# THE DALLY EVENING TELEGRAPH-PHILADELPHIA, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1868.

### SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERT DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

#### Virtuous Indignation. From the Nashville Union

The New York World of Monday gives a back-handed slap after a fashion that should make radical ears tingle. It says:-"The Post is in great distress because of an alleged exclusion of radicals from the inspectorships of elec-tion in Brooklyn. 'Honorable Democrats,' it Bays, 'must shrink from serving as inspectors when Republicans are excluded.' '' Turning this about, it must appear that honorable Republicans must shrink from serving as inspectors when Democrats are excluded, in which case there must have been an immense amount of shrinking for the past three years in Tennessee and Missouri, seeing that in both of those States no Democrat is by any possibility allowed to be inspector at all, and is happy if he may even be permitted to vote. If the fact be in Brooklyn as stated by the Post, it does not in any way appear that such fact is contrary to law, nor is it even to be conceived for a moment that any radical is to be deprived of his vote. How different in the large States to what is here charged by the Post in a single city! The flat of the Registrar in Missouri is absolute. He passes this man and rejects that, allows radical Roe to vote and disfranchises Democratic Dos, and from these decisions there is no appeal. In Tennessee it is, if possible, even worse, since, in case some lucky Democrat should slip the trooly loil subaltern, there is that sour old rogue Brownlow, with full power not only to appoint and remove Registrars, but to revise, alter, amend, or annul at good pleasure the voting lists. When the Post, therefore, flies in such a fury over unproven municipal regulations, let it recall the enormous villainies that, in the name of equal rights and all the rest of it, are perpetrated in Tennessee and Missouri. "Use lenity, sweet shuck."

#### Free Discussion in the South. From the N. Y. Evening Post.

We continue to look in the Democratic jourmals of the Northern States for some signs of disapproval of the intolerance of their political allies in the Southern States; but so far we have looked in vain. This is the more strange, as it ought to be plain to them that the unrestrained exercise of the propensity to murder Republicans does not really strengthen the Democratic party.

It should seem that, both as patriotic citizens and as shrewd politicians, the Northern Democratic leaders would urge their Southern friends to stop murdering and driving out Republicans. But we hear of not a word of remonstrance. In the beginning of the canvass, when the Democrats here had some hopes of success, they wrote hastily to Southern men, beseeching them to stop their impradent speeches; and this warning was at once obeyed by Hampton, Toombs, Cobb, Hill, and the rest of the Southern Democratic speakers. The greater number of them are silent; those who continue to address the people use cauzious language.

But, being told that it was imprudent to speak, the Southern Democrats at once began to act. That is to say, they began to carry out in proscription and murder the advice given them by their leaders before these be-came silent. At Camilla, a Republican meet-Ing was dispersed with arms, and a consider-able part of its members killed. At Lumpkin, in Georgia, armed men prevented the assembling of a Republican meeting. The Covington (Georgia) Express reports that "two carpetbag school-teachers, Lee and Hammond," having "received a gentle admonition that their valuable services might possibly be more appreciated in some other latitude, took an affectionate adieu of their associates, and on Monday last turned their faces toward Mason and Dixon's line." James Martin, a Republican member of the South Carolina Legislature, was shot a few days ago, while riding home; and leaves a widow and six orphan children. In a letter which we printed on Tuesday, Dr. Blonnt, of Stewart county, Georgia, related:-"On the 4th and 10th of September attempts "On the 4th and 10th of September attempts of the most murderous cha.acter were made to mob me; but by one of those interpositions of Divine Providence my life was spared from a mob of Ku Klux Democrats. Subsequently two attempts were made to assassinate me in my room, and on the night of the 27th ultimo my life was only saved by my wife and little daughter clinging to me. I was forced to leave my home on the night of the 29th ultimo to save my life. I had been notified by the mobs and those whe had attempted to assassinate me, that I should not live if I remained in the pounty after the 3d instant." On all this the Democratic leaders are silent. Why? A few words from them would put a stop to these crimes. A few words of decisive, earnest reprooch from Northern Democrats would probably make a Republican's life tolerably safe in the Southern States. Why are the Democratic leaders and journals silent? Mr. Adams, to be sure, goes to Columbia and entreats his hearers to "have patience;" but that is scarcely the effective phrase to use. We still hope to see the Democratic journals and leaders denounce the violence of their Southern allies, and use their influence to stop It. If they have so entirely given up the election that they are not impelled to give good counsel from motives of prudence, it remains their duty, as good citizens, to use whatever influence they may have to keep the peace. New York City Republicans. From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser. The Republican politicians who run the machines in this city take more interest in nominating candidates for office, for whom there is not a ghost of a chance of election, than they do about keeping fraudulent votes out of the ballot-box and reducing Democratic majorities. Tuesday night, both organizations, instead of giving their whole attention to this matter, were engaged in disgraceful squabbling about nominations. It will be no fault of these men if the Democrats have ninety thousand majority in this city. They have permitted the most outrageous frauds in the issuing of maturalization papers that ever were perpetrated. They have not taken the first step to prevent the shameless conspiracies to defraud the honest voters of New York. Most of these men are a fraud upon the Republican party, as they connive with the Democracy to carry out their schemes of corruption. The Republican organization of the city is rotten and imbecile. They hold meetings, spont stale twaddle, drink villainous whicky, brag and swagger about who is going to represent their district in the next convention, and who is to have control of the spoils. They met last night at Cooper Institute to gabble and glorify over the election returns from Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. This glorifying is all right, provided these men could be induced to do something practical, and effect something like perfect organization in their wards and districts -something to keep down the Democratio majorities-something to build up the party; but they do nothing of the kind. Not until Tuesday evening was the first step taken to arrange for the appointment of committees to Democrats voted against it; but we do not attend on the registration to-day and to-mor- know that it was ever contended that they

is in from the inefficiency, imbecility, selfishness, and corruptibility of the ward and district engineers of the party. They spend four or five hundred dollars for a political gathering at Cooper Institute, to wake up sleepy Republicans and to convert a dozen or less of moderate Democrats. The same amount of time and money spent in ward organizations would keep five hundred bogus Democratic votes out of the ballot-box, and enlist the active and intelligent young men of the ward into service that would carry ten Republican votes to the polls where only one is brought by small beer orators, brass bands, and Roman candles. Our Republican city politicians as a general thing are but one re-

move above the Mongolians, who fight their enemies with banners, tin horns, tambourines, and wind instruments. Because of the inefficiency of these organizations our friends in the country need not despair that the Democrats are going to roll up a majority of sixty thousand in the city. They will do nothing of the kind, because they will not be permitted to carry out their contemplated frauds.

The Sweep of the Great Spanish Revolution.

From the N. Y. Times.

We trust the Spanish Junta now controlling the revolution will be justified in their assurance of popular support for the very radical course they are pursuing.

The extraordinary series of steps taken within the last few days have been followed by another. The Junta have seized the property of the Jesuits and abolished the Order. and have also taken ground in favor of the suppression of all religious corporations.

We most assuredly uphold and approve these steps, as well as all the steps previously taken, with perhaps a single exception. But we can hardly get rid of a doubt that the Spanish people are prepared to support the Junta in carrying out a policy so sweeping as that which has been adopted.

We know the value of audacity and radicalism in a revolutionary crisis such as now exists in Spain. We know the dangers of timidity and imbecility. We also know the falsity of the maxim that "revolutions never go backward." And we know that if the revolution is not supported by the sentiment of the people it will end in its own rain.

The principal stronghold of the Jesuits has been Spain. Originating with the Spaniard Loyola three centuries ago, that subtle Order have managed, amid all their adversities and changes of fortune, to maintain a powerful hold over the Spanish mind. To them Spain owes, in great part, her despotism, her ecclesiastical bigotry, and her mental prostration. Their extirpation was necessary to the regeneration of the country. Neither civil freedom nor religious liberty was possible while their power remained. In peremptorily abolishing them, Spain but follows a course that has been taken by nearly every Catholic Government of Europe, and she has plenty of precedents for the confiscation of their property. In re-gard, also, to the measures for the extinction of the religious corporations, which monopolize a large portion of the property of Spain, the Junta have done little more than has lately been done by the Italian Government.

In undertaking, on quick notice, the regu-lation of all the affairs and all the relations of Spain, the Junta, we apprehend, may find that they have gone further than is permissible for a Provisional Government. They have not only proclaimed civil and religious liberty, the freedom of the press, and universal suf-frage, but they have meddled with internal taxation and diplomatic business. They have peremptorily settled the long outstanding Tornado difficulty with England by delivering up the ship and paying damages. They have taken up the tariff and ordered a serious reduction of import duties. They have abolished internal taxes on domestic and foreign goods. They have negotiated a loan. They have undertaken the regulation of colonial matters. And, in fact, they appear to have applied the revolution to all the principles, interests, and economies of the Government. There was an item Wednesday morning, among others of greater interest, that the provinces of Barcelona and Valencia have hesitated in their recognition of the Junta. We trust this does not signalize the beginning of a reaction that will imperil the great gains which have been so suddenly effected.

row. We have felt called on to speak thus | had not as perfect a right to vote against it as plain, that our Republican friends in the city | for it. Up to this point, then, the Demo-may realize the condition and danger the party | oratic party did not pass the limits of constitutional opposition.

Next came the Reconstruction acts and military domination in the South. These were abundantly denounced by Democratic speakers and journalists; but freedom of speech and the press being a clear constitutional right, such denunciation gives no color to the Times' charge. In the progress of affairs attempts were made, with the approval of the whole Democratic party, to bring the Reconstruction acts to the test of a judicial decision; but Congress, by an unscrupulous exercise of power, interfered to shut the door against this peaceful and constitutional method of redress. This brings forward the history to an advanced period of the last session of Congress, up to which time the opposition of the Demogratic party, though often impugued on other grounds, was never charged with proceeding by irregular or revolutionary methods.

We next proceed to consider the action of the Democratic National Convention. Access to the Supreme Court having been debarred us by Congress, the Convention decided to submit the question to the people, as a main issue in the Presidential election. The people of the United States are asked by the Demooratic party to pronounce the reconstruction "unconstitutional, revolutionary, and acta void." Such an issue may be just as legitimately presented as any other. The veto power having been annihilated by the unconstitutional exclusion of members of Congress whose votes would have made it effectual, and the Supreme Court having been forbidden to entertain the question, nothing could be more in order than an appeal to that ultimate tribunal, the sovereign people. If they give their verdict that the reconstruction acts are unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void, they will thereby merely exercise their right to review and pass judgment upon the action of their government. If they do not possess this right, popular elections are a solemn farce and the pretense of republican government an absurdity.

The only remaining question relates to the means by which the judgment of the people shall be executed if they decide against the Congressional method of reconstruction. Does'the Democratic party, in case of success, propose to nullify any existing laws? In respect to the seven "reconstructed" States the acts have expired by their own limitation. They have no longer any binding force, even if they could be supposed to have been originally valid. They do not require to be repealed by Congress nor set asde by the Supreme Court, for in respect to those seven States they are no longer laws. In the three States in which they are still operative, they are legitimate subjects for application to the judiciary; and the Supreme Court, with the moral support of a majority of the people, would be no longer cowed into a surrender of its independence. The acts would be declared woid by an authority constitutionally competent to make that decision, and those three States would be released from military oppression. This will have been accomplished before the inauguration of the Democratic President.

Next will come the question of the stability of the reconstructed governments in the present form. The decision of the people and of the Supreme Court that the laws under which they were organized were unconstitutional will have a great moral effect, and probably paralyze all opposition to such changes as the States may desire to make. There will be no desire to nullify a Federal law, but only to amend the State Constitutions. The right of the people of a State to amend their existing Constitution or adopt a new one is unques-tionable. In New York, in 1846, we called a convention, and framed a new Constitution in regard of the provisions of the old one, an our highest judges, and the best legal minds in the State gave written opinions justifying such a course. In most of the "reconstructed" States the white citizens are a majority, and will have no difficulty in adopting any Constitution they may like. In these States, the bastard governments will be supplanted by methods whose regularity cannot be called in uestion. When the odious system has been thus peacefully overthrown in all the States but one or two where there are negro majorities, it will yield to moral influence and fall of itself in these. Even the Southern whites, who regard the negro governments with the strongest detestation, have made no attempts at nullification. In expelling the negroes in Georgia they merely exercised the right possessed by all American legislative bodies to judge of the qualifications of their own members. In all those States, the Democratic party is engaged in a zealous attempt to earry the elections which are to be held under the auspices and direction of the new governments. Nothing could be farther from "nullification," nothing less in the nature of revolutionary methods, than this practical recognition of the de facto governments in an attempt to use them as the instrument of their own reformation.

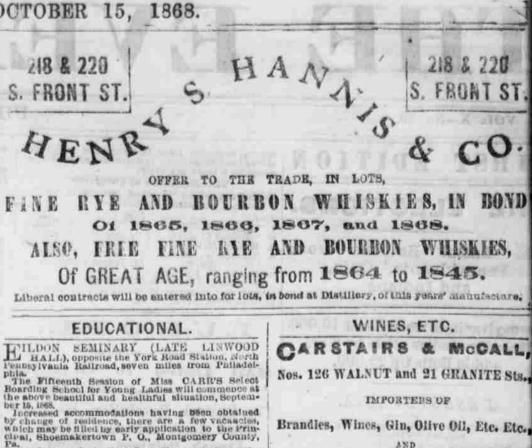
Niagara, how would you with the same weapon set it running backward! The Southern States are reconstructed on the basis of universal suffrage. Some of them are restored to the Union. More than two-thirds of Congress passed and will maintain this policy, wheever may be President. This ma ority cannot be overceme in less than four years. After the blacks have voted four years, do you hope then to disfranchise them ? mour as President, therefore, could do nothing towards a "white man's government" which Johnson has not already done, unless, as indicated by General Blair, he should use the army in defiance of Congress and its laws This would be revolution and rebellion. You tried those remedies under Jefferson Davis. Do you need to try them again to recall their effects ? Seymour, therefore, could avail you nothing whatever in the matter of reconstruction.

II. "You would like," you say, "to see taxes diminished." No tax is so disastrous as the depreciation of the currency. Yet your Democratic party proposes to convert the entire national debt into currency by paying it in greenbacks. This would reduce its value to a nominal figure or destroy it altogether, so deranging the business of the country as to bring ruin on millions of people. Your Democratic party would have a President assume the rod of a dictator, prop himself up by a standing army, and defy the laws which he is sworn to enforce. Such a course would call your sons or yourselves again into the field to fight, willing or unwilling, and would drain the country of countless millions of treasure to be destroyed in civil wars. Can you afford it ?

III. "You adhere," you say, "to the ancient principles of the Democratic party." If so, that forms the most conclusive reason why you ought not to support its present platform and candidates. The Democratic party believed anciently in a specie currency. Now, it would flood the country with irredeemable paper money. It believed anciently in free trade. Now its platform contains an insincere and hypocritical clause advocating a protective tariff, put in to catch gudgeons in Pennsylvania. It was jealous anciently of a despotic Executive, and labored to maintain the liberties of the people and the power of their representatives. Now it indorses one President for attempting to override Congress, and nominates another on his promise to repeat the effort.

The Democratic party was formerly jealous to preserve the rights of States. But if that question is in any way involved in this contest, the Democratic party is on the Federalist side of the controversy. It acknowledges the power of a President of the United States to annul and destroy ten State governments, some of which existed from the formation of the Union, and to substitute for them new governments dictated by himself, without any authority of law. What power can be more Federalistic, more subversive of State rights, or more autocratic and despotie ? It then denies the power of Congress to enable by law the whole people of these States to form State governments of their own, based on universal suffrage. What doctrine can be more flagrant Federalism or more subversive of State rights than that a President may create ten new States without consulting the representatives of the other twenty-seven, or any portion of the people ?

Finally, the Democratic party was anciently the party of universal suffrage. Noah Webster, himself a Democrat, forty years age defined a Democrat to be "one who advocates the extension of the elective franchise to all conditions of men." But the Democracy of to-day rests solely on the hobby of the exclusion of a whole race of native-born citizens of America from the franchise. What principle can inhere in a party which, abandoning State rights and popular sovereignty, sustains the most despotio usurpations by the Executive of legislative powers What in a party that abhors universal suf-frage and clings to caste? What in a party that advocates protective tariffs in Pennsylvania and free trade in Maine ? That substitutes for the will of the majority the threat of revolution ? Every Democrat who believes in the essence of time-honored Domocratic principles should vote for Grant and Colfax.



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The Democratic "Policy of Nullification." From the N. Y. World.

'Governed by South Carolina treason, the Democratic party has made General Biair its standard-bearer solely and avowedly because he urges the application of the pretension which Madison and Jackson allke repudiated as in-compatible with law and government. The secessionists have become nullifiers again, and the Copperheads are with them as heartily as

"It is not surprising that the War Democrats, so called, emphatically disclaim fellowship with a party which, under the pretence of opposing reconstruction, makes war upon the fundamental principle of government, tramples upon the Constitution as interpreted by its authors, and secuts the injunctions of Jackson, who de-clared that the Union must and shall be preserved. As now organized and managed, with nullification as its platform and a proclaimed nuillifier as its exponent, it is a party which must be put down, unless the country is pre-pared to see law subverted by the decree of a partisan Convention, and anarchy established as the result of reconstruction overthrown."-N. Y. Times.

This wild, libellous tirade is discreditable to the journal in which it appers. That the Reconstruction acts are unconstitutional is the settled belief of the Democratic party. This belief is not a factious caprice, caught up in the heat of partisanship. Moderate men of the soundest judgment and of the best trained faculties, like Judge Curtis, of-Boston, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Mr. Staubery, the late Attorney-General, and hundreds of lawyers of equal or nearly equal eminence, think the conflict of these laws with the Constitution too clear for doubt. Thaddeus Stevens himself used to scoff at the pretense that they were constitutional; and his associates in Congress shared his opinion, as appeared by the bills for preventing an adju-dication of the question by the Supreme Court. We suppose that the editor of the Times does not question the conscientious sincerity of the Democratic opinion. What he charges is, that we resort to unconstitutional means for setting laws aside.

Let this calumny be judged in the light of facts.

When the guarrel arose between the President and Congress, the Democratic party supported the President merely by its moral influence and the votes of its few members of Congress. The President's own method of conducting his side of the controversy was chiefly by argumentative vetoes, which, whatever may have been their merit as argaments, were explicitly authorized by the Constitution. In that stage of the controversy, therefore, neither the President - nor the Democratic party was open to the charge of "nullification.

The next phase in the progress of this great quarrel was the offer by Congress of the socalled fourteenth amendment. This encountered no veto because it was not presented to the President for his signature. In the State Legislatures to which it was submitted

This plain recital of facts suffices to demonstrate that the Times' talk about nullification is a mess of libellous twaddle.

#### An Appeal to Democrats. From the N. Y. Tribune.

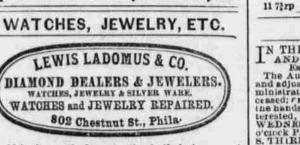
To that class of Democrats who make sham

Democracy pay a dividend we make no appeal. We can argue against doubts, but not against dollars. But to those who vote the Democratic ticket from some intended reverence for the former principles of the Democratic party; to those who have come to believe that the Democratic jarty is truly conservative; to those who have the notion that some feature of its financial policy would be favorable to taxpayers-to any who, from honest motives, design to vote for Seymour, we put the direct question :- Can you yourself afford to have Seymour elected ?

I. "You are opposed," you say, "to the oppress plan of reconstruction." Very well. Congress plan of reconstruction." What could Seymour do about it if he were President? You had a Democratic President and Cabinet in office during the whole contest which resulted in the abandenment of reconstruction on the Democratic or white basis only, and the substitution of the Republican plan of universal or negro suffrage. If we had had the aid of a Republican President for the adoption of this policy, there might be some hope that you, by the aid of a Democratic President, might overthrow it. But Andrew Johnson fought this policy from the outset, tooth and nail, inch by inch, with an ability at least equal to Mr. Seymour's, and a coursge far greater. He entered into the fight with a majority in both houses of Congress, and of the people, on his side. He tried his policy-fully, uninterruptedly, with despotic completeness. He did all that Seymour could have done, had he been in office then, and a hundred times more than Seymour could do now, or after the 4th of March next. He fought the Republican polloy until he was shorn of his usual powers, and at last escaped by barely one vote from losing his office altogether. Yet his opposition pratically availed nothing, and he was finally obliged to execute the laws he had opposed, and to be himself an agent in carrying out the Republican plan of reconstruction. What, with a Democratic President in office, you could not prevent, how would you by the aid of another Demo-cratic President reverse and undo? If with your bullrush you could not check

Repudiation. From the N. Y. World.

Senator Morgan tells us that paying bonds in lawful money which the Government did not agree to pay in gold is repudiation. Senator Morgan's party and the Senator himself enact that greenbacks are a legal tender for all debts public and private. The Senator's own firm refused to pay in gold freight due under a charter-party which they agreed in the charter-party itself to pay in gold, and when sued for the difference defended it successfully. If Mr. Fendleton is a repudiator the Legal-tender act made him such. But even he admits the duty of the Government to pay in gold when it has agreed so to do. Mr. Morgan should read the arguments of his own counsel and the opinion of the court in the case referred to. It was decided by the Superior Court of this city within two years.



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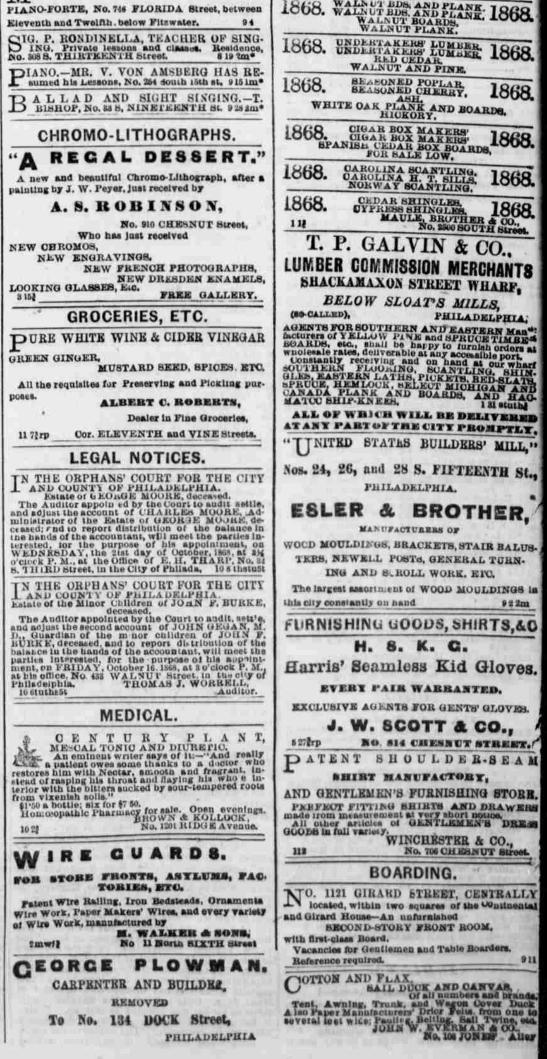
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