. This is one of the last attainments of manhood, and one of the highest characteristics of statesmanship; and, with the other great traits of Johnson's life and administration, has established him in the public confidence to an extent only equalled in the case of his immediate predecessor.

Secretary Seward's name is a tower of national strength, and is held in profound respect throughout the world. This certainly is because it has been his fortune to obtain popularity by following popular ideas or caprices, or to secure fame by the achievement of simple labors. In domestic politics, he stood ior long years as the recognized public champion of the unpopular cause of anti-slovery, and the exponent of an idea which the eye of faith might foresee would inform the "party of the future, but which had little prospect of obtaining political power for generations. Since he has had the conduct of our foreign relations, he

ment of universal liberty. Why, then, all these superfluous Constitu-tional amendments? They are the tricks of the party in power, as excuses for the continued exclusion of the excluded Southern States, They are intended as food for buncombe-as political capital for electioneering purposes in the North. They are intended to divert the public attention from the practical issues of Southern restoration to the agitation of plausible abatractions. In the exercise of the powers which they now possess, the two Houses of Coneress may establish ample protection and securi-ties concerning the civil and political rights of the Southern blacks, and in a very short time secure a full representation from all the States on a satisfactory footing of loyalty. But the dominant party are playing their game for power-a and dangerous game indeed, but one in which they will probably not be checked short of some emphatic warning from our approaching Northern elections.

Superficial Reform.

From the World. That portion of the report of the Revenue

Commissioners which considers "the organization and administration of a revenue system." bears evidence that the Commissioners eitoer were constrained to make a report before their views were matured, or that the subject was too large and complex for their grasp. Neither of these theories is any impeachment of the general intelligence or industry of the Commission. The first, of course, is not; and, as to the last, it would not be strange that a commission made up of men, none of whom ever had experience in the high places of Federal Administration, should find themselves plunged in a sea of difficulties and conflicturg theories,

In respect to the internal revenue, the Commissioners say that they "have no allegation of fraud to present, but at the same time are con-strained to add that in point of organization and administration it is very far from what it should be."

They specify "a lack of power and authority in the Internal Revenue Departmen to con'rol itself, especially in the matter of expenditures," and give as illustrations such delects in organization

r administration as the following:-I. Too little power in the Commission to expend money, as reward for information or faithful special service; and too much power in auditing officers of Treasury to check these expenditures.

II. Limitation in number of officers, an 1 in adequacy of salaries.

III. Impossibility of finding a man competent

matters.

It is very certain that, upon the point of organization and administration of the revenue, the report before us not only fails to present any new scheme of practicable reform which pro-mises any good result, but it is singularly feeble in uncovering and signalizing the real cause of existing detects in administration. And we, therefore, conclude that the Commission were either forced into a premature report, or that the subject was too large for their comprehensics, by reason o' ignorance of practical depart mental and bureau experience.

Sustaining the Administration. To the Editor of the Evening Telegraph:-

It was deeply regretted by every really wise and good citizen that the national Administration had to encounter an organized opposition in this section of the Union during the progress of the late Rebellion. It was said then, and said with great truth, too, that there should be but one party in the loyal States; and that those who were not for the Government during the trying emergency in question, were necessarily against it. It is well known that Mr. LINCOLN'S Administration was seriously embarassed by those who, professing loyalty to the Constitution, yet objected to almost every important measure that was adopted for the suppression of the Rebellion; and it may be truthfully asserted now, in vindication of the character and good name of the "martyred President," that most, if not all of those acts of his that were denounced as arbitrary, or unwarranted by strict law, were rendered necessary, and therefore justified, by the practical aid which the Rebels received from a faction here in the North, whose members, while claiming to be adverse to secession, pursued a course of action which positively impeded the Government in all its efforts to put down the Secessionists.

We recall this fact from no desire to heap odium on those persons in the loyal States who were either opposed to the late civil war on the part of the national au horities, or who did not, at least, heartily sympathize and co-operate with the Executive and Congress in their endeavors to quell the insurrection. History will take care of all that with posterity. and the account will, no doubt, be finally settled in a manner that will mete out equal justice to all concerned. But the lessons of the recent past should not be lost to the immediate present. The Rebellion, indeed, has been conquered. The clang of arms in fratricidal strife is heard no more in the land. The great problem whether this Government is able to maintain itself against domestic treason on the most gigan ic scale upon which it could possibly be organized, has been brought to the test, and worked out to a most satisfactory, and, we hope, an ultimate and lasting solution. It should not, however, be supposed that the Government has yet so completely

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