THE DAMAY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1868.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPENIONS, OF THE LEADING JOURNALS PPON CURRENT TOFICS-COMPILED EVERY BAY FOR THE EVENING TRLEGHAPH.

The South as a Place for Northern Capital. From the Cincinnati Guzelle.

The terms on which Northern men may be permitted to live and invest their capital in the South, are pretty well set forth by the Memphis Aralanche of July 26. The occasion was the following letter addressed to the editor, from a prominent citizen, a Republican:-

Colonel M. C. Gailowsy:-My Dear Bir:-A highly respectable, how table, and weathy firm in one of the largest Eastern citles, having heard of the four hundred vacant stores here, and seen published in their papers as inforsed the resolutions which I had the hundred blatcothe resolutions which I had the honor to factor duce before our Chamber of Commerce a short time since, thinking that the future material prospecies of this section warrant the success of another wholesale shoe house in this city, write to ask if I think such a concern from New England "would do well." Betteving the editorials of the Academick to be the most faithful expressions of the domi-

be the most faithful expressions of the domi-nant political sentiment of this section, and wishing to give to said firm some reliable and authoritative assurances of the spirit with which "radical" mercantile capital will in future be received in Memphis, please allow me to respecially ask from you the publication of this inquiry, with such editorial suggestions as you may think preper in order that I may send them a copy to aid them in arriving at an intelligent decision in regard to the proposed enterprise. Very respectfully, sec. enterprise. Very respectfully, etc., WM. R. Moons, No. 209 Main street, Memphis, July 23, 1808.

To this the editor replies at much length. To begin with, he announces himself as in a particularly amiable mood that morning, at the prospect of the early destruction of radicalism, and, therefore, as inclined to be magnanimous, and, as he says, "to treat the writer with more courtesy than has been our wont, and while we explain the questions he propounds to us directly, furnish some explanation why we have been out of all patience with him." He then proceeds first to discourse upon the enormity of the sins of Mr. Moore, who, being a native, had turned renegade to the South, and had not only been an original Union man-which the editor implies he might forgive, with repentance-but had united himself with the Republican party, which the editor proceeds to accuse of crimes which makes men outlaws, and justify society in taking the higher law into its hands, and putting them summarily out of existence.

Having thus marked Mr. Moore as a traitor to the South and an outlaw, to be dealt with in the good Seymour-and Blair time coming. and plainly intimated to him that he had better be considering whether he ought himgelf to be allowed to live in the South, rather than concerning himself in the question whether it would be safe for Northern men to bring their capital there, the editor mildly draws the conditions upon which Northern men may be tolerated, as follows:-

If a radical capitalist desires to establish here an extensive concern, he will meet with not only no opposition, but will be welcomed, provided he will pursue bis avocation without fra ternizing with those who seek to continue the disfranchisement of those who accepted the situation when the South surrendered its arms, a part of which was the confident expectation of being restored to all their civil rights in the Union. But if the object be to swell the ranks, and add to the it fluence of those who have bee denounced as scala was and carpet baggers, and are striving for official position through the most corrupt means, and by the instrument of most corrupt means, and by the instrument of secret leagues, and the co-operation of a de-inded, ignorant race, such capitalist would find himself regarded with jealousy and suspicion, and unless he could content himself with limited associations of questionable character, would be far from agreeably situated in his social position. Our people are tired of their years of probation, during which they have seen things growing from bad to worse, while patiently enduring the humiliating situ-ation of withersing their 'inalienable rights' ation of willnessing their 'inalienable rights' wrested from them, and bestowed upon the negro, who, without home or domiciliary resi-dence to regulate suffrage, exercises privileges denied to those who are natives of the soil, educented to those who are introves of the soft, and the owners of estate, save those of which they have been robbed by tax-tilles. Mr. Moore, himself being a merchant, and member of the Chamber of Commerce, in whose action he participates, can explain to his New England correspondent that a voltage merchant may find a safe investthat a radical merchant may find a safe invest-ment here. Should the dominant party who seem willing to sustain Congress in its usurpations prove successful, and proscription and disfranchisement continue to be pressed, it is but natural to infer that no good feeling will be engendered between those who are deprived of their rights and such as upbold such depriva of their rights and suce as uphold such depriva-tion. To retailate is natural to the disposition of mankind, and our people will submit to in-convenience, will prefer an inferior article, or pay a higher price, rather than sustain those who seem intent and determined on degrading them below the negro; countenance the false-hoods and slanders that are wantonly invented for political effect, and support in official position men without character, narrow-minded devoid of principle, and destitute of the com-mon sympathles of humanity, and whose whole stock in trade is consummate impudence, brazen effrontery, and thorough social and political equality with the race suddenly transformed from slaves into enlighted suffragans. We commend to the people of the North-to the white people-this statement of the terms upon which they may be permitted to live in the South. They may come, provided they will renounce all affiliation with the Republican party; and this means all fidelity to the National Government. Otherwise they will be considered guilty of all these charges and epithets which are meant to make them social outcasts, to deprive them of the protection of law, and to excite against them an ignorant and truoulent mob. Unless he disowns all fraternity with the Republican party of the North, and becomes an abject supporter of a Rebel class who will never recognize in him anything but their political serf, the Northern emigrant will be spotted as a subject for vengeauce in the good time coming, and for plunder and maltreatment in any of the rietous outbreaks which are frequent social exercises in the South. Not that it is a crime to be politically asso ciated with negroes; for the Democratic party are making the most energetic exertions to get the negro vote; but it is that the master class claim the votes of the blacks as their preperty, just as they before claimed their bodies and souls, men, women and children. If the negroes vote with the Republicans the Rebel class think they are robbed of their property. And because the blacks, knowing their own interest, vote generally with the Republicans and the Northern people, the Rebel class feel toward the Republicans the same ferocity that they used to against Abo-litionists. Thus the Democratic party may have the negro vote without attaint; but woe to the white Republicans, immigrant or native, who have negroes voting with them ! No criminal accu. ations are bad enough for them; no vengeance is too cruel. These are the terms upon which the old ruling white class want to reconstruct the South. These are the terms the Northern Democratic party are striving to establish by the election of Seymour and Blair. Their platform declares that the State Governments which now give protection to loyal men are null and void, and their candidate for Vice-President has announced the programme to carry it out. But this does not make a free country. No one who has manhood will be content until he can go anywhere throughout the nation, and carry with him his political liberty and his rights of citizenship. The Democratic leaders, who would in a moment reduce this country to a despotism if they

destroy political liberty because they may not desire to use the liberty to differ with their party ?

Human nature is so constituted that genarally the taking away of rights excites a desire to use them, where before there was indifference. If a Democrat has the soul of a man, he will not be content to be a Democrat under opercion. He will be inclined to assert his right to be anything else if he shall so choose. If we had a majority who were willing to be excluded from one-half of the country, except upon condition that they shall give up their political rights, we should be unfit for any government that could be called free or repub-We have a party that is trying to relean. duce this country to just that condition; that regards this right of proscription as a Southern right, and that would reduce the Northarn people to this vassalage to the South.

Our readers can see by this very good testi-mony of the Avalanche, whether they had better take their capital into the South, or make their home there; and they can see also how escential to the tranquility of the South is the election of Grant and Colfax. That is peace, and all the restoration that will come from security to life and property. The other gives us no promise of peace, but, instead, a threat of war.

Progress of Reconstruction.

From the N. Y. 2ribune.

The present Legislature of Alabama was chosen entirely by Radicals-the Rebels or Conservatives refusing to vote. They were not content with this refusal, but insisted that none should vote whom they could not con-trol. They threatened to black-list every white, and deprive of employment every black who should vote to ratify the "Radical Constitution"-and they were generally as bad as their word. We have seen black-lists printed and circulated by them of all the whites in Mobile who so voted; and we have the testimony of an eye-witness who saw forty colored men discharged from one cotton-press directly on their return from voting. They chose to suffer hunger and cold that their children

might be truly free. The Rebels hoped, by thus refusing in con-cert to vote, and sublecting al who *did* vote to social ostracism and want, to defeat the Constitution: as Congress required that half the registered voters should exercise their right of suffrage to give validity to the new Constitution. The proofs being laid before the two Houses, they decided that the seventyodd thousand votes to ratify, were sufficient; and they restored and admitted the State on the strength of that vote. Thus, it happens that the Legislature is radical, almost, if not quite unanimously.

The conservatives pretended, throughout the canvass, to execute the Constitution mainly because it followed the precedent set by Congress in disfranchising those who were prominent in the late Rebelfion. But for that, they intimated, they might have endured the remainder of the instrument.

Fe The Legislature, after due consideration, has passed an act removing all disfranchisements for rebellion. There was but one negative vote in the Senate, and but 13 against 73 in the House. Henceforth, there is no disfranchised class in Alabama-no person disfranchised unless for some non political felony. The chief Democratic clamor against "carpetbag" and "nigger" rule in Alabama is therefore silenced. All her people are equal in right and law. The fourteenth amendment exoffices; but reserves to Congress the right to remove this disability. No one can doubt that Congress will respect the action of the Legislature in the premises and remove every vestige of disability, provided the Rebels do not seek to disfranchise the blacks. In short, the Republicans of Alabama propose a full and final peace on the basis of universal amnesty -impartial suffrage. And they do not wait to bargain or exact equivalents-they hew square up to the line, leaving their adversaries free to follow or not follow their lead. It will yet be realized that their action was no less wise than bold and generous. Alabama had in 1860 (by census) 529,164 white to 435,132 colored inhabitants. Though the whites lost most by the war, she cannot now have less than 500,000 whites to (at most) 450,000 blacks. She registered, last year, 74,-450 white to 90,340 black voters. But aside from those disfranchised by act of Congress, there were many whites who declined or neglected to register, or take any voluntary part in what they stigmatized as "nigger recon-struction." Now that all are enfranchised, struction." there cannot be less than five thousand aud may be as many as ten thousand majority of white voters. How, then, can the cry of "negro supremacy" be raised with effect in her case? The Legislature of Georgia has nearly, if not quite, per/ected an enfranchising act, sub-stantially like that of Alabama. There is no doubt of its passage, though the Rebel-chiefs are doing their worst to protract that disfranchisement which gives them distinction and consequence. Their violence, their social proscription, their vaunts that they still cherish the principles which made them Rebels, are calculated, and probably intended, to have this effect. No matter: let the Republicans everywhere be boldly generous in abolishing all disfran-chisements. We are confident that every Southern Legislature-we mean every radical Legislature, not those of Kentucky and Maryland-will gladly unite in making peace forever on the basis of universal amnesty-impartial suffrage. Why should not the action of the Alabama Legislature command some recognition at the hands of the Northern conservative press? How does it strik- Frank Blair?

Rebellion to such power in the South that none but a Democrat could live there. But are the mass of the Democrats desirous to which it is obviously susceptible. It is, therefore, important to know whether Mr. Johnson is prepared to act on Frank Blair's conception of Executive duty, or whether Mr. Evarts' presence in the Cabinet has led to the adoption of wiser counsels.

The President has now an opportunity of vindicating his good faith, and at the same time counteracting a portion of the mischief wrought by himself on Sonthern opinion. Bis treatment of the Louisiana application will do much good one way or another. It will repress the rising tendency of lawlessness and violence, or will add to its andacity and force.

The popular presumption among the more violent opponents of reconstruction is, that the President is with them heartily. Their plans are formed on this hypothesis. They calculate on the impunity which arises from Executive favor. Their estimate of the weakness of the newly organized Governments is based on the belief that, on the occurrence of disorder, they will be left to their own re-sources, unaided by the National Government. These views have undoubtedly contributed greatly to the confidence which the assailants of Congress now profess. They render intelligible the otherwise inexplicable boldness which has marked the outburs's of the Rebel spirits since the nomination of Seymour and Slair.

The course of the President now will deter mine his relation to the extremists, and the measure of favor with which he regards their movements. If, on any pretext, he withhold the assistance solicited, or if he parley instead of acting, or send forth circulars instead of ordering the concentration of soldiers, the Rabels will count him on their side, and push forward their schemes more energetically than ever.

On the contrary, if Mr. Johnson, subordinating spite to duty, act promptly and effectually in the manner suggested by the Governor of Lonisiana, disloyal combinations will be checked, and an assurance given that the work of Congress will be upheld against all violence by the National Government.

Reconstruction and its Agents. From the N. Y. World.

Men who came eminent out of the war emerge stained and disgraced from the task of enforcing the acts of Congress since the war in relation to the Southern States. A contemplation of the list will show that a majority of the district commanders have sullied the good name which commended them to a large portion of the American people. During the progress of the bu-ine s of reconstruction there have been the following commanders:--

l	First Distric',	John M. Schoffeld, George N. Stoneman.	
ľ	Second District	Dan IE Sickles, E. R S. Canby,	
	Third District	John Pope, George G. Meade,	
	Fourth District	E O. C Ord, Irwin McDowell, A. C Gilliem,	
	Fifth District	P. H. Snerloan, W. S. Hancock, A. J. Mower, Robert C. Buchanan.	
l	Of these men every	one won distinction	-

the war except Sickles, Pope, and possibly McDowell. Of the whole list every one has acted discreditably and tyranically except Generals Buchanan, Gillem, Schofield, Haucock, and Stoneman. Thirteen in ail, eight of the District Commanders have brought themtarnished in peace the lustre they achieved in war. To specify all the acts which each of the fallen ones did, and which brand them, would take too much space. The principal offenses, however, are as follows: -Sickles and Cauby have suppressed courts, suppressed papers, and preferred to appoint the worst men from the most ignorant and criminal class of blacks and whites to offices in North and South Carolina. Pope and Meade have done the same; also have certified to false election returns; and notably the latter has had more innocent men imprisoned and put to the torture on the pretext of having been concerned in a murder of which even a military commission organized to convict could not find them guilty. Ord was guilty of the petty absolutism and infinite meanness of imprisoning editors for presuming to criticise his administrative acts, and he played the personal tyrant to a degree as ridioulous as it was rigorous. McDowell inherited from Ord the same programme, and overturned the whole governmental machinery of a State, not because the incumbents were objectionable, but because a few staff favorites had been promised the places.

ay on the question raised between Sam Cox Vallandigham, and the New York World on the one hand, and Pendleton and the Galeago Times on the other hand-the question whether the public debt is to be "paid" in greenbacks or in "something that chinks." But upon the Blair-Hampton proposal to institute a new civil war, he seems to express an opinion, not, however, in his letter or acceptance, but in his stump-speech, where he says :--

"The election of a Democratic Executive and a majority of Democratic members to the House of Representatives would not give to that party organization the power to make sudden or violen ontanges, but would serve to c eck these extreme measures, which have be a deployed by the best men of bost organi-ations. gat ons

How will this please Hampton, Wise, and Vance ? How will Blair take it ? Does Mr. Seymour mean that he declines to be a dictay, declines to use the army to overthrow lawfully established governments, when he says that even a Democratic House and President would not possess "the power to make andden or violent changes, but would serve to check extreme measures ?" Does the Copperhead candidate for President plant himself on the basis of accomplished facts, while his associate on the ticket unfolds the standard of revolt? Should Seymour be chosen, will be obeck" future measures which are, in his judgment, extreme ?-such measures as Blair and Hampton propose-or will he not ? The harangue interposed between Seymour's

letter of acceptance and his signature is ingenious in its avoidance of direct statements upon which issue can be joined. He hints that much iniquity is pigeon-holed in Wash-ington, which cannot be brought to light antil a Democratic administration shall until the red tane of Congress, but he makes no spec fie charge. He "wants a clear statement of what has been done with the money drawn' from the people "during the past eight years;" as if he could not read it in official documents; as if it were a secret that the millions expended during the first half of the period were to put down a rebellion led by his "triends" and present political associates, or that all but the ordinary expenditures of the Government authorized during the last three years were to pay the bills contracted in that contest for the life of the nation ! He says that Congress takes "a menacing attitude towards its electors," because it has adjourned until September, with purpose to reassemble in case, and only in case, a session is rendered necessary by fresh usurpations on the part of the President; because, that is to say, the representatives of the loyal people of the country, forwarned by sad experience, deem it necessary to be in a position to defend their constituents, if need be.

Much of Mr. Seymour's philippic is directed against the new members from the Southern States, whom he declares to be the controlling power in Congress. Yet he knows perfectly well that most of them were admitted just bafore the adjournments, and that no proposition introduced by any one of their number was adopted. He should know, also, that though there may be smong them some men of moderate abilities and unhappy temper-as there are even among Northern Democratic members-there are others in every way fitted to take part in legislation.

He is nearer right when he says that "the mass of the Republican party are more thought. ful, temperate, and just than they were during the excitement which attended the progress and close of the civil war." Thoughtfulness, temperance, and the spirit of justice are not the qualities which lead to success in warlike operations; energy, decision, promptness of action are required to conduct a campaign, or a government which controls those who conduct campaigns. It may be "temperate" to call murderers "my friends," and "thought-GARDNER & FLEMING tul" to argue concerning the points of a draft, while the bloody hands of Rebels are at the throat of the nation; but such temperance and such thoughtfulness will never conquer a such thoughtuiness will never conquer a peace. The Republican party is more "thoughtful, temperate, and just" in time of peace than in time of war, because such qualities are necessary to gain the victories of peace. This admission by Seymour over-throws all the sophisms which usher it in. Mr. Seymour devotes no little space to the attempt to destroy the effect of General Grant's simple words :- "Let us have peace." complains that there is no peace at the South; but why not ? Because his supporters are not MERBICK & SONS' willing to accept the inevitable and use their influence to "check extreme measures." Every sensible man knows that if Seymour's statement were true that the "chiefs of the late Rebellion have submitted to the result of the war, and are now quietly engaged in useful pursuits for the support of themselves and their families, and are trying, by the force of their example, to lead back the people of the South to the order and industry not only essential to their well-being, but to the greatness and prosperity of our community," there would be peace in the South. Some of the "chiefs," to their honor be it said, are so doing; but many and those the most applauded by the supporters of Seymour are doing all For Cotton or Woollen annufacturers. [7 10mwf 1y PENN STEAM ENGINE AND BOILER WORKS.-NEAFIE & LEVY NACHINISTE, BOILER-WORKS.-NEAFIE & LEVY NACHINISTE, BOILER-MAKERS, BLACK SMITHS, and FOUNDERS, having for many years been in successful operation, and been exclusively ingaged is building and repairing Marine and River Engines, high and low-pressure. Iron Boilers, Water Tanks, Fropelers, etc., cespecifully offer their arvices to the public as being fully prepared to con-tract for engines of all sizes, Marine, River, and Stateonary; having sets of pattern-miking made at the bortest noice. High and Low-pressure Fine Tubular and Cylinder Boilers, of all sizes and kinds hortest noice. High and Low-pressure Fine Tubular and Cylinder Boilers, of all descriptions. Roll tractarcoal irou. Forgings of all sizes and kinds how and Brass Castings of all descriptions. Roll ture bove business. The subgeribers have ample wharf-dock room for they can to provoke another civil war, and they shout for Blair because he promises it. Let Hampton and the rest sheathe their swords and give guarantees for good behavior, and the loyalists can have peace.



The President and the Troubles in the South.

From the N. Y. Times. We trust that the Associated Press despatch correctly indicates the purpose of the President in regard to the application of the Louisiana Executive. The Government will not err in considering the situation "one of delicacy, and requiring great discretion," and it will acquit itself creditably if it "use its powers and perform its duties under the Constitution and the laws to repress disorder with promptness and vigor." The requirements will not be met, however, if-as another correspondent states-the matter be referred to the Secretary of War with instructions to issue a general circular for the information and guidance of the Southern Governors. A circular will do no harm, perhaps, but a grave responsibility will be incurred if some more potent action be not at once taken in the case of Lonistana.

The subject is invested with peculiar importance in consequence of the significance attached by the Southern opposition to recent declarations of the President. The form of his references to the new Legislatures and officials, and the broad ground he has assumed against their legality and validity, coupled with his endorsements of the claims of functionaries set aside by Congress, more than excuse the conjectures of the Southern extremists. They are justified by Mr. Johnson's own language in contending that the new Governments cancould be the despots, would like to restore the | not look for help at his hands. If the infer-

to desire the approximation of the proper descent which and

Sheridan is the only commauder whose mismanagement culminated in blood and expired in insubordination. He wears the radical rebel riots of New Orleans in his crown, and learns now that the bursting of the bubble which his administration was leaves him one of the fussiest and smallest objects that blur the daub of reconstruction. Mower equalled his predecessor in malignity, but could not match him in pretentiousness. He consorted by choice with negroes and adventurers, and prevented a free and fair election in Louijana.

We will not follow these men into that retirement in which life is not, long enough for them to linger until their excesses can either be forgotten or repaired. They have acted their part, strutted their little hour, and they can stand aside.

It is what led to their course, and what that course teaches which ought to claim attention. What led to it proceeded in the first place rom the laws, and in the second place from the men. The laws were cruel, crude, and despotic. The men were either political courtesans, like Pope and Sickles; wooden literalists, like Meade, McDowell, and Canby; in-flated popinjays, like Ord; or impetuous, insubordinate men, like Sheridan and Mower. Bad as the laws were, they had a humane side which these men were too stupid to see or too hardened to regard. Hence the suffering of the South, and hence the reproach under which these eight generals writhe.

Their career surely teaches that military men are the last in the world to be trusted with the work of civil organization. Their genius is opposed to it. Give them power and the sequel is despotism. Their habits are the other way. Force is their weapon, force their argument, and force their justification. And yet the American people are asked to go under the rule of the same kind of a man as those who have strangled liberty and wrought horror and desolation in ten States.

Mr. Seymour's Letter. From the Chicago Tribune.

The first paragraph of the voluminous paper bearing the signature of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency is his letter of acceptance; the rest is a stump-speech against Congress, and particularly against measures which did not pass that body and propositions which were negatived.

The letter of acceptance is plain and direct. Mr. Seymour no longer declines. He is wil ling to be a candidate, willing to be placed on the platform, of which the financial part was framed by Pendleton, and the revolutionary part by Wade Hampton. Not a word does he

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