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

### Probable Revelations of Surratt. From the Herald

The trial of John H. Surratt has developed a good deal of evidence which, subjected to the malysis of a competent jury, may warrant the supposition that his conviction as an accessory to the murder of Mr. Lincoln is not an improbable result of the legal investigation. In saying this much we do not, of course, mean to prejudge the case, but simply to hint at probabilities as indicated by the facts sworn to. Testimony yet to be produced by the defense may change the whole phase of the case, which, in its present bearing, would appear to tell hard against the prisoner. Hints have been thrown out that in case Surratt should be convicted and condemned, a chance for life will be offered to him on consideration of his revealing the whole story of the assassination plot and the complicity of all those connected with it. Should these anticipations be realized, we may expect some very curious, startling, and highly important revelations. Immediately subsequent to the murder of Mr. Lincoln it will be remembered that a great many persons, more or less conspicuous, were charged with being connected directly or indirectly with the bloody transaction. Indeed, the charge was officially made by a proclamation of President Andrew Johnson on the 2d of May, 1865, in the following terms:-A PROCLAMATION BY THE PREMIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

of Jefferson Davis.

Twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of Clement C. Clav. Twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of

Jacob Thompson, late of Mississippi. Twenty five thousand dollars for the arrest of

George I . Sanders.

Twenty-five thousand dollars for the arrest of Beveriy Tucker, and Ten thousand dollars for the arrest of William

C. Cleary, late clerk of Clement C. Clay. The Provost Marsnal-General of the United States is directed to cause a description of said persons, with notice of the above rewards, to be published.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done in the City of Washington, the 2d day of May, in the year of our Lord one thou-sand eight hundred and sixty-five, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-ninth. By the President:

By the President: ANDREW JOHNSON. W. HUNTER, Acting Secretary of State.

Now, as it has been shown by the evidence that Surratt had repeatedly gone back and forth between Canada and Washington previous to the assassination, while many of the parties mentioned in this proclamation were resident in Canada, it is fair to presume that he is fully acquainted with whatever knowledge Jake Thompson, George N. Sanders, Beverly Tucker, Clement C. Clay, and William C. Cleary possessed of the plot to abduct or assassinate President Lincoln. Surratt, acting as the medium of communication between the conspirators in Washington and the self-exiled chiefs in her Britannic Majesty's North American possessions, where the schemes for hotel burnings in New York and bank robberies in St. Albans were securely concocted, can probably tell when the plan of abducting Mr. Lincoln was changed into the dernier ressort of his assassination. Nobody, surely, knows better than Surratt when this change of programme took place. It is a curious, wellknown fact, that the abduction of Lincoln was projected and discussed in the Southern papers two or three years before his death. Such a plan was regarded at that time as fair game. It was not very vehemently discouraged, and there was little blame attached to the idea, even in the North. A reward was offered by a gentleman of Alabama-made notorious by the fact-for the capture of President Lincoln, and that gentleman has since received the pardon of President Johnson. It is quite evident that, through the instrumentality of somebody, the plan of abduction, with a view to hold Mr. Lincoln as a hostage, was abandoned for the more terrible result of the plottings which culminated at Ford's theatre, and it is reasonable to suppose that Surratt is better acquainted with the circum-"stances than any other man who is now interested in making the revelation, and may, perhaps, assist in sounding the mystery to the very bottom. It is fresh in the memory of every one that when the collapse of the Rebellion was almost inevitable, Jake Thompson, Sanders, and the other refugees in Canada got, hold of Greeley, through the instrumentality of Colorado Jewett, and set on foot the memorable negotiations with Mr. Lincoln in which Greeley and Jewett attempted to lead him into an absurd compromise with Rebellion. It was immediately after these negotiations failed that the assassination of Lincoln appears to have been decided upon. It is presumed that Surratt can tell the whole story, and no doubt he can. It is suggested that he may supply the testimony as to the complicity of parties other than those who have already suffered, which was so positively announced to be in the possession of the Bureau of Military Justice, but which, singularly enough, was not produced upon the trial of the conspirators who have already explated their crime. It may be that Surratt's confession, if he makes any, will furnish this mysterious testimony which has not yet seen the light, and which it is desirable for the furtherance of the ends of justice and the vindication of the accused, both living and dead, should be produced, if it has any existence either on the records of the Bureau of Military Justice or in the breast of Surratt.

nullify its most important provisions. That scheme is now disclosed in the promulgation of an opinion, carefully framed by Attorney-General Stanbery, and intended to show that the military commanders are only a police force, with no power to remove or control the civil officers created by the operation of Andrew Johnson's own project of reconstruction ! The appearance of such an opinion at the present time shows clearly enough that the President is bent on mischief; and hence it becomes important that a quorum of Congress should meet on the 3d of July, and either remove him by impeachment or promply enact a supplemental law strong enough in its provisions to baffle his evil designs. It is true that the President is not bound to act upon the advice of the Attorney-General; but that he will not do so it would not be safe, from what we know of his character, to presume. There is every reason to believe, on the contrary, that the said advice was furnished by his own instigation, as an excuse for measures which he fully intends to adopt, if Congress shall fail of coming together upon the day to which it stands adjourned. It will be a great and inexcusable blunder to give him five months in which to work his malign will upon the question of reconstruction, with no restraint save that which Mr. Stanbery's preposterous construction of the law has not removed.

We presume that, in view of the dangers which now menace the country, there will be a general and hearty concurrence of sentiment among all loyal men in favor of a meeting of Congress on the 3d of July. Each conservative Republican must, we should think, recognize the necessity for such a meeting.

## Labor and Capital-Mr. Wade's "Jump Forward." From the Times.

We imagined that the despatch published the other day, from Lawrence, did Senator Wade injustice. It seemed scarcely credible that any man occupying his position would arraign the inequality of wealth as a wrong to be remedied by legislation. We were not willing to believe that the doctrine of dividing property, and adding to the rewards of labor by a legislative inroad upon the hoard of the capitalist, is to be imported into our politics and made the groundwork of future agitation. It is now apparent, however, that the Senator has not been misrepresented. The telegraph did not pervert his words. The letter we published yesterday, from our special correspondent who was of the Senatorial party, more than confirms the original statement.

Nor can Mr. Wade's declarations be confounded with demands growing out of the war, or the uses to which the war is put by extremist agitators. When Mr. Stevens insists upon confiscation, it is a result of the war and a punishment of its promoters. He proposes to make the property of Rebels pay for the Rebellion and for the reward of Southern loyalists, so-called, without in any manner touching the general rights of property. So is it also with Wendell Phillips. He contends that the freedmen should be made sharers of lands reclaimed and rendered valuable by their enforced and unrewarded toil. Both propositions are at variance with the usages of modern war and the instincts of civilization, and the adoption of either would imperil the foundation in which all property rests. But they are not presented by their authors in this light, or, perhaps, with any definite con-ception of their certain tendency. Mr. Wade occupies altogether different ground. He does not speak of the Rebellion;

he considers that disposed of. He does not dwell upon reconstruction and its penalties; these are, in his opinion, settled. He pro-claims himself a radical of the breed that is always far ahead. The war has brought the country up to his standard in respect of slavery and the slaves. And, not content with being in advance on the subject of female suffrage, he proclaims that he is "now ready to take another jump forward, it necessary." We suppose he means "necessary" to justify his title as an ultra radical. For conservatism in all its phases—constitutional, governmental, financial, social—he has no-thing but contempt; it is all "hypocrisy and cowardice." This time, Mr. Wade's "jump forward" is He passes over the heads of into chaos. Stevens and Phillips at a single leap. He springs from the domain of American republicanism to the region of French socialism. He does not in specific terms indorse Proudhon and assert that "property is theft," but he assails the whole industrial and business fabric of the country, and sends forth propositions involving a general division of lands and goods, the limitation of capital, and the more ample recompense of labor-all by the acts of Cengress. "The terrible distinction which exists " between the laborer and the capitalist is not a discovery of which Mr. Wade can claim the credit. It is a fact which has long engaged the attention of thoughtful men, and sometimes of philanthropists by no means profound in thought. Visionaries have proposed to remove it by laws and combinations, and more often by revolution; but in vain. The fact remains and grows in its proportions. The folly of attempting to destroy it by legislation is, however, conceded even in quarters where the most insane forms of agrarianism and socialism once found favor. Instead of invading the sanctity of property, and so uprooting the great incentive to thrift and persevering industry, the philosophy of to-day addresses itself to the power possessed by organized labor to advance from a condition of dependence and insufficient wages to one of comfort and independence. The cooperative principle is doing for labor what violence or legislation never yet accomplished. The laborers themselves begin to comprehend the power which is in their own keeping, and they are manifold indications of a movement in this country towards a state of things which has already yielded wonders in England, France, and Germany. The cooperative movement, however, is essentially a conservative movement. It recognizes the rights and sanctity of property, to begin with. It places no reliance upon acts of Parliament or Congress, or upon the threats and promises of demagogues. It aims at the eleva-tion and enrichment of labor by a wise use of the strength and means which are at its command. It has no need of agitation or agitators. It disclaims dependence on politicians. And it works gradually, patiently, and withal peacefully, with a very proper contempt for the men who would pervert it to the purposes of a reckless partisanship. The President of the Senate, with all his advanced radicalism, is a long way behind the cooperative workers in his political economy and his sagacity. Compared with their prac-tical wisdom, his talk at hawrence is as the empty declamation of a demagogue, who, consciously or unconsciously, is endeavoring to raise a spirit which will not lie down at his bidding. He calls for Congressional legislation that shall shorten the hours of labor and, at the same time, increase its pay. He devising a scheme by which, under pretense clares that "a more equal distribution of capi-of executing the law, he could practically tal must be wrought out," and that upon Satanic aspiration, "Evil, be thou my good !"

Congress devolves the duty of doing it. He contends that the society which allots ease to some and hard labor to others is fundamentally who strike for freedom and for justice, are, as unjust, and must be overthrown-by Con-gres ional enactment. These are the tasks which Mr. Wade assigns to the body of which he is a conspicuous member. These are the destructive, levelling, and utterly anarchical propositions by which he hopes to commend himself to the favor of the American people.

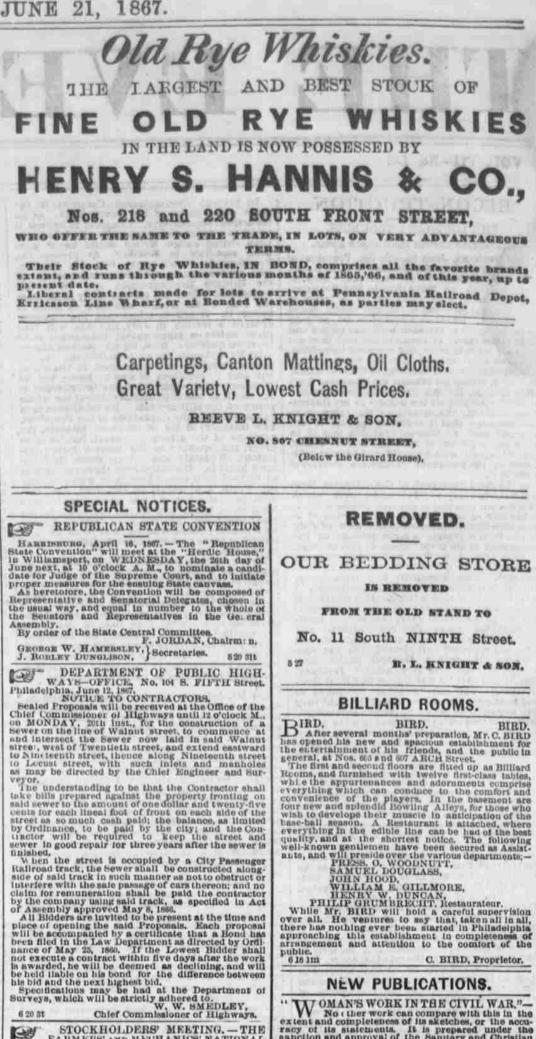
We have too much confidence in their good sense to believe that they will witness this "jump forward" with any other feelings than those of astonishment and disgust. Nowhere in the world is property so universally diffused as in this country, and nowhere, therefore, will the protest against every scheme for violating its rights be uttered with such hearti-ness and effect. But Mr. Wade cannot be allowed to promulgate a policy which imperils the safeguards of society, and at the same time arrogate to himself authority as a radical Republican. The views we have reproduced from his Lawrence speech are the views, not of a radical Republican, but of a leveller and revolutionist. To these even the radicals of the North cannot be indifferent. Every capitalist, every farmer, every manufacturer, every honest, and skilful workman, is intesober. rested in orushing them as speedily as they are uttered. The question Mr. Wade has raised is not one of politics, but of order and peace. It is not one of party, but one that concerns the whole people. And it is incum-bent upon the Senators and others who are ordinarily supposed to act with Mr. Wade, to disclaim sympathy with his hostility to capi-tal, and to show that they have no disposition to follow the "jump forward" which he has taken.

#### Diplomatic Mismanagement. From the Tribune.

Mr. Seward's action in recalling Minister Campbell, who represents the Mexican interests of the United States in New Orleans, is, to use a homely proverb, like closing the stable-door after the horse has fled. It is now many months since Mr. Campbell was sent to the Juarez Government, and yet, during these months, he has not been within a week's journey of Juarez. We presume, or rather we are bound to presume, that when he was appointed and given an outfit, his instructions were to go to Mexico. His mission was ostentationaly begun. He embarked on an American vessel. General Sherman accompanied him, and there were many protestations as to what our Goveroment would do with France and Austria. For at least forty-eight hours we were threatened with a "vigorous" foreign policy. We remember that we feared, at the time, that it was nothing more than show -an attempt to make capital abroad for what had been lost at home. So it proved. Sherman returned and went out West after the Indians. Campbell proceeded to New Orleans. The agents of Juarez came to the frontier to meet him. We know by the sarcastic letter of the Mexican Minister that the Republican Government was anxious to receive him. It is folly to suppose that he could not reach Juarez. We found no difficulty in sending a correspondent to the Juarez headquarters-nor those of Maximilian; and what may be done in the way of business may certainly be done by a great Government.

We have lost sadly by the absence of a Minister from the seat of the Juarez Government. We have never had such an opportunity to make our influence felt in the councils of a sister Republic. We entirely sympathized with Mexico, and especially when we found the Emperor Napoleon practically making common cause with the South by planting a standing army on the borders of the Confederacy. Mexico was our danger in more ways than one; and when we triumphed, the national sentiment was clamorous that foreign army should be driven from Mexican That sentiment, more than any agency soil. outside of the Liberal army, was instrumental in the overthrow of the empire. We fear that with this overthrow the Juarez Government has committed mistakes which tarnish the glory of its persistent and gallant struggle. Already we hear of execution succeeding execution. Men identified with the history of Mexico are shot daily, and it is very possible a similar fate has befallen Maximilian. If these men had been taken in open war-if they had been overpowered and compelled to surrender -we might see some reason for this absolute cruelty. But when we remember that the triumph was that of treachery, that Maximilian was purchased from a traitor, we can see no virtue in the sternness which has been shown by Juarez, and nothing but barbarism in the popular demand for blood which now prevails in Mexico. We say this as an earnest friend of republicanism in Mexico, and as a well-wisher of the Juarez Government. Much of this might have been prevented had the United States sent a resolute, saga-cious Minister to Mexico. His counsel would have been felt in the Juarez Cabinet. His appeals for moderation would have been heard with attention, and respected. He would have protected American interests, and advanced them. We have never had such an opportunity to mould the Mexican nation, to induce magnanimity and liberality in its statesmanship, to aid in the work of reconstruction. Why was this opportunity lost ? We ask the Secretary of State. Why was Mr. Campbell not ordered peremptorily to Mexico months ago? If he was ordered, why was he not removed for disobedience ? Could the Secretary find nobody to enter Mexico ? Even at the best, Mr. Campbell was among the last men that should have been selected for this mission. The only claim he could possibly have on the Administration was that he was a renegade Republican. And yet at a time when America demanded wisdom and statesmanship in a sorely oppressed nation, her Minister, who was not a statesman, but a mere sixpenny politician, was idling around New Orleans. Now. when it is too late, we find the Secretary tele graphing over the country to find some one to go to Mexico without "unnecessary delay." But why has there been "unnecessary delay?" We desire to know more. Why has Mr. Seward not been able to send a statesman to San Luis Potosi ?

a matter of course, to be crushed like beetles. that the terror of their death may extinguish manhood and make creeping and oringing subjects of all survivors. This was royal phi-losophy in the days of the Roman Emperors, and the question for this age to answer is whether enlightened governments can afford to act upon a similar policy. It was presented to us just now in the discussions concerning the fate of the Fenian prisoners; and it elicited wise and benevolent remonstrance from men like Mr. Stuart Mill and M. Victor Hugo. It is mainly a question of the time of day. Fifty years ago, in a like case, when an intellectual eunuch like Castlereagh could "dabble his sleek white hands in Ireland's gore," there wouldh have been no doubt and no discussion. Irish peasants would have been the sport of an insolent soldiery, and Irish priests have been hung by law military, or without any law, in the bar racks. We insist, in dealing what is called justice to the discomfited Fenians, that this former page of Ireland's history shall not be forgotten. The extennating circumstances, we know, are very old, but then they were very terrible to begin with, and in no other country does tradition so linger and so excite. It is feeble to say that the cruelties of the English Government, scare, out of all pity by the French revolution, were indefensible A generous man, even now, cannot read of them without fire in his heart and water in his eyes. It is not that the old Irish rebellion was put down, for that was a simple matter of course; it is the coarse, rude, bloody way in which it was put down by murder, by rape, by arson, by farcical and summary trials and executions speedily following - it is the cruelty practised by majors and by captains, and by justices of the peace, in these dark and sanguinary days, which rankles at this hour in the heart of Ireland, and which, in common equity, it is impossible to forget. After all, it was only yesterday; for what is half a century in the history of a nation? We insist that in judging the Ireland of the present, the Ireland of the past shall not be forgotten. Fenianism may be foolish-we do not say that it is wise -but the craze is not of to-day, and began under extemporized scaffolds and by the light of burning villages. It has been nursed by the gnawings of hunger; it has been stimulated by ecclesiastical insult; it is the legitimate result of bad measures executed by worse men, and of blunders and villanies stretching from the days of Elizabeth to the days of Victoria. What a record ! In judging Ireland, in common charity, let it be always kept in mind. The poor country has its history, and it has had its people; and if a feeble remnant of the finest peasantry in the world sometimes does things which seem to us unwise, we will not be bullied into forgetting the savage policy which has driven the race almost to extinction. This polloy is a matter of history. Nobody dares to defend it now; but it did not lack defenders even in the days of Dean Swift, who hated it in his rough and cynical heart, and ventured to say what smaller men would have been hung for saying. Nobody is fitted to judge the case who is not familiar with Irish history, and nobody who is not so familiar can wonder at anything which happens in Ireland. The penal code which the English Church applied to its Irish sister, the very invention and handiwork of the devil, would not be believed in by historical students if it were a little older, and if fragments of it did not to this day exist. Here is a people purposely kept ignorant, and purposely kept poor, and not assimilating itself with the conquering party, simply because assimulation was forbidden by



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A Summer Session of Congress. From the Independent.

The hope so fondly cherished by many loyal citizens, that the President would do nothing to make a summer session of Congress necessary or even desirable, has been disappointed. For a time it really seemed to be his purpose to execute the Reconstruction law in good faith. or, at least, to throw no obstruction in the way of the military commanders at the South, who have all evinced an earnest intention to give full effect to the will of Congress. Of late, however, we have had rumors that he was de-

second se

The Gibbet in Government. From the Tribune.

The most shameful pages in history are those which record the execution of rebels against political governments. Ecclesiastical ornelties are not less revolting, but they have at least the miserable excuse of a diseased conscience, to which St. Paul alluded in his speech to Agrippa: "I verily thought with myself that I ought to do many things; many of the saints did I shut up in prison; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice . against them." Despotic governments, taking no pains to be right, but avowedly disclaiming all disinterestedness, act upon the principle that men come saddled and bridled into the

there may be for Ireland; but to joke over the contortions of a dying man, to mock his bitter memories, and to kill him because, like Charles II, he is "such an unconscionable time in dying," is at least uncivil, and possibly may be considered unchristian. "There is anguish in Dublin," says M. Victor Hugo. Alas! when was there ever anything else there ?

statutes, many and ingenious; and when a race so oppressed plays now and then fantastic tricks, men wonder if Ireland will ever be

quiet, and they make little jokes about Donny-

brook Fair. We do not know how much h

It may be said it is difficult to decide what shall be done with an unreasonable and restless people. We know that it is; but we happen also to know that this is a difficulty of England's own creation. There is the history; and foreign children know it by heart. The modern Englishman may not be responsible for the sins of his fathers; but in dealing with Ireland he has no right to ignore them; while he shares the plunder, with what justice would he be flercely Draconian in judging those whose ancestors were robbed ? The letter of the law says hang, behead, and disembowel; but the spirit of the age says, "Pity and forgive !" There may be no executions; but why should there not be a moderate and caregive !!? fully guarded amnesty ? Let modern Britons expiate the crimes of the Tudors by the exercise of a little charity, however distasteful.



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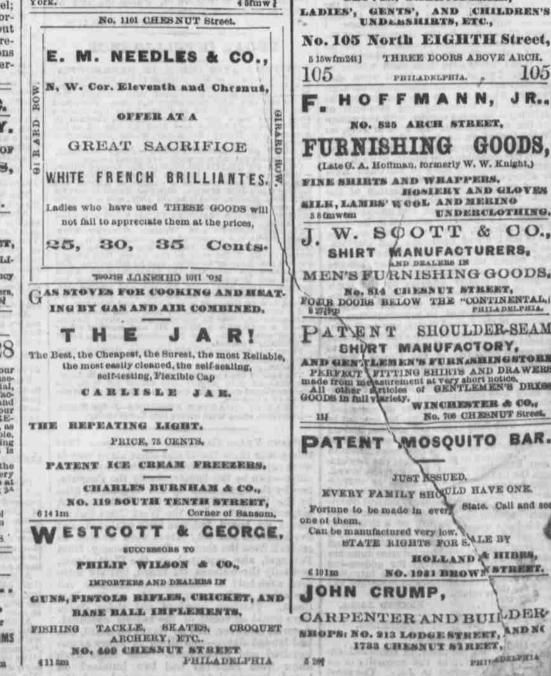
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