THE DAILY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1868.

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

General Rosecrans' Virginia Mission. From the N. Y. Tribune.

We have a liking for General Rosecrans. I his fortune had equalled his ability, he would now most probably be a high officer in the army. We we e glad to have him our Mexican Minister, for we felt he would do the country service. We do not feel so well satisfied with his Sulphur Springs mission. Since the valiant Don Quixotte went forth to fight the windmills, we have known of no mission more absurd. General Rosecrans means well -and if he could dictate terms of reconciliation, there would be some hope of their general acceptability. Unfortunately, we know too well the nature of the terms he will obtain from the Southern leaders. He rightly estimates the influence which Lee and his Generals would have on the Rebels of the South-but it is folly to suppose that their influence will be materially changed. Take the case of Lee. If we believed in constructive treason, or admitted the popular doctrine that rebellion should be punished by hauging, we should take General Lee as a conspicuous example. Of all the Rebels, civit and military, he was perhaps the most gifted, the most dangerous, and the most wanton. As a soldier, he carried the confidence of his chief to the camp of Rebellion, and aided in swaying Virginia into the war, without cause or provocation. Men rebelled from fauat cism, ignorance, devotion to slavery. General Lee was a Rebel from ambition.

Peace brought political and personal duties to all of us. To Robert E Lee it brought adaty of honor. He possessed great influence with the Southern Rebels. He knew how greatly he had sinned and with what magnanimity he had been protected by General Grant. We are told that when he saw the generosity of Grant to his shattered army, he was "overcome with emotion"-that he was profuse with thanks. Since that tearful day, however, he has been silent. He knew what the welfare of the South demanded-that amnesty was at hand if suffrage were giventhat the North merely wanted justice secured to the race it had freed-to throw down every barrier, and unite every interest in the harmony of a restored Union. He saw the Cobbs and Hills of the South, the men who had been warriors in peace and citizens in war, fomenting discord and bitterly assailing every plan of reconstruction. He saw these cowardly myrmidons of hatred filling the South, like many evil spirits. Like the witches in Macbeth, they have worked their charms-to a dismal-fatal end-and infected the very air with their "hell broth, boil, and bubble." Like the Centaurs in Daute's hell, their aim seems ever to drive back the race so long at their mercy into the dark river of blood. See what they have made the South ! Emigration is arrested-capital shrinks from her cities and seaports-commerce seeks less congenial but more secure climes-oredit is dead-her vast resources are neglected-there is no industry, no enterprise, no national progress, no public spirit-nothing but political chaos and social auxiety. The men whose energy would bless the South are banished, while those whose industry would make her fields to blossom as the rose are held in cruel and dreary subjection. This has come be-cause her people have listened to prophets as false as Johnson, and Toombs, and Wise, and because the men whose voices should have been commanding-men like Lee, and his generals-have been either silent or sullenly antagonistic. Lee, especially, has had the happiness of great States at his bidding, and he has chosen to remain neutral, to shrink from duty and responsibility behind the groves of his Lexington Academy. Instead of acting the part of Washington, to which he is said to aspire, he has been merely the Turveydrop-Grandison of the South. The people he led to ruin have looked for three years for leadership and action. He has merely given them deportment and phrases. Now, when an enthusiastic and not over-cautions soldier rushes into his presence and tells him that he can, and must, and shall apeak, the oracle of deportment opens his mouth. What he has said to our diplomatist we have not learned. We presume it is, in the eyes of General Rosecrans, a most important declaration, for we learn that he has visited Washington to confer with Mr. Johnson. We may have it in "an address" at any moment. According to one narrative, the General addressed Lee certain questions, in substance as follows:-

cede that inferiority, will treat them with | the Times mean to illustrate its statement by "kindness, forbearance and justice." Well, | pointing to the case of Alabama? The terms the Seutherners, Robert E Lee and the rest of of the Reconstruction law in that State were them, had the negro race in their power. They were its masters. They bought the negro aud sold him, and under the broad domain of our Republic the ownership was protected. What "forbearance," what "kindness," what "justice" was shown? Read the laws of the Southern States before the war, and find an answer in that shameful history of oppression and outrage. Education made a crime -children torn from their parents-licensed concubinage-labor stolen-the whipping-post, the cudgel, the blood-hound and the iron collarthis is what the negro received from the Southerner, and the right to do all this was contended for by Robert E. Lee upon a hundred battle fields. This was before the war. What has been done since? Have we seen any Southern movement to educate or elevate the new race? Where is the least evidence of the proposed rebel "justice" to the negro? Not only have the Southerners neglected the colored race, but they have denounced as tyranny every effort of Northern men to elevate and improve it. When we see justice proffered we

may believe it, and not before. There is something whimsical and absurd in this attempt of Lee and his colleagues to dictate to the North a policy which means the reversal of all that has been done toward reconstruction. Repeal the Fourteenth Amendment, abolish the Fouthern Governments, withdraw the army, take power from the negro, aud give "ascendency" to the rebel, aud what then ? In sixty days every loyal white man will be an exile, every loyal black man will be under laws of apprenticeship and surveilance, and we shall have twelve Southern States in the condition of Kentucky and Maryland. Will these men hesitate to use that power? Does General Rosecrans suppose that they would stop? The "compromise" he suggests, degrading as it is, and representing nothing but a prejudice, would only be the beginning of a series of agi-tations and compromises having for their object the payment of the Rebel debt and the "guarantees" for which that debt was incurred. We spurn the offer. Let Robert E. Lee show himself as patriotic and far-seeing as Longstreet, and we shall lis-ten to him. We do not mean to degrade the couthern white men, nor shall we permit the degradation of the Southern black men. Saffrage is withheld from Rebels now as a war measure, just as we built batteries and raised When they show themselves worthy armies. it will be given them, but beyond and before everything else we must have peace. Peace is the only compromise to which we will listen. This dallying with Lee, however well meant, is only an electioneering contrivance to help Seymour and Blair. General Rosecrans forgets that the questions which he has referred to General Lee were decided by a great war, and that he contributed to that decision at Stone river and Iuka. We shall listen to Lee when he shows us that he has something to say-paying him the respect due to a man who exercises, whether for good or evil, a tremendous power in this country. As for the brave "old Rosie," he is out of his depths. He is a diplomatist, but his diplomacy is wanted in Mexico. It was for Mexico, not Sulphur Springs, that he was confirmed. A stauch and well-built steamer bound for Vera Cruz will soon be coaling at Pier No. 17, East River. We advise our gallant old friend to secure a pleasant cabin in that vessel, and to leave the country as soon as possible.

Mr. Beecher's Political Consistency. From the N. Y. World.

The newspapers are giving currency to a recent letter by Mr. Beecher, which ends in a libellous fling at Governor Seymour-a libellous fling of which no clergyman should be guilty, and least of all Mr. Beecher. We copy

strictly complied with. The proposed Constitution was defeated under the law itself. Yet the people of Alabama have been saddled with a Constitution which they refused to accept, and a Legislature was assembled that could have no legitimate existence save by constitutional authority and support. Can a reconstruction juggle that is made to work in that way be called, in any sense, "a plan ?" We charged the radical party with presenting itself to the people without a definite plan. The Times points to the reconstruction scheme. And we point in turn to Alabama, in proof of our charge.

How can our contemporary, then, with such a deceitful and irregular working of reconstruction claim that its party upholds the "work performed under the law," when it is notorious, in other cases as well as that of Alabama, that it has wholly set the Reconstruction law aside ? How can it say that the whole tendency of its party's efforts "is to secure just and permanent peace," when it practices the grossest frauds and injustice in the enforcement of its own policy ? With what truth cannot it talk of the "settled principles of the (radical) party," when its action openly belies every profession of them ? The radicals have not kept any sort of faith in this matter. They have made a law, and then trampled upon it. And now they boast of having a clear and distinct "plan," and of holding "settled principles." If reconstruction is an accomplished fact, as they insist, why does it not stand alone, instead of having to be propped up with bayonets ? If disloyally is at last thoroughly put in subjection, why this fear of a powerless and disfranchised minority ?

It was only the day before its reply to the Post on this subject, that the Times asserted, in an elaborate article on the same subject, that Reconstruction "is the growth of necessity rather than the working of a premeditated plan." That is precisely what we have said, in our arraignment of the radical party. The Times adds, "we have always believed that a prompt and msgnanimous settlement of the difficulty would have been best." Then why was not such a settlement had? The Times itself supplies the answer; "that course might have been adopted but for Mr. Johnson's evident desire to keep the process of restoration in his own hands." Here is the whole secret in a phrase. It was jealousy of the President, and a determination to nurse this matter as : party measure, that has kept the Union needlessly divided for more than three years of peace, and drawn thirteen hundred millions of dollars from the pockets of the people And we shall never have restoration, if this selfish party, which has confessedly prevented it, is continued in power. It has delayed reunion, degraded the Executive office, "clipped the wings" of the Judiciary, usurped nearly all the powers of the people, and now proposes to rule everywhere by the sword. That is the only distinct "plan" with which this revolutionary faction can be fairly credited.

Unclean.

From the Petersburg (Va) Index

Even a scalawag has a vulnerable place. Achilles was open to hurt in the heel, the negro has, with all his insensibility to pain. a tender shin-and even the scalawagmoral rhinoceros as he is-has been found to have a soft spot open to the shafts of his opponents.

Where is it? That is the strangest part of all. The last feeling which one of them would be supposed to have preserved would be a sense of shame, and susceptibility to reproach. But so it is. Their greatest complaint against their former associates is a despairing cry at the odium and contempt hurled at their devoted heads-poor persecuted saints. Conpasses near them the ghostly ghoul who was a

sealawag. Know now, you triflers with your fathers' names, your brothers' honor, your kinsmen's happiness, your neighbors' safety, what a future will crown your dirty work. "Uncleanunclean" is the cry through the camp of Israel; "and the people fly when the leper comes."

The Latest Calumny. From the N. Y. Evening Post.

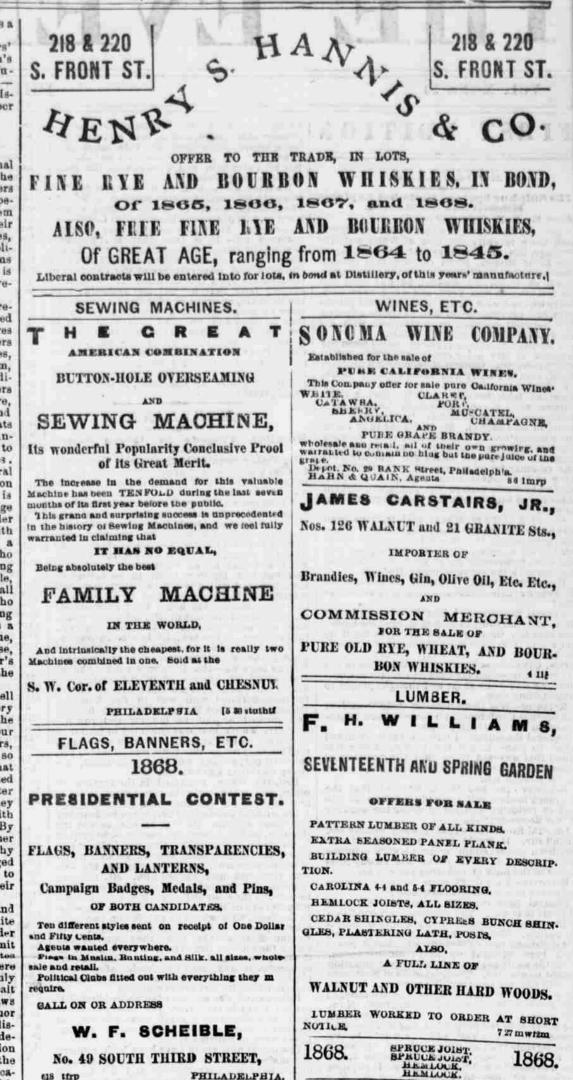
The very small work of inventing personal slanders against the foremost soldier of the republic, into which some Democratic papers seem to think they are forced by their desperate prospects, is carried on by a few of them as if they liked it; and, to all who love their country and are proud of its spiendid names, is one of the most painful features of the poli tical canvass. The World of this city seems to take the lead in this peculiar line, but is sharply followed up, and even with improvements, by many country journals.

The last device of partisan malice is to represent General Grant as cruel. It is asserted that he was regardless of the brutal tortures inflicted on our soldiers by the present leaders of the Democratic party in the Southern States. and refused to exchange prisoners with them. man for man, except on unreasonable condi tions. From this assumption the World infers that all the anguish of starvation, exposure, slow disease, and lingering death of mind and body, to which leading Senthern Democrats subjected thousands of patriot soldiers at Andersonville, Charleston and Richmond, are to be charged solely to the General of our armies If there is any one feature of General Grant's character so familiar to this nation that partisan passion cannot obscure it, it is his distinguished humanity. In every stage of his career he has been noted for that tender sympathy with suffering, which joins with valor and skill to form the triple star of a great soldier's glory! The soldiers who were rescued by his triumphs from their living graves in the Libby and at Andersonville, have told their story to the world; and all men now know that, although the men who had followed Grant, when they were lingering on the brink of death, and hoping for it as a

deliverance, might doubt of their own rescue, might even doubt of their country's cause, they never doubted of their great commander's heart. And to them might safely be left the answer to this charge. But there are other facts, equally well known, which come forward in every memory to refute the slander. We print elsewhere the account given by General Meredith, one of our commissioners for the exchange of prisoners, showing exactly why the exchanges were so much interrupted. The notorious fact is that the Rebel Government systematically subjected prisoners of war to bad treatment as a matter

of policy. By torturing the prisoners they thought to disgust their Northern friends with the war; as well as to destroy Union men. By giving them food of less quantity and meaner quality than is necessary to sustain a healthy life, they saved their own stores and prolonged their resistance. But their main object was to force us to an exchange of prisoners on their own terms.

Our soldiers were of two classes, white and black. The Rebels would exchange the white men, if they could retain the blacks to murder them. The Government refused to permit this. The Rebels claimed that the whitewere prisoners of war; but the blacks were traitors and epics. They would give up only the former, reserving the latter to be dealt with according to their own bloody laws sgainst negro revoit. Neither Mr. Lincoln nor General Grant would acknowledge this distinction; nor yield up any portion of the defenders of the Union, as out of the protection of the flag they fought ter. This was the first difficulty; and under all the complications the question afterwards assumed, this remained essentially the difficulty in exchanging.



"Whether we can hope for any permanent peace and presperity under the present Congressional plan of reconstruction, which surrenders to the control of negroes and a tew whites nearly all of the Southern States? Whether, if the whites were all enfranchised and given the control of the South they would treat the nearcos fadly the South, they would treat the negroes justly and kindly? etc. General Rosecrans requested General Lee to conter with other leading Southern Generals and civilians, and obtain their views in connection with his own."

To this General Lee made a reply, "a careful and well-digested statement," in which he was joined by General Besuregard, Mr. Stephens, and others. The burden of this is said to be as follows:-

"General Lee, in his reply, states that he be-lieves the people of the South sincerely desire peace and a restoration of the Union. He did not think it possible that the country could prosper while the control and management of the Governments of the Sates of the South re-mained in the bands of the negroes and a few whites, and the mass of the men representing her intelligence are disfrauchised. He believes her intelligence are disfranchised. He believe if the whites of the South were relieved of al If the whites of the South were releved of all political disabilities, and thereby given ascend-ency, they would if left to themselves, treat the negroes with kindness, forbearence, and jus-tice. The Southern people, in his opinion, re-gard the questions of slavery and secession as settled finally by the war, and they no disposi-tion or inclination to re-establish the one or to again try the other. It is the unanimous wish, says General Lee, of the Southern people that we shall have lasting peace. They long for it, The people of the South have the greathest inte-The people of the South have the greatest inte-rest in having a good and stable Gevenment that will protect them in their rights and their broperty, under which they may go to work, in at whatever thay may a cumulate by their labor may be secure for themselves and their children."

-In the first place, by what right has the white man in the South te demand a political "ascendency?" If the white men of the South are superior to the negroes, they need no law to make it manifest. The superior races will always control the inferior. To ask for a legal status is to confess weakness. In the North, we have hundreds of thousands of strangers coming to us; peasants from Ireland, seris from Russia, Germans, and Welsh and English. They know less about onr country than the negro, for they are aliens; while he has lived here for generations. They are strangers to our laws, our customs, and language. Yet we ask no protection from these myrinds of foreigners. Nor do we promise to treat them with "forbearance." We give them an opportunity, and they must do the best they can afterwards. So long as a man is neither a felon, nor an incapable, he has the right to a voice in the elections. We are willing to trust the negro, and the rule we impose upon ourselves we do not hesi.ate to apply to General Lee.

But we are told these negroes are an inferior race, and that the Southerners, if we only con-

the closing paragraph of his letter:-

"Since all the men who sought to destroy this Government are rallying around Seymour, it is fit that all the men who stood up for the Union should gather about Grant. It is an honor that will not happen twice in a man's lifetime to have a chance to vote for such a man as Grant. No young man can well afferd to throw away his chauce. Even if done, it ought to be in favor of some better man than he, who through all the years from 1560 to 1868, studied how to help Southern treason without incurring the risks and pains of overt and courageous trea-I am very truly yours, "HENRY WARD BEECHER." sonable acts.

7 his is the same Mr. Beecher who, two years ago, poured scorn upon the policy which he has since supported, which General Grant supports, and which Governor Seymour has steadily opposed. Mr. Beecher was bullied ont of the good sense and manly sentiments he then expressed by a rebellious commotion in the Plymouth Church. Is it quite becoming in a minister of the gospel who skulked out of a position he had deliberately taken for fear of losing his salary-is it quite in accordance either with decorum or a proper sense of his own personal infirmities for such a man to wantonly accuse Governor Seymour of disguising his sentiments from apprehension of consequences ? What he falsely accuses Governor Seymour of doing, Mr. Beecher has himself done in a manner as conspicuous as it was

pitiful and humiliating. Two years ago a Convention of Soldiers and Sailors was called to meet at Cleveland, in support of the reconstruction policy of President Johnson. A committee, consisting of the late General Halpine, General Slocum, and General Gordon Granger, sent to Mr. Beecher, then in his rural retreat at Peekskill, an invitation to attend the Cleveland Convention and act as its chaptain. Mr. Beecher replied in a letter of great eloquence and vigor, declining the invitation, but indorsing the objects of the proposed convention, and arguing with admirable force of logic in support of President Johnson's policy of reconstruction. Nothing of equal power has ever proceeded from Mr. Beecher's pen. All the Democratio papers printed and commended the letter.

The Tribune whined and stabbed him under the fifth rib. "There is a sadness," it said, in many hearts where the eloquent pastor of Plymouth Church has been loved and honored -a mournful consciousness that they have trusted too confidingly and loved unwisely." The Tribune went on to tell Mr. Beecher that there were many faithful clergymen who would sooner die than change places with him. Mr. Beecher paid no attention to this; it did not touch his enormous salary. But when, soon after, he found Plymouth Church in a storm, raging with wild denunciation of its renegade pastor, he wilted and succambed. And this man has the face to appear in print and ac-cuse a firmer and more intrepid man of disguising his opinions for fear of personal consequences.

Governor Seymour needs no defense against such an accusation coming from any sourcecertainly none when it comes from such a source.

A Radical Plan.

From the Boston Post.

We have the assurance of the New York Times that the radical party has a distinct plan of reconstruction, because "what the party advocates in the North it upholds in the South." That is not so much to the point as it would be to tell us whether the demands of Congress to-day may not be changed tomorrow. The South itself has mainly com-

science does not sleep-tortured, unhappy conscience-not even in the bosom of a scalawag, but there, guilty and self-accusing, it uplifts deprecatory hands, and with hasty speech turns under the brands which honor and decency ap-

ply to their repudiators. "They do not care." Oh no! They are proud of the scornful glance with which honest men return their timid, half doubtful advances. They revel in martyrdom -so they say; but somehow they never speak, nor write letters for the public, but there comes to the surface the quick writhing of the worm under the foot of outraged society.

Do they deserve this heavy punishment or not? Is it really as outlaws and Ishmaels that they stand in relation to our homes and institutions, or is their claim admissible. when they protest to be persecuted for "mere difference of political opinion ?" We think that the instinct of the people has judged aright.

Were their fall only moral suicide, they might be visited with only that loathing contempt which has all the qualities of pity-bat they have tallen like Lucifer, bearing to their lower regions an infernal hate of all that is better than themselves or brighter than their lot; they have become in descent, not only negative blemishes, but positive enemies of their kind. They trade, with the lowest passions of their besotted souls as currency, for our highest hopes and most sacred possessions they war with relentless fury and with terri ble means upon all that divides a higher life from their own miserable degradation-not to build up hell, but to pull down heaven.

And what should be meted out to these evellers in every pit of moral filth, but undisturbed enjoyment of the wallow which their instincts suggested. They prefer riding our land to ruin to marching with it towards a long destiny of peaceful freedom-they choose to rule the poor negro rather than be the equal of the white man-they incline to a mess of pottage, and refuse their birthright-they pawn their souls to the devils of lust and petty ambition, rather than earn an honest living by sturdy blows; then let them lie in the pit with the idols unto which they have joined themselves; let them glut their fill with the husks of the stranger's service; as they have made their beds, so let them lie in them

The man who would do these things is not worthy the sound of a cordial voice, nor the touch of a maiden's hand-he is foul, debased unscrupulous, godless, beastly. He is trying with might and main to rob us of our liberties, our security of person, our property, our social peace, our household happiness-if he succeeds we are without hope-it he fails the brand of Cain should be put upon his murd-rous brow, and the finger of scorn should follow him as a shadow unto death.

Boldly he avows that if he can subject us to the supremacy of illiterate hordes of blacks, or worse, to that of himself and his carpet-bag associates, he will do it. Then if he does not we should not need be told the treatment due the violator thwarted in his brutal purpose, the assassin foiled in his cowardly blow, the incendiary stayed with his stealthy torch. Forget! Never while the sun shines on the country saved from such a fate. Forgive ! Never while one true impulse of manly love of right, and hate of wrong, animates one bosom in Virginia.

Dig a social grave for their putrid carcasses so deep that the earthquakes of ten centuries would not disturb their cursed bones; and plained of this so called "plan" of radicalism, while they live let the children huddle toge-because it could not rely on its terms. Does ther and the women shrink in horror, as

Suppose it to be true, as some of the leading Democrats who were then prominent in torturing our soldiers now claim, that towards the close of the war they were eager to waive that point for a time and to exchange all prisoners, man for man, who does it show? Merely that the situation had changed, so that they clearly saw that if an exchange could be effected they could prolong the war, but that without it they must speedily fail. The rebel armies were now in a state of

siege. Fighting behind vast fortifications. which could easily be defended against triple numbers, their great want was men. The grand strategy of General Grant and the he-roic fighting of his armies had so reduced the rebel forces that they could no longer effectively man their intrenchments. Under these circumstances, one able soldier being worth to the besieged as much as, three to the assailants, they were willing to give man for man. They were willing to carry forward to the front the faint and dying victims of their torture houses, and exchange them for as many stalwart, well-fed rebel prisoners. Under all the pressure of the thousands who could not understand why their friends should not be delivered at any cost, our Government took the

responsibility of refusing. If this decision was made by General Grant, it is one for which the country will honor him for ever. It was a far-sighted humanity, a higher charity than a pitiful sentimentalism can understand; but a rugged and a noble charity, which saved the lives of scores of thousands. It cut short the war. It defied the misrepresentations of enemies on both sides of the camp, and assumed the responsibility of leaving our innocent friends to suffer a short time in Rebel prisons, in order that the nation might be saved. Had Grant been weak enough to yield at that time, and yet strong enough to induce the whole administration to yield with him, the great day of Appoination Court House might have been delayed a year, or forever.

But the assurance with which the murderers of our soldiers now charge their own crimes upon General Grant, on the pretense that he might have rescued his friends from their hands a little sooner, is surely without a parallel. That Robert Ould, Confederate agent for the exchange of prisoners, should now be summoned as a witness against the humanity of the Union leader, is something at which one knows not whether to laugh or to be indignant. But no laughter can do justice to its absurdity; no indignation to its infinite meanpess. The southern leaders of the Pemporatio party will do well, as speedily as possible, to turn their attention, and, if they can, the attention of the nation, to something else than the inhuman torments they inflicted on brave and honorable foes during the war; for there is something in the memory of these things that wakes the old spirit of 1861 and 1865, and gives to the political canvass much more of the aspect of the late war, in its character and in its probable cloze, than can well be agreeable to themselves.

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