

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

"Malignant Legislation."

From the Tribune. One of the President's court journals in Washington censures Congress, and especially the Senate, for what it calls "malignant legislation." By this it means the numerous rejections of the Presidential appointments to office. Let us look at this charge for a moment.

President Johnson came into office by the gracious support of the Republican party, thereto induced by much profession of loyalty. He found that party in possession of the Government. To a certain extent—we do not say an unlimited extent—he owed it allegiance. That is to say, where two capable men applied for an office, one Republican and the other Democratic, he was bound to appoint the Republican. Where there was no competent Republican, no one, of course, could object to a Democrat.

The Senate was generous in this matter. When one of the President's court journals was given to Mr. Odell, a supporter of McClellan, he was confirmed, and nothing was said, although there were a thousand Republicans in New York quite as competent and deserving. It came to pass that the President conceived "a policy." It was a peculiar policy, ill-considered, monstrous, out of parallel with nature. It was tenderly loved and reared. The nation shunned it. Office-holders avoided it, and exasperated his Excellency by declining to follow his teachings. An occasional Houston like Mr. Randa, or some poor, forlorn devil of an office-bearer and office-broker like Mr. Weed, endorsed it. Brave, good Republicans spurned it, and the people sustained them.

Then came general proscription. Mr. Dennison was driven out of the Cabinet, not withstanding his jaunt to New York after the President's celebrated speech. Mr. Harlan and Mr. Speed were banished. A renegade was made Postmaster-General, another was placed in the Interior Department. The Treasury was assaulted. Men who had acquired a knowledge of the intricate and perplexing revenue system were suddenly thrown out, and ignorant adventurers appointed. We do not think it too much to say that ten millions of dollars have been wasted by these changes in the revenue. In New York we have seen the most disgraceful transactions—frauds in the customs, in the excise, in the revenue collections. Two Congressional Committees have been sent, stirring around and producing the most startling and disgusting revelations. In Philadelphia it was even worse, and as to the West, we have heard nothing but complaint.

While Mr. McCulloch was debating the Treasury service, Mr. Randall was removing Postmasters by the hundred "for political reasons." Mr. Stanton was sending the radical Terry out among the Indians, and adding stars to the shoulders of Custer, and Mr. Seward was appointing such men as McGinnis to represent us abroad, and listening to the gossip of spies and adventurers. Treachery was rewarded. Men were honored for hypocrisy, and the vast patronage of this Government was hawked along the streets and doled out to renegade Republicans, Copperheads, and Secessionists. What remained? Was the Senate tamely to submit to this degradation? Was it to allow its friends to be punished for their opinions? Was it, on higher grounds, to permit a McGinnis to succeed Campbell—or a Cowan to replace Motley? Was it tamely to permit over a thousand postmasters to be driven out of office because they were not as easy of conscience as Mr. Randall? Was it to endorse Mr. Seward's Peeping Tom and dirt-eating diplomacy?

We say no. We honor the Senate for its intrepidity. There are individual cases where we might have acted differently. If General Couch was rejected as Collector in Boston, we do not see why General Dix was confirmed as Minister to Paris. Still, on the whole, the Senate has done well. If the public service is deranged, President Johnson and his Cabinet are absolutely to blame. We trust that every Copperhead and every renegade Republican sent to the Senate for confirmation will be rejected and again rejected, until the President comes to his senses in the matter of patronage, and learns that the offices of this Republic are for the good of the people, and not a part of his personal property, to be given to those who choose to be his slaves.

The Approaching Collapse of the Republican Party—Mr. Johnson's Policy.

Parties, like nations, rise, flourish, decline, and disappear. It is the universal law of nature. The present Republican party of this country has had a short reign, but its campaigns against the old effete Democracy have been those of the great Napoleon against Austria, "short, sharp, and decisive." Yet this powerful party, called into life for the purpose of arresting the extension of slavery, has fulfilled more than its appointed mission in the complete extirpation of slavery and in the elevation of the emancipated black race in the South to the radical ultimatum of civil and political equality. These great issues being settled, new issues must inevitably come into the foreground, and a new organization of parties in reference to the future policy of the general Government.

President Johnson, with the keen scent of an old politician, has struck upon the trail of the money question as the great issue upon which our political parties are next to be divided. He is right in this; but his particular view of the impending conflict, as publicly detailed in his behalf by Private Miles O'Reilly, is distorted, exaggerated, and full of mischief. It takes the broad, downhill road to repudiation, national dishonor, and national bankruptcy, the only opposition programme against which this Republican party may hold its ground until the debts (twenty-five hundred millions) of our great and terrible war for the Union are fully paid. Miles O'Reilly, however, though figuring in this matter as the private secretary and attorney of Mr. Johnson for the Southern district of New York, has no doubt overshoot the mark, as poets, in their flights of fancy, are apt to do. Nevertheless, the Republican party has reached its culminating point, and its leaders and managers, in looking ahead, are becoming alarmed. As evidence strongly supporting this fact we published yesterday a very suggestive Washington letter from George Wilkes to Wilkes' Spirit of the Times, written the next day after the final passage of the new Reconstruction bill over the President's veto.

Wilkes is a shrewd observer. As an experienced man of the world, as a gentleman jockey and radical politician, he knows a thing or two. He is evidently, likewise, as

intimate in the councils of the radical camp at Washington as Miles O'Reilly is with the private views of Andy Johnson on public affairs. The profession of a jockey, involving a thorough knowledge of all the points of excellence or inferiority in a horse, has been applied to some purpose by Wilkes in regard to politicians. As at a single glance, from his nostrils to his tail and his pasterns, Wilkes knows all about his horse, so in a single glance, under the same rules of judgment, he knows his politician. In this respect the jockey, as a man of science and fixed facts, has an immense advantage in a view of the political situation over the poet and his flights of fancy. It is the difference between Agassiz and Beecher in a description of a Greenland whale or a woolly horse.

Mark, then, what Wilkes says of the dilemma of the radicals at Washington. He says that when the Reconstruction bill had become a law they saw clearly "that the man at the other end of the avenue, who now stands utterly without a friend or a party, may in less than six months have at his back the compact power of thirteen States and all the Copperhead party of the North; that then, with its two-thirds of each House of Congress destroyed, the Republican party will become demoralized and will perhaps be broken up. The only remedy, he contends, in order that the military machinery of Southern reconstruction may be given into upright hands, is the removal of President Johnson. He must be removed, or with the weapon which has been furnished him in this Reconstruction bill he may demolish the Republican party.

This, then, is the radical difficulty at Washington, and the secret of the new movement for the President's impeachment. It is manifest, however, that since the passage of the Reconstruction bill, and with the general belief that Mr. Johnson will "see the law faithfully executed," it is manifest, we say, that this alternative of impeachment has so far lost ground in Congress that it may be considered as virtually abandoned. Let Mr. Johnson faithfully execute these new laws of Congress, and even the impeachment investigation will be given up. He has the case in his hands, and by straightforward, honest work, he may by next December have all the excluded States at his back in both Houses of Congress. Of course, this will produce a complete change in our present party organizations, in Congress and out of Congress, North and South; unquestionably, as Southern slavery and all its accessories will be settled, the money question in all its phases, national debt, national taxation, expending, currency, banks, everything, will form the absorbing question of the day, marking party lines, as in the time of Jackson.

In this view of the coming conflict, if Mr. Johnson will only take time by the forelock, in a careful message to Congress, defining a well-considered financial policy of reform, economy, and retrenchment, he may still become master of the situation. The statement of his views of the tendencies of this financial question as given to the world by Miles O'Reilly is overdue. It puts Mr. Johnson in a bad position, and is opposing to strengthening Chief Justice Chase and the political pillars of his financial system. Twenty-five hundred millions of money are at stake, and Mr. Johnson owes it to the country to define his position officially on this subject, as soon as practicable, in a message to Congress. The political advantages which are thus offered him, moreover, no shrewd, aspiring politician, or wise statesman would overlook. To Mr. Johnson here is still another golden opportunity which ought not to be lost.

The Model Demagogue.

From the Times. In the House of Representatives on Wednesday, there was some discussion upon the Senate resolution to appropriate a million of dollars for the relief of starving people in the South. Fernando Wood, the Pecksniff of Bloomingdale, was opposed to the project—first, because the Government ought not to distribute alms—and secondly, because he was satisfied that there was no destitution that would justify the expenditure. Benjamin F. Butler was also opposed to the resolution, not because there was no suffering, but he believed in letting them suffer; if they wanted relief, let them divide up the lands of the rich, and so get relief. No one would look for other action by Mr. Butler; his views are well known to be vindictive in the extreme degree. But Fernando Wood has been believed to be the friend of the South—if such a man can be a friend to anybody except himself; he has shed many tears over the sufferings inflicted upon the Rebel States by the radical Congress; he took active measures in the beginning of the war to forward guns to the Governor of Georgia, which were to be used to fire upon Sumter; he favored the cause of Rebellion until the avowed loyalty of the country became too demonstrative to render such a course safe, and then he hopped over and came up at the Union Square meeting as a model War Democrat. Indeed, he had the credit of raising a regiment—the State footing the bill—and earned the honor of being soundly abused in the Richmond papers for treason to the Southern cause. But this spasm of apparent patriotism was manifestly the result of moral coercion; it was no longer safe to send telegrams to Governor Brown, nor was it eminently healthy to be prominently known as a sympathizer with treason. The war over, however, and personal safety again assured, our model demagogue resumed his lamentations over the sufferings of his Southern clients, and his influence—such as it is—was counted upon to bring them the earliest possible relief. It is proposed to send a little food to starving women and children, to be distributed without question as to race or standing—as loyalty to the Government is the rankiest sort of favor the project; but Fernando Wood says "No!" It hurts his conscience (!) to see that such a project should be unconstitutional; he thinks there is not much starvation, but if all the South were dying for the lack of food, it would not do to feed them unless so nominated in that great bond, the Constitution. This is the extent of Mr. Wood's sympathy for suffering children. Their weakness is that they lack the right of suffrage. But what if the victims were Pennsylvanians, each one with a vote at his back? The case would be bravely altered. Already the shrewd Fernando has set his trap for the Irish vote by resolutions of sympathy with the insurgents in the Kerry Mountains, and so pressing did he deem the need of this sympathy that he wanted to suspend the rules to put the job through the House instantly. We cannot predict the fate of the proposition to relieve the South, but thus far it appears to have life enough to withstand the insane vindictiveness of the hero of Fort Fisher and the cold-blooded vampyrism of the model demagogue.

Parisian Politeness and British Propriety.

From the World. Let French toss up his hat, and the staid Britannia wave her tassel about her coming head in triumph! Let the British *patent* be exceeding glad, and the "solid men" of our own New England indulge in a sober joy. The Emperor of the French and his architectural "Man Friday," the Prefect Haussmann, have announced their high will and pleasure that, during the great Exhibition of 1867, the versatile and volatile Parisians shall purge and live cleanly, abandon their most characteristic naughtiness, and behave themselves before company, as a mark of respect to visitors; "we are informed," in general surveillance of the manners, order, and decorum of the French metropolis will be especially enforced." A single one of the regulations thus proposed to be carried out must have carried deep dismay into the quarter of Notre Dame de Lorette, and made of the Chauxerie a mere Carthusian waste. "No woman is to be suffered to go unaccompanied into a cafe or restaurant after dusk." If the British *patent* or the Bostonian missionary of moral ideas desired to take a solitary stroll after a masked ball, he may do so without fear of intrusive dominions or adventurous *dependances*. It is impossible to exaggerate the consideration thus shown by the French authorities for the ways and habits of their guests. But one can't help suspecting that the objects of all this politeness may not be absolutely delighted at receiving it. There is such a thing as "being too civil by half." Far be it from us, of course, to so much as hint that the British *patent* or the Bostonian missionary of moral ideas who finds himself in Paris would ever dream of doing as the Parisians do. The maxim, "when in Rome be a Roman," is usually interpreted by the true British or American Protestant to require that he should lose no occasion of smudging the idolatries and insulting the idolaters of the Popish faith. He bears his pure testimony against the "scarlet woman" by walking into Santa Maria Maggiore with his hat on. And in the city of Rome, he puts down the modern Babylon by dining off roast beef or buckwheat cakes with his family, instead of supping at the Maison d'Or with "casuals" from the Rue Bergere. But will not the pleasant consciousness of a superior propriety be somewhat abated if all the world behaves properly? What is the use of being better than the Parisians, if one does not distinctly see that one is better than they? Furthermore, it is a part of the Oriental religion that "good Bostonians when they die go to Paris." But what reward of course, will this be if Paris becomes just like Boston? Putting the best possible construction on the Emperor's motives, as we heartily desire to do, we are yet constrained to fear that in this special matter he has rather overdone a good thing. It is not too late, however, fortunately, to retrace his steps. Perhaps it would be worth while for the English and American Commissioners (the majority of whom must pretty surely have some leisure on their hands) to unite in a respectful remonstrance on the subject, and to represent to his Majesty that, merely as a matter of scientific curiosity and of international information, the English and American visitors to France would be obliged to him to modify his views, at least so far as to appoint one day in each week on which the Parisians may be suffered to give free course to their native depravity, for the instruction and edification of the rest of mankind.

The Showman on the Stump.

From the World. In the opening stump speech in the Congressional campaign in Norwalk, Connecticut, the other night, Mr. P. T. Barnum uttered the following striking sentences upon the all-important subject of "reconstruction":—"Instead of meeting me on fair political ground, they throw into my teeth 'Joyful news, and other advertisements of the great museum I control, and which has been extolled by our greatest scientists as a fine collection in its way.' * * * If my 'mermaid' was formed by an ingenious conjunction of the upper half of a monkey and the lower half of a centaur, I am charged, at least, to give young persons a better idea of a mermaid—if such an animal exists at all—than the poetical one—a lovely maiden, with the tail of a fish. I have a picture of a 'combing her blue hair with a comb of pearl.' Or, if it is necessary that the poetical mermaid should be impressed upon the mind, a better impression can thus be arrived at, than by never receiving any actual idea of a mermaid at all. The pedigree of Joyce Keth may have been a little 'mild,' but the memory and industry of the Father of his Country could not but have been revived and intensified by one who was said to have been his nurse in childhood. The 'woolly head' was certainly a direct every one acknowledged, and must have given rise to valuable suggestions to men of science. And if there is any one who ever came to a definite conclusion as to what the 'What is it?' really was, I should like to see him state his views. My museum is certainly a valuable contribution to art and science, and I am yet to see the first person who says that they did not get their money's worth in wandering through its various apartments. The question of 'reconstruction' in the Fourth Congressional District of Connecticut, then, comes down to the reconstruction of original codfish and aboriginal monkeys into ultra-marine mermaids; and the candidate for Congress boldly challenges a discussion upon the 'What is it?' asking any man, who has 'come to a conclusion' as to what was the 'What is,' to 'state his views.' But, seriously, the ever-enterprising P. T. B. must laugh in his sleeve at the verbiage of a political public that does not see that Mr. Barnum is only using his Congressional nomination as a magnificent means of advertising his museum. What, indeed, is Congress in comparison with the unrivaled collection of curiosities which 'our greatest scientific men' have so extravagantly extolled? What are the exploits of even such a war-horse as Butler beside the 'valuable suggestions to men of science,' resulting from the exhibition of the 'woolly horse,' and who has ever wandered through the different apartments of the Capitol at Washington with the feeling sure to result from a visit to the museum, that he had got 'money's worth'?" These are questions to be asked; they are asked on the stump in Connecticut; and every voter is informed that, though military reconstruction in the Southern States may be a good thing, the great collection of curiosities is absolutely unrivaled.

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FINANCIAL.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE LOAN.

PROPOSALS FOR A LOAN OF \$23,000,000.

AN ACT TO CREATE A LOAN FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE OVERDUE BONDS OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Whereas, the bonds of the Commonwealth and certain certificates of indebtedness, amounting to TWENTY-THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, have been overdue and unpaid for some time past;

And whereas, it is desirable that the same should be paid, and withdrawn from the market;

Therefore,

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor, Auditor-General, and State Treasurer be, and are hereby authorized and empowered to borrow, on the faith of the Commonwealth, in such amounts and with such notice (not less than forty days) as they may deem most expedient for the interest of the State, twenty-three millions of dollars, and issue certificates of indebtedness in bonds of the Commonwealth for the same, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding six per centum per annum, payable semi-annually, on the first of February and 1st of August, in the city of Philadelphia; such certificates of loan or bonds shall not be subject to any taxation whatever, for State, municipal, or local purposes, and shall be payable as follows, namely: Five millions of dollars payable at any time after five years, and within ten years eight millions of dollars payable at any time after ten years, and within fifteen years ten millions of dollars at any time after fifteen years, and within twenty years; and shall be signed by the Governor and State Treasurer, and countersigned by the Auditor-General, and registered in the books of the Auditor-General, and be transferable on the books of the Commonwealth, at the Farmers' and Merchants' National Bank of Philadelphia; the proceeds of the loan awarded to the Commonwealth, including premiums, etcetera, received on the same, shall be applied to the payment of the bonds and certificates of indebtedness in such amounts and with such notice to the highest bidder: Provided, That no certificate hereby authorized to be issued shall be negotiated for less than its full value.

Section 2. The bids for the said loan shall be opened in the presence of the Governor, Auditor-General, and State Treasurer, and the highest bidder authorized to be issued shall be negotiated for less than its full value.

Section 3. The bonds of the State and certificates of indebtedness, now overdue, shall be receivable in payment of the said loan, under such regulations as the Governor, Auditor-General, and State Treasurer may prescribe; and every bidder for the loan now authorized to be issued, shall be bound to accept of such bonds, or any part thereof, which the same is payable in cash or in the bonds, or certificates of indebtedness of the Commonwealth.

Section 4. That all trustees, executors, administrators, guardians, agents, treasurers, committeees, or other persons, holding, in a fiduciary capacity, any bonds or certificates of indebtedness of the State or moneys, are hereby authorized to bid for the loan hereby authorized to be issued, and to surrender the bonds or certificates of loan held by them at the time of making such bid, and to receive the bonds authorized to be issued by this act.

Section 5. Any person or persons standing in the fiduciary capacity stated in the fourth section of this act, who may desire to invest money in the said loan, or to purchase the same, may, without any order of court, invest the same in the bonds authorized to be issued by this act, at a rate of premium not exceeding twenty per centum.

Section 6. That from and after the passage of this act, all the bonds of this Commonwealth shall be paid off in the order of their maturity.

Section 7. That all loans of this Commonwealth, not yet due, shall be exempt from State, municipal, or local taxation, after the first of February next, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, shall have been paid.

Section 8. That all existing laws, or portions thereof, inconsistent herewith, are hereby repealed.

JOHN P. GLASS, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

L. W. HALL, Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

JOHN W. GEARY, Governor of Pennsylvania.

JOHN F. HALTRANFT, Auditor-General.

W. H. KEMBLE, State Treasurer.

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