SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIDAR . "TH LEADING JOHNEALS PROS CUSICENT TOPICS -COMPILED EVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING PELEGRAPH.

The President.

From the N. Y. Trusuic

The President must stand and fight. We have been advancing and retreating long enough. Too many white flags have been exchanged. The President means war. War be it, then, and God speed the right? Nearly five months since, the regular session

of Congress was adjourned. The winter had witnessed an angry contest with the President. There were three parties: -1. The Democratic fragment, which gave the President undivided allegiance. 2. The moderate Republicans, who, trusting in his honor, endeavored to make his duty so plain, and his responsibilities so exact and limited, that he could not escape them. They hoped that the nation might be reconstructed without violent appeals to the law. 3. The earnest and extreme Republicans who felt that we could not reconstruct the country without the impeachment of the President. The counsels of the moderate Republicans prevailed. They carried the Reconstruction bill. With the aid of one of these parties they prevented impeachment. This was accomplished by the assurance that the President, having protested against the action of Congress, would content himself to have the law quietly carried into execution. He appointed generals in command of the military districts who were most acceptable to the country. In the case of General Sheridan, at least, we know that some of these appointments were made against his own judgment, and in deference to the wishes of Congress. The Senate and House adjourned. It was felt that the virtual acquiescence of the President would make an extra session unnecessary. Summer would see the States reconstructed. Universal suffrage would be tested. The States would gradually drift back into the Union. When Mr. McPherson called the roll of the House in December, all the States would answer, and once more a full American Congress would sit in an American Capitol.

Then came the first crime. This law of Reconstruction, duly considered and well approved, was assailed by Mr. Stanbery. We give Mr. Stanbery the credit of being an able lawyer and upright man. But the President wanted an opinion that was not upright, and in an evil hour his Attorney-General wrote it. Ingenious and subtle, the country did not fail to see that it was a fraud, and that the President, in inviting its publication, was dishonest. It out the heart out of the Military bill. Resonstruction was brought to a dead look. The opinion, to use the figure of General Sheridan, was a broad, macadamized road to fraud and perjury, and the Southern States were thrown into chaos. Congress was hurriedly assembled. A bill was passed which even the subtlety of Mr. Stanbery could not misconstrue. The extreme Republicans contended that even this would not do, and that to have Reconstruction, the President should be impeached. The counsels of such men as Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Wilson, Mr. Colfax and Mr. Sherman, prevailed. It was held that with a law thus plainly written the President would walk directly, and the South would be restored. This assurance, indeed, was given by men who claimed to speak for the President, Congress believed it, and again adjourned over until

winter. Now comes the second crime. Stanbery cannot explain the law. Blue is so palpably blue that there is no making even the President believe it to be grey. The President has the best part of a year before him. Since he cannot nullify the law, he persecutes his ministers. Stanton is stricken down. The War Secretary, who has been retained two years for his disagreeable qualities, is removed for his virtues. Because of the only quality which the Republican party honors in Stanton, he is disgraced. Then comes Sheridan. This glorious soldier simply performs a soldier's duty. He executes the law in its true spirit. He does the work which the country expects him to do, and is dismissed. A few days pass, and Sickles is removed for loyal devotion to Congress and the country. A Tammany Democrat is placed in New Orleans, while a soldier without a record goes to Charleston. In a few days Pope will be ordered back to the Indian country, to assist Sheridan in guarding sutlers' posts and baggage trains. Grant has served the President's turn in removing Stanton, and his Excellency is impatient already, calling the General of our armies "A radical spy and traitor." He will no doubt speedily be asked to retire in favor of Steedman or Black. That Christian gentleman and soldier, Howard, who has shown in his high place the philanthropy and plety of the great name he bears, is written upon the slate of degradation. Holt will follow-and with these men every soldier or civilian who will not aid the President in his

Where will this end? The President means war. The country must stand and fight, or be defeated. We believe anything possible of Mr. Johnson. His administration is a record of deception, cunning, disloyalty antagonism to the best interests of the coun-He has made the administration of Buchanan respectable by showing a degradation to which even Mr. Buchanan could not sink. He has betrayed his party; he has betrayed his friends; he has betrayed his country. Nothing is left of his administration but a few miserable jobbers like those who hang around him, and a few wretched political adventurers like Black. The men who accepted contumely for his cause, like Seward, and Randall, and Welles, he is impatient to drive out of his Cabinet. The savage of Sahara is not insensible to the obligations of friendship; but even this no longer remains with Mr. Johnson.

We admonish the people to prepare for a stern and high responsibility. It is nearly a hundred days until Congress meets. Till then we are powerless. We can only bow to this dreadful tyranny. The President appealed to the country in his last message. We join him in the appeal. Let our friends organize every-where. Let us make the canvass upon the infamy of Mr. Johnson's administration, and having defeated him at the ballot-box, we can prepare, through our representatives, to consider the best course to be taken to punish him for his crimes against the sovereign will of the American people.

The President and the Law-Progress of the Conflict.

From the N. Y. Times.

Some of the Democratic defenders of Mr. Johnson object to the degree of importance which is attached to the suspension of a Cabinet officer and the removal of district commanders. In ordinary circumstances the objection would be well founded. Suspension and removal would then be mere personal matters, which the President might manipu- him deep, in loyal eyes, during the struggle from office, and disqualification to held any

late without hindrance or oriticism. At pre-sent the case is far different. And the course of the President challenges scrutiny and cen-sure because avowedly undertaken in pursuance of a policy antagonistic to Congress and

the wishes of the country.

Mr. Johnson, indeed, has left no room for misapprehending his position, or the purposes of his acts. He has convinced the most incredulens of his determination to renew at all hazards the contest with Congress, and to avail himself of the powers which its forbearance has left in his hands to obstruct its plans and embarrass its work of reconstruction. This fact it is which invests with significance his present line of action. Stanton, Sheridan, Sickles-all have been set aside as so many obstacles to the will of the Executive. Pope and lioward are to suffer for the same reason. The Cabinet is to be reorganized on a Democratic basis in pursuance of the same general scheme. The intent is unmistakable. Mr. Johnson proposes to do what he can to defeat the aims of Congress. These personal changes are simply incidental to his policy, and are important as illustrations of the dishonesty, the bad faith, the utter lack of prudence and principle which characterize his course.

Henceforward the issues of the contest can neither be concealed nor misrepresented. Though Mr. Johnson swear by the Constitution every hour of the day, the country will understand that his professed zeal for the letter of the organic law is a pretext intended to hide the pro Rebel proclivities of his policy. His appeals to the Constitution are identical in spirit and purpose with those to be found in the mouth of every unreconstructed Rebel in the South. Both make use of the term as the groundwork of their demands for unconditional admission and their opposition to the measures of Congress. The same species of hypocrisy leads Mr. Johnson to affect a readiness to carry out the Reconstruction law. The trick is too transparent to mislead anybody. For, if he desire to enfore the law in its integrity, why does he find it necessary to remove officials whose only offense is their faithful and intelligent administration of the law, as interpreted by its authors? If he desire to uphold the law, why visit with his disapproval those in whose judgment and fidelity Congress and the country repose implicit confidence? The most ingenious sophistry will tail to break the force of these inquiries as they spring up spontaneously in the minds of the people. Nor will the most dexterous special pleading modify or avert the real issue, which now is-Shall the Republican party, sustained by the represented States, control the work of reconstruction, or shall it be seized with impunity by Mr. Johnson, who is neither trusted nor respected by either of the great parties, and whose instigators, associates, and agents are known to be in alliance with the unreconstructed element of the South? This is the issue as it is seen by the country, and for all its consequences Mr. Johnson must be prepared. It is a contest which only folly and recklessness could have provoked. But having been begun by Mr. Johnson, in spite of remonstrances, entreaties, and warnings, we apprehend that it must proceed to the bitter end. Who shall be master of the situation-Mr. Johnson, no longer possessing any

speaking for the people? The latest pretensions set up by Mr. Johnson add to the complications of the conflict. His defiance of Congress is but a renewal of a quarrel from which he was believed to have retreated. It is now evident, however, that he is not only prepared to circumvent the law, and so prevent reconstruction on the conditions prescribed by Congress, but that he is also resolved to quarrel with any officer, whatever be his station, who dares to discharge his duty. The two orders which we printed vesterday are an insult to General Grant, and an invasion of the authority with which the law explicitly invests him. In his original order in connection with the removal of Sheridan, General Thomas was instructed to "continue to execute all orders he may find in force in the Fifth Military District at the time of his assuming command of it, unless authorized by the General of the army to annul, alter, or modify them." This assertion of the General's absolute authority in the premises is in exact accordance with the provisions of the Supplementary act passed during the recent session. By the orders we published yesterday, the President usurps this authority, and of his own will and pleasure, in direct violation of the law, undertakes to instruct Generals Hancock and Canby as to their duties in their respective departments. As instructed by Mr. Johnson, the successors of Sheridan and Sickles may "annul, alter or modify" their orders and proceedings, without waiting for the instructions of General Grant. Such, at least, is the tendency of Mr. Johnson's mandates, and we are bound to suppose that he has contemplated the result to which

real representative authority, or Congress,

Under this aspect of the question it is not possible for General Grant long to remain passive. It is bad enough that his views in regard to the exigencies of the military service are disregarded, as they are by the removal of General Hancock from his present field. But can General Grant be a party to orders at variance with his own, and with the law of which he is the administrator? Can he surrender his undivided authority to instruct the District Commanders, and to revise, reverse, or confirm their action? Can be even impliedly sanction the illegal pretensions of the President, or respect orders which contra-vene the law? If not, it is manifest that General Grant will gradually be drawn into the conflict, the further development of which will be awaited with profound anxiety. At no period since the termination of the war have affairs worn an appearance so suggestive of difficulty and danger.

Development of the Political Struggle. From the N. Y. Herata.

The black wave that has so long threatened us is losing its force. It must soon break into foam if the President only dares to meet the issue like a statesman. We care little for color -we leave that for a banner-cry. We go deeper than the skin, and demand that the foundations of our Government rest upon educated brain. The nation fairly staggers to-day under its load of ignorance; and well may we lament the new burden imposed upon it by the faction which raises its flag aloft and cries party first! country afterwards! In the West they already open the contest for a consolidation of political power and a seizing of all the elements of strength in the Government. Mr. Wade, in a speech that loses all force by its pandering to ignorance and blasphemy, opens his batteries upon the dread reaction which he sees advancing with a steady but irresistible march. Senator Sherman, more logical, but yet with faulty points in his argument, follows, to garnish, if possible, the speech of Mr. Wade. Both of these Senators stand on the Ohio field, where, facing them, stand Pendleton and Vallandigham. Mr. Pendleton, now disposed to accept the fact that some questions have been decided in the war, is shaping himself to the stern logic of the position; and though he has done much to sink

for national existence, he may yet do much to harmonize the contending elements. For Vallandigham we have little hope; he has the black blindness, and is as radical in his views. as are the radical Republicans in theirs. With him the war has settled nothing. Nor he nor the extreme radicals can ever reach a point where the nation can balance itself.

Torsed about as we are in this political gale, we turn to the man whose hand is at the helm. From him we expect reform. The tide has reached its flood. We have cursed the poor negro by too rapidly elevating him, and in the coming reaction he will soon curse us. We have done all this for political purposes. In the emancipation of the black we have gone so far that we threaten to enslave the white; all this to the grievous injury of both. The attack and defense of the one absorbing color have given birth to two great attempts at a dictatorship-one by Mr. Johnson, one by The former was defeated by the latter; the latter must now be defeated by the former. This done, the battling political forces will come to mutual concession and unity of action. The country may then take a rapid march to union, peace, and a brilliant future. First, however, must be swept aside the division of executive power as Congress tried to arrange it in the five military dictatorships. In his determination that he will defend his branch of the Government, Andrew Johnson is right; and the nation, in its cooler moments, must thank him. Sheridan broke loose from executive control-from the control of his military commander. He is removed. It is a splendid lesson of discipline to the army. General Sickles, forgetting in partisan feeling his military duty, disobeys the orders of his superior officer, and thus destroys the great principle that gives an army force. It is right that an example should be made of him. The President has done the country service in removing him. Would that throughout the whole machinery of government the same rigid discipline were infused! The nation, now almost breathless, might breathe free again. Woe to North as well as South if these States are to be out into irresponsible military dictatorships. When Congress makes a law in accordance with our Constitution, they hand it to the Executive power and say, "There it is; execute it." Were he, overridden by military officers, to prove unworthy the trust, then well might Congress impeach him. Let him sweep away fifty district commanders, until he finds a set who can understand that they are responsible to the Executive—the Executive to Congress.

Now of the Cabinet. The country has long enough ground under its pressure. We want men of more enlarged views-true statesmen -statesmen who forget, in the general good, all party feeling; and who, in every State of the Union, will rebuild the dying hopes which have flattered the nation. We want men who will lead in the great reaction which is marching to the salvation of our people. Relieve us from this madness about the negro, who must take his place in the ratio of his ability, and, in common with all our people, work out his own salvation, as brain light brings power. Now is the grand moment for the President to settle the question which has been so badly managed that it threatens our national existence. There now remains but one sword that can cut the knot. Once cut, there will be swept away the military dictatorships and the wave of ignorance that threaten our republicanism. Let Mr. Johnson prepare to deal the blow; but first a new Cabinet-then strike; and let that stroke be universal amnestyamnesty to the black, amnesty to the white.

Impeachment.

From the N. Y. Tribune. We have not been of those who see no safety for the nation except in the impeachment of the President. We have held that only the gravest and most pressing of dangers would justify a resort to so extraordinary a remedy as the removal of a Chief Magistrate from office. We believe that we have had the sentiment of a large majority of the people with us in this matter; but it is useless to deny that Mr. Johnson is doing his best to change that sentiment, and that many prominent men are now earnestly in favor of his removal who were a month ago as strenuously opposed to it. Suppose the impeachment party prevails;

let us see what course will be pursued. The offenses for which an officer may be impeached are "treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." High crimes and misdemeanors are not defined by the Constitution, and in determining what they are recourse must be had to Parliamentary practice and the common law. Of course, the range of offenses embraced under them is pretty comprehensive; and it may be said, in brief, that many crimes not easily definable by law, and many of a purely political character, are held to be included; and that in none of the cases of impeachment which have thus far been tried in the United States, except that of Judge Humphreys of Tennessee, who was convicted of treason in 1862, have any of the charges rested upon statutable offenses.

The charges must be presented by the House of Representatives, and tried by the Senate. Any member of the House may initiate proceedings, either by offering a resolution of accusation or moving the appointment of a committee of inquiry. If the House adopt the resolution, a committee is appointed to proceed to the bar of the Senate, and demand that that body shall take order for the appearance of the accused to answer to the articles of impeachment which the House will present in proper time. The House, then, having agreed upon the articles, forwards them to the Senate by the hands of a committee; the Senate appoints a day for the trial, and process is served by the Sergeant-at-Arms. When the President tried, the Constitution provides that the Chief Justice shall preside. On the day assigned, the Senate resolves itself into a court of impeachment; the Senators are solemnly rn to do impartial justice according the Constitution and laws of the sworn United States; the managers appointed by the House to conduct the prosecution in its behalf attend, and the accused is summoned to appear and plead. If he does not answer either in person or by attorney, the case proceeds ex parte. Both sides may be heard by counsel. The accused is entitled to a copy of the charges, and must be allowed time to prepare an answer. The House of Representa tives may then file a replication to the answer, and after that a day is assigned for the trial The subsequent proceedings are conducted substantially as in ordinary courts. The managers open the case, the witnesses are then examined, under the usual rules of evidence, and both sides are fully heard in

argument. When Associate Justice Chase, of the United States Supreme Court was impeached for official misconduct in 1805, the Senate Chamber was elaborately fitted up for the accommo dation of spectators. The trial lasted nearly four weeks, the last seven days being occupied in arguments. At the close, the Senate votes upon each of the charges separately, two-thirds being required to convict. If the accused is found guilty the Senate fixes the punishment. which cannot extend further than removal

his pardoning power to remit the penalty.

An attempt was made by John Minor Botts and others to obtain the impeachment of President Tyler in 1843, but the House of Representatives refused by a large majority even to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. Indeed, impeachments before the United States Senate have been extremely rare, there having been only six, we believe, in our whole history, and in only two of these was a conviction obtained.

Fanning the Embers of Discord. From the N. Y. World.

The radical leaders are aware that, by the reaction now going on in the public mind, the ground is slipping from under them, and that they are destined to lose largely in the elections this fall, which they regard as a bad omen for their party in the Presidential contest next year. They were fortunate last year in the New Orleans riot, and in the maladroit invectives of President Johnson during his Western tour. Had it not been for these fresh incentives to agitation, the elections last autumn would have been carried by the conservatives in most of the States. Many Republicans of great credit and estimation in their party stood ready to indorse, and several did indorse, the policy of President Johnson. Mr. Beecher wrote the ablest, most studied, and most statesmanlike letter that ever came from his pen, in support of the President's policy. The Evening Post expressed the strongest approbation of that letter, and declared again and again that the mission of the Republican party was substantially ended. Mr. Raymond and his paper, the Times, were for a brief period stiff and zealous in their opposition to a Congressional policy far more moderate than that which has since been adopted. The reason of the country was on the side of conciliation, and it was only when its passions were reinflamed that the radicals regained the ground which they had been losing in the temporary lull of excitement.

The experience of the radicals has taught them-not merely their experience last year, but all their experience since the formation of their party—that flerce and overboiling agitation is the only temper of the public mind favorable to their success. A single year of unbroken calm would end the Repub lican party. The Tribune understands this, and rails at the following extravagant rate, in the hope of reviving the agitation which has been dying away, to the great advantage of conservatism, since the adjournment of Con-

Especially are the extraordinary powers conferred by Congress on the Military Commanders at the South to be transferred to the hands of 'conservatives' of caste and negro-hate to the very utmost. All the still vast patronage of the Executive is to be wielded in aid of resistance to any such reconstruction as Congress purposed and as Sherilan Thomas States.

purposed, and as SheriJan, Thomas, Sickles, Pope, and Howard, were laboring to effect. "Governor Seward will resign the State De-partment—probably in the course of next week. We judge that McCulloch and Randall must also go. Grant will be bowed out of the War Office so soon as another can do the work required of the incumbent, and an unequivocal Copperhead Cabinet will be made up. These changes will be made, not necessarily becaus Governor Seward or General Grant is hostile but because neither of them can be expected to go so far nor work so heartily in the direction meditated as such men as Steedman, Jere. S. Black, and Montgomery Blair will readily do. And it is held that half-hearted work is inadequate to the emergency.

"The end hoped for is a political revolution in the North and a rejection of the condition in

the North and a rejection of the conditions of restoration prescribed by Congress in the South. Mr. Johnson's backstairs counsellors doubtless assure him that, if the whole patronage of the Government is transferred to Democratic hands, they will thereby be enabled to overbear last year's moderate Republican majorities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, etc., and thus secure a Republican defeat in the Presidential contest next year. Meantime, reconstruction is to be postponed or defeated at the South, with intent to take advantage of the expected Democratic triumph next year, and so, while enfranchising the Rebels, remand the blacks to perpetual seridom if not actual slavery.

"Such appears to be the programme of the new struggle which Mr. Johnson has opened with the supersedure of Stanton by Grant at the War Office. That it will be flerce and vehe-ment, few will doubt; but let us all firmly re-soive that it shall be marked by no bloodsned, but that all shall implicitly abide the delibe-rate judgment of the people."

Since the removal of Sheridan, the Tribune has had frequent articles, by the evidence of style clearly from its chief editor, in this strain of vituperative extravagance. They are not based upon any evidence, but only upon the wishes of the editor, and the supposed necessities of his party. As these fictions and chimeras are judged to be serviceable, the reality would of course be of still greater advantage, inasmuch as the reality could not be denied and exploded. The Republicans need topics of exasperation, and do not scruple to invent what they fail to find.

It might not be quite courteous to say that the above-quoted invective of the Tribune is a string of knavish falsehoods; we will, therefore, call them conscious fictions. The "still vast patronage of the Executive" is a myth, and the Tribune knows it to be so. Since the Tenure of Office bill the President can remove no civil officer who has been confirmed by the Senate, without the consent of the Senate to the removal. The Executive patronage is, therefore, next to nothing. That the President is using such patronage as he has to resist the Reconstruction laws is also an assertion without evidence, made in hardy defiance of truth. Instead of vague, reckless charges thrown out at random, let the Tribune name the section, clause, or provision of the Reconstruction acts which the President is attempting to resist. It is only in one single point that the President comes in contact with those acts at all, and that is in the assignment of commanders to execute them. Has he neglected to do this? We suppose that not even the Tribune will have the hardihood to say that he has, but it might as well say that as to make other assertions equally groundless. It is the law, not the President, which tells the commanders what to do when they are once appointed. General Thomas was the

President's choice for the Fifth District.

Is General Thomas a "Copperhead?" Is he incapable of understanding the law? Would he be indisposed to obey it? The same self-answering questions might be asked about General Hancock and General Canby. They are soldiers of great merit and distinction: upright, loyal, firm; honored and trusted by the whole country. What a reckless, unsorapulous libelier must that journalist be who affects to believe that the appropriate of such President's choice for the Fifth District. affects to believe that the appointment of such men to execute a law is a means of resisting

and defeating its operation! We do not know whether Mr. Black, Mr. Blair, and General Steedman are to go into the Cabinet or not; but if President Johnson pro poses to appoint them, or men like them, it is safe to assume that he has not made a confidant of the editor of the Tribune. What moral right has that sheet to invent such news, and, on the strength of so gratuitous a fabrication, arraign the President for what he has not done? And even If he should bring these gentlemen into his Cabinet, pray what clause of the Reconstruction acts would be thereby vio-

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lated? What has the Cabinet to do with a law the execution of which is devolved by Congress on the five District Commanders and the General of the Army, who are protected by law from all interference with the discharge of their duties by any of the civil officers of the Government? Another of the Tribune's bugbears, conceived in a spirit of wanton calumny, is a pretended purpose, by Mr. Johnson and the Democrats, to "remand the blacks to perpetual seridom, if not virtual slavery. Such reckless libels are a kind of political weapons which an honest man should scorn

The Tribune winds up with a piece of snivelling cant as contemptible as its libels are unfounded and venomous. "Let us all firmly resolve," whines this calumniator, that the struggle shall be marked by no bloodshed." Bloodshed! What occasion is there for this kind of talk? What does the Tribune mean? Has it resolved, like ribald old Brownlow, to stir up the fiendish passions of its party to such cutthroat intensity that they will thirst for the blood of their opponents, and need the Tribune's dissuasiveness from red-handed carnage? The Tribune knows full well that the principles of its party tend to bloodshed and fratricidal slaughter; its canting on this subject is a confession.

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HARDWARE, CUTLERY, ETC. STANDBRIDGE, BARR & CO.,

IMPORTERS OF AND DEALERS IN FOREIGN AND AMERICAN HARDWARE, NO. 1321 MARKET STREET,

Offert or sale a large stock of Hardware and Cutlery,

TOGETHER WITH 1000 KEGS NAILS AT REDUCED PRICES. [87 thatq



CUTLERY. A fine assortment of POCKET and
TABLE CUTLERY, RAZORS,
RAZOR STROPS, LADIES' SCISSORS, PAPER AND TAILORS'

Cutlery Store, No. 185 South TENTH Street, Three doors above Walnut.

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HOOP SKIRTS.

628 HOOP SKIRTS, 628
HOPKINS' "OWN MAKE" 628
I' affords us much pleasure to announce to our numerous patrons and the public, that in consequence of a slight decline in Hoop Skirt material together with our increased facilities for manufacturing, and a strict adherence to BUYING and SELLING for CASH, we are enabled to offer all our JUSTLY CELEBRATED HOOP SKIRTS at REDUCED PRICES, And our Skirts will always, as heretolore, be found in every respect more desirable, and really cheaper than any single or double spring Hoop Skirt in the market, while our assortment is unequalled.

Also, constantly receiving from New York and the hoop Skirt in the marker, while the process of the process and the Eastern States full lines of lew priced Skirts, at very low prices; among which is a lot of Plain Skirts at the following rates;—15 springs, 55c.; 20 springs, 65c.; 24 springs, 75c.; 30 springs, 85c.; 36 springs, 95c.; and 49 springs, \$1'02.

Skirts made to order, altered, and repaired. Whole sale and retail, at the Plaindeiphia Hoop Skirt Emporium, No. 528 ARCH 55773, below Seventh.

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