

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

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

The New Proclamation of War.

It is not by compromise that this war of principles can be ended. No Johnson Convention, no cringing of weak Republicans, can avail. We are not of those who are content now that General Thomas has gone to New Orleans, and assure the people that the country is safe so long as Grant remains in the Cabinet. These appointments may strengthen our hopes, but do not remove our doubts, for against them stands the all-important fact that Sheridan has been removed. This is the proof that the country is not safe; that Mr. Johnson, undismayed by all his hair-breadth escapes from impeachment, has the boldness to defy the people and to resolutely carry out his purpose of breaking down the reconstruction policy of Congress. Sheridan was to the President the embodiment of a principle. In Sheridan he saw the great executive of radicalism—the whole legislation and spirit of Congress summed up in the action of a military commander. Personal animosity was not the impulse of the President. Sheridan was to him the Republican idea made tangible, and he struck that idea down. Can we delude ourselves with the belief that the blow falls on Sheridan alone, and not upon us? Can we take Thomas' appointment as an atonement for Sheridan's disgrace? Can we suppose for a moment that Andrew Johnson, having successfully defied the Republican party, having deliberately struck it full in the face, will rest satisfied with his triumph? We do not thus mistake him or his policy. We understand the removal of Sheridan as a proclamation of war, and are ready to accept the issue.

Our Washington correspondent asserts that the policy of removing all Generals in the Rebel States who do not take Mr. Johnson's views of reconstruction will be carried out, and we can see no reason to doubt it. The Presidential attack upon Sheridan is already begun upon Sickles and Pope, and the National Intelligencer, the President's adjutant, has drawn up the order for their removal, and it only needs to be signed. That will be done at the right time, if Sickles and Pope persist, as those upright soldiers will, in executing the Reconstruction laws as Congress intended. The reputation of the pure and gallant Howard is undermined by slanders, and he is to be mustered out. Why should these officers not be removed? What difficulty does Mr. Johnson fear, having triumphed over Sheridan? He has taken out the keystone of the arch, and may pull down the rest of it at his leisure. In the President's new course there is more courage and ability than the people had supposed him to possess. It was a master-stroke to bring Grant into his Cabinet. The appointment of Thomas was an excellent plan to enable such papers as the Times to divert the attention of the country from the infamy of the removal of Sheridan. It was equally shrewd to send him to fight the Indians, that all journals of the kind might fall into raptures to see the hero of Five Forks once more at the head of an army. Nor is Mr. Johnson less adroit in resolving to reorganize his Cabinet—in any event it is perfectly safe, for the removal of the easily more distasteful to the people than the old.

These preparations are ominous of change, and not of change for the better. Andrew Johnson does not retract; no sane man can hope that a movement which begins with the removal of Sheridan can mean repentance or remorse. The change is from the defensive to the offensive, and Mr. Johnson marshals his desperate forces to open attack upon Congress. It may reconstruct the laws, but he will reconstruct the machinery by which they are administered. We believe that the President desires to so far modify his policy that it may obtain the support of the conservative Republicans, and to do this by the robbery of great names, or the betrayal of splendid reputations, the perception of the people. He will use any weapon that comes to hand. He throws the fame of Thomas as a veil over the downfall of loyalty in Louisiana, and makes the General of the Army a sentinel at the door of the White House. But beneath and beyond all this parade the keen eyes of the people detect the swiftly moving, unrelenting foe pushing onward to the attack. They know in Andrew Johnson a man resolved to prevent the reconstruction of the South upon the principles they have laid down through Congress; they know that his purpose is to replace the Rebel States in the Union without guarantees or pledges, free to repudiate heretofore their surrender of Rebel principles; they know that when he disgraced Sheridan he insulted them. They perfectly understand that he means war, and no longer one of defensive strategy, but a deliberate and combined aggression.

The Grant Correspondence.

The leading Democratic journal of Massachusetts, the Boston Post, publishes as from its Washington correspondent the following statement:—

"There is great anxiety manifested here to get at the correspondence between the President and General Grant on the removal of General Sheridan. As I stated last evening, General Grant sent to Mr. Johnson a written note protesting against any change in Sheridan's department, and stating at length his reasons. To this the President returned a curt reply with a reiteration of his order. The correspondence was far from being a mere friendly interchange of views, as will fully appear when it comes to be published. Speculation is rife as to the object of General Grant in putting a written protest on file, thus risking a charge of insubordination."

This version of the affair is much nearer the truth than that which our neighbor, the Herald, attempted to pass off as genuine. According to the Herald's General Grant's protest against the removal of Sheridan was "written in a very friendly way," a harmless, pleasant formality, signifying nothing. The same veracious chronicler described the President's response as "pretty full, and much in the same friendly style as Grant's." The object of this manipulation of the subject is evident. It is to Johnsonize Grant's utterances—to represent his differences with the President as trivial, instead of rough and radical, as they really are. By this treatment it is hoped Mr. Johnson may acquire the benefit of Grant's alleged support, while Grant may be compromised in the opinion of those who look to him as a standard-bearer of Congress.

Our own information is that the Herald's synopsis of the correspondence is imaginative and untrue, while the brief characterization of it by the Boston Post comes very near the truth. Every version which attributes to General Grant a feeble and merely formal remonstrance against the action of the Executive, does him gross injustice. We are assured, on authority that we cannot doubt, that, in opposing the President's decision, he

employed stronger language than is ordinarily supposed to be compatible with the respectful tone of official intercourse. Instead of being the kind, easy, friendly letters of which the public have been told, they were on both sides coldly official. Nor was this the case only in reference to the removal of Sheridan. In connection with Mr. Stanton's suspension, General Grant was equally plain-spoken and general. He told the President that only an astute lawyer could discover reasons to sustain the proceeding, and that no reason could be given which the country would accept as satisfactory.

This conflict of statement on a matter concerning which the country is entitled to know the whole truth, illustrates the necessity for an early publication of the correspondence between General Grant and the President in regard both to Mr. Stanton and General Sheridan. We can understand the motive of Mr. Johnson in withholding these letters from the country. Doubtless he realizes the advantage to be derived from the bare supposition that Grant is, to some extent, on his side. But any advantage of this nature will be too brief in its duration to atone for the odium which the President incurs by his apparent connection with the disingenuous statements which have found their way into newspapers. Three months at the furthest will drag from him the documents he now keeps secret. Why wait for the compulsory call of Congress? Why attempt to evade the responsibility for a "policy" which is altogether his own, and the consequences of which he should be content to carry? Let the people read these Grant-Johnson letters without delay.

Napoleon's New Move.

It has for some time been expected that the common interests of France and Austria in three of the great European questions—the Eastern, the German, and the Roman—would ultimately lead to a formal alliance of the two powers. The accounts of the interview of the two Emperors and their Prime Ministers at Salzburg, leave but little doubt that whatever obstacles may thus far have stood in the way of such a treaty have been removed, and that an understanding has been effected. The announcement by the official papers of Austria and France that the Conference at Salzburg has secured for Europe a long term of peace is a poor blind; while the cable despatch in yesterday's issue that a defensive alliance has been concluded, and that an agreement, both in the German and Eastern questions, has been arrived at, is, without doubt, nearer the truth, even should it be entirely based on supposition.

It is stated in the cable despatch that Austria will organize the South German States into a Confederation, and will place herself at the head of the Confederation. Such a measure has long been the avowed wish of the Government of Austria, and it is by no means improbable that this is the most important point of the agreement between the two Emperors. If the report should turn out to be true, it would be a fact of the gravest importance. The South German Governments have taken all the initiatory steps for a union with Prussia. They have bound themselves by a military treaty to place, in case of war, their entire army under the chief command of Prussia. They have subsequently agreed to a new Custom Union treaty between them and Prussia which provides for the election of a Custom Union Parliament. This gradual advance towards the unity of all Germany has been met, it seems, with the hearty approval of the majority of the South German people. If Austria and France will try to enforce the Austrian demand, they must not only arrest this progress towards German unity, but must undo all that has thus far been accomplished in the promotion of the Union scheme. It is a move much more defiant than the French demand, in 1866, for the cession of a few German towns, or the proposed purchase of Luxembourg.

No details are given as regards the agreement said to have been arrived at between France and Austria in the Eastern question. But it will be difficult for these States to hit upon any plan that will not be distasteful to Russia, and it is therefore most likely that an alliance between France and Austria will be a direct incentive to an alliance between Prussia and Russia. It may be that negotiations have been going on with Berlin and St. Petersburg to represent the move of Austria and France as inoffensive and harmless; but it is not likely that either Prussia or Russia will view it in that light.

According to present appearances, the Franco-Austrian alliance is the germ of a very serious complication. We shall probably soon learn more of it.

rumored Reorganization of the Cabinet.

The National Intelligencer, a paper in which the coming events of President Johnson's policy are supposed to cast their shadows before, takes a strong position in favor of a complete reorganization of the Cabinet, on the ground that as at present constituted it lacks the unity of sentiment and harmony of action essential to a vigorous and successful administration. The article is the more significant inasmuch as its substance was announced by the telegraph in a semi-official manner in advance of its publication. We are, therefore, bound to accept it as an authorized exposition of the President's sentiments, and a foreshadowing of the course he intends to pursue.

In this view it becomes evident that Mr. Johnson has resolved to make a fair and distinct issue with the radical party on the question of establishing negro supremacy in all the unreconstructed States—a policy that would place the five hundred thousand emancipated slaves of the South in the position formerly held by their three hundred thousand owners, and give them for half a century to come a controlling influence in the affairs of the national Government. While Seward and other members of the present Cabinet have willingly acted as the bottle-holders of the President in his small fights with Congress, their whole antecedents link them indissolubly with the negro, and it is very likely that they may be unwilling to follow Johnson the whole length of his opposition to the negro supremacy programme of the radical leaders. In such a case no other course is left open to the President than to complete the work he has commenced, and send Seward, McCulloch, and the rest to follow Stanton and Sheridan.

And what next? Can this be the end of the new movement? Will Mr. Johnson be satisfied with a simple change of persons in his Cabinet? If so, he would only stultify himself, and place himself in a far worse position than he occupied before. Congress, upon re-assembling in November, would refuse to confirm his suspensions, place Stanton and the rest back again in their old positions, and undoubtedly carry out their long-threatened policy of impeachment. No; having gone thus far, President Johnson is bound to take

the only step that can effectually block the game of the radicals—to issue his proclamation of universal pardon to every man engaged in the Rebellion, and thus restore to every white man in the South all his civil rights as a citizen of the United States. He has the full constitutional power for such an action. He has already granted a large number of pardons, and if he can pardon one offender he can pardon thousands. The disfranchising clauses of the Reconstruction acts of Congress would then become imperative, as the Executive pardon would obliterate the offense and remove all penalties imposed as a punishment therefor. With all the white men of the South restored by citizenship, and all the negroes enfranchised, the work of reconstruction would be complete, and one of the other world would prevail, according to their legitimate relative strength. This would make the issue distinct between the Administration and the radicals; on the one side, general amnesty and universal suffrage; on the other, negro supremacy and a national government controlled by a coalition of the Puritan and the nigger.

The publication of this semi-official pronouncement by the Washington organ makes one point clear: the present members of the Cabinet can no longer retain their positions with honor or self-respect. They now know that Mr. Johnson is anxious to be rid of them, and they are bound to tender him their resignations in a body and at once. They occupy a different position to that held by Mr. Stanton. While the late Secretary of War was an avowed enemy of the President, they were his professed friends. While Stanton was in open opposition to his policy, they have been its cheerful supporters. They can have neither the desire nor the right to embarrass him, and we therefore recommend them all to draw their last month's pay, put on their hats, walk quietly out of their offices, and accept the role of private citizens with a good grace.

Labor Congresses and Questions.

We have given the proceedings, so far as they have reached us, of the Labor Congress now in session in Chicago, and also a condensation by the London Economist of the official reports of the British Ministers and Consuls of the Trade Unions and Cooperative Societies in various European countries. From the addresses of the President and Corresponding Secretary of the Chicago Labor Congress we learn that the main objects of the assemblage, the things to be attained, are the following:— The formation of labor unions; the establishment of district labor unions among the blacks, "so that they shall be instructed in the dignity of labor, and hence be unwilling to compete to the injury of their white brethren;" a stand at every point "against the encroachments of capital;" the establishment of a journal expressly to advance and advocate the objects of this movement, the enactment of an eight-hour law in every State; a Congressional eight-hour law for Government clerks and all employes on the public works; the election of Congressmen who are favorable to all these projects; and introducing the whole matter into politics, especially "making political action available in the next Presidential campaign."

Now, nearly all this is sheer nonsense, which might be summed up in a resolution to "make a fuss generally," resulting, after much money-expending, loss of time, and general agitation and speech-making, in the unremunerative returns which "making a fuss" would bring. Unless the labor unions are more effective than they are in their present crude and imperfect form, the further formations of such associations is unadvisable and useless. The establishment of distinctive labor unions among the blacks is likely to be lost sight of so long as labor is a mere hand-to-mouth living and individual interest, as it is to those Southern negroes who are seeking employment, or are permitted to do so untrammelled by the Freedmen's Bureau; and it is difficult to see the precise connection between the formation of labor unions and the dignity of labor, and "hence" making them "unwilling to compete to the injury of their white brethren." It is best, on the whole, to designate this as superlative nonsense, lest the radical papers swarm like hornets about the Labor Congress, and sting them for their jealousy and proscription of the colored race.

Taking a stand "against the encroachments of capital" is only a suggestion that labor should bite its own nose off. Capital is not the enemy, it is the father, friend, patron, the very life of labor, and labor in its turn makes capital. Hence the great and only lesson to be learned and enunciated by the Labor Congress, in its present session, is that there should be peace, not war, between capital and labor, and that labor should harmonize and cooperate with capital. Indeed, in all the "snoarings and indignities and divings after the unattainable" manifest in the report of the Corresponding Secretary, there is a gleam of common sense in the frank admission that "it is certain labor can in no way make itself independent of capital but by cooperation." Unquestionably, because cooperative labor at once becomes capital itself; and if the Labor Congress would advocate cooperative associations, and ignore strikes and eight-hour schemes and attempts to mix the peculiar measures of this assemblage with the political issues of the day, capital and labor and the country generally might be positively benefited by the proceedings and suggestions of this congress.

The efforts to involve political parties in these labor questions will certainly come to naught, and disastrously, or with no good results, to the great mass of laborers, because inevitably the leaders of the great political parties will only promise much, and then use the agents and representatives of the labor movement for their own political purposes. The absurdity of establishing an "organ," a special journal, to advocate the objects of the Labor Congress, is shown in the mournful admission of the Secretary that no less than four such organs have miserably failed within the year for want of support. Laboring men and mechanics, like all other men, want a news-paper, not an "organ," and if the plans proposed, and the Labor Congress are subjects of public interest, and are of value to the labor interest, they will not want hundreds of able advocates in the journals of the day.

We have so freely and frequently expressed our opinions about the eight-hour movement, that we do not care to dwell upon the subject now. Four States have enacted an eight-hour law, but we have yet to learn that the hours of labor have been changed in any of these States; and it will be a long time before we expect to hear that any man has succeeded in getting ten hours' pay for eight hours' work. The suggestion that Congress should establish by law eight hours as a day's work for all classes of the paid servants of the Government, excites a smile when we consider that the thousands of department clerks and Government officials work only, from 10 A. M. to 3 P. M., with an hour out for lunch, say four hours a day, while soldiers and sailors may be on duty from eighteen to twenty-four hours. The latter might favor an eight-hour law, but

the four and five-hour-men would be likely to object.

In this connection we turn to the trade unions, combinations for the purpose of influencing wages, and coalitions for the sake of organizing strikes in foreign countries. In Russia, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, and Sicily, these things are almost unknown. In France, in Austria, and in Prussia they are summarily put down by force, and the leading offenders are severely punished. But in Great Britain these strikes and combinations are not only frequent and formidable, but to a degree they are successful in gaining the concessions, or favors, or "rights" they claim. But only to a degree, because the effort, vague and indefinite itself, grasps at something equally intangible and indefinite. Labor demands something, and forthwith throws away a week's wages and gets nothing. But this groping in the dark will lead, by-and-by, to daylight. There will be eventually a thorough and here and everywhere a thorough understanding and complete harmony of capital and labor. Combinations and coalitions, other than those looking to the cooperation of labor and a just division of the profits of labor, and strikes and political agitation, and attempts to regulate by law the hours of labor, will all fail to benefit the cause of labor; and the Congress now sitting in Chicago may advise and advocate what schemes it will, but events will show the justice of our conclusions. The Labor Congress declares war against capital, when its real mission in the interests of labor is one of harmony and peace.

FINANCIAL.

THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD

THE FIRST MORTGAGE BONDS, INTEREST, SIX PER CENT. IN GOLD. Are Offered for the present at NINETYCENTS ON THE DOLLAR, and Accrued Interest at Six Per Cent. in Currency from July 1.

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- 1. A Donation of 12,800 acres of adjacent lands to the mile (nearly all very valuable), amounting to 5,440,000 acres.
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JOHN J. CISCO, TREASURER, NEW YORK, August 15, 1867. 8 20 tustest

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FINANCIAL. NEW STATE LOAN. THE UNDERSIGNED HAVE PURCHASED THE NEW SIX PER CENT. REGISTERED LOAN OF THE LEHIGH COAL AND NAVIGATION COMPANY, DUE IN 1897. INTEREST PAYABLE QUARTERLY, FREE OF UNITED STATES AND STATE TAXES, AND OFFER IT FOR SALE AT THE LOW PRICE OF NINETY-TWO, AND ACCRUED INTEREST FROM AUGUST 1. This LOAN is secured by a first mortgage on the Company's Railroad, constructed and to be constructed, extending from the southern boundary of the borough of Mauch Chunk to the Delaware River at Easton, including their bridge across the said river now in process of construction, together with all the Company's rights, liberties, and franchises appertaining to the said Railroad and Bridge. Copies of the mortgage may be had on application at the office of the Company, or to either of the undersigned. DREXEL & CO., E. W. CLARK & CO., JAY COOKE & CO. (SINCE) W. H. NEWBOLD, SON & AERTSEN NORTH MISSOURI RAILROAD FIRST MORTGAGE SEVEN PER CENT. BONDS. Having purchased \$600,000 of the FIRST MORTGAGE COUPON BONDS OF THE NORTH MISSOURI RAILROAD COMPANY, BEARING SEVEN PER CENT INTEREST, having 30 years to run, we are now prepared to sell the same at the low rate of 85, And the accrued interest from this date, thus paying the investor over 8 per cent. interest, which is payable semi-annually. This Loan is secured by a First Mortgage upon the Company's Railroad, 171 miles already constructed and to be completed by the first of October next, extending from the city of St. Louis into Northern and Central Missouri. Full particulars will be given on application to either of the undersigned. E. W. CLARK & CO., JAY COOKE & CO., DREXEL & CO. F. S.—Parties holding other securities, and wishing to change them for this Loan, can do so at the market rates. 8 10 1/2 m

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