The New Departure-What Republicanism Must Do.

From the N. Y. Tribune. It is amusing to contrast the excitement of Washington politicians with the patience of the people. The city of Washington is an odd ce. It is a city without any of the elements of a city; without manufactures and without commerce. It has a thin straggling line of railway connections. It is something between a caravansary and an almshouse. People go there to live to serve the Government, and many of them remain to be served by the Govvernment. The atmosphere of Washington is fortid compared with that of the country. Every other man lives upon the public treasury, and so all eyes are directed towards the public treasury. There is no place on this globe where power is more absolutely respected. When President Johnson lost the confidence of the country to such a degree that he could hardly receive the proper re-spect in the West, Washington embraced him and honored him, and formed itself into departmental clubs for his glory. This affection existed until it was duly aunounced that General Grant was the elected President of the United States

Now, in this busy city of Washington politicians are clamoring about the new Cabinet; unappreciated statesman are in agony because they are not "recognized;" men who have succeeded in reaching office by controlling canouses and conventions are mosning because they have not been "sent for." All former precedents are overlooked. General Grant does not appreciate the prodigious statesmanship seething around the Capitol, and disconsolately floating up and down Pennsylvania avenue. The eager, clattering politicians (and because everybody in Washington is a pelitician, everybody is clattering), leaving the country behind them as the least concern of their troubles, forget that the men who sow, and reap, and plough, do not care the value of a turnip about their griefs! The country feels that this whole Cabinet discussion is artificial and unnecessary. A Cabinet is simply what the President chooses to make it. Its members are the creatures of his will-the ministers of his power. They do as he commands with the Treasury, with the Army, with the Navy, with the Post Office. It they do not please him he can dismiss them in an hour, and put new men in their places. If he wants advice they will give it. With him is the responsibility, whether they advise or not. In limited monarchies the Cabinet is the responsible government of the Crown. If its members act unwisely they forfeit their office; but under our Government, Cabinet Ministers may be as mischievous and subservient as even those of Mr. Johnson, and no power can reach them. They are the irresponsible ministers of a responsible officer. All that the country asks from that officer is the execution of the laws.

This simple proposition is travestied into an assertion that General Grant is to intro-duce the discipline of West Point into his administration, and that hereafter all the exeoutive duties are to be "by command of the President." We are informed that General Grant is nothing but a military man; that he will be controlled by his military instincts; that he will probably have a "dress parade," and "taps," and "reveille," and "mount guard" around the White House; that he will insist npon reviewing Congress two or three times a week, and if ever the legislative body becomes as unmanageable as it was under Mr. Johnson he will send his veto messages by a squadron of cavalry. This is mere badinage! General Grant is as thoroughly a citizen to-day, as perfectly civilian in his habits, as any man in the country. We can think of no one in public station who represents more fully the idea of the American gentleman. Unostentatious, unassuming, brave; without ambition, forbearing, resolute in doing what he deems to be right, but never offensive in asserting himself, General Grant is a man of the people; one in heart and feeling with the men who dig and plough and weave. He is the "Gene-ral of the Army," to be sure; but what was that army? Not the mere fringe of the regular officers and soldiers, who numbered, say, at most, 25,000! The army was the people. The millions who carried muskets in defense of the country are the men whose labor now gives the nation strength and prosperity. They had no better representative than General Grant as a soldier. We shall be mistaken if they are not satisfied with him as a civilian. For ourselves, we contemplate serenely the

advent of an administration that will be inde pendent of politics so far as mere politicians are concerned. We have seen so much of the "caucus," the "delegation" business, the "making of public opinion," the aggressive, eager rushing of incompetent men demanding in an imperious manner to be conciliated and honored, that the change will be for the best. General Grant can find no better model than General Washington. All we can expect from him is that he will not take into his counsels men who have been disloyal to the war, or untrue to the principles of the Republican party. To entertain any other suggestion would be to doubt his honor. Beyond that we care nothing. The country will be abundantly satisfied with the Cabinet if the work of the Government is well performed. We beg General Grant not to mistake the din, and clatter, and bustle of the Capitol for public opinion. Public opinion is quite content. It certainly does not intend to judge General Grant's administration before he begins it. . It will be quite reconciled to see the "unappreciated statesmen" earning their livelihood by hard, bodily labor, and the ten thousand anxious "Leaders of The Party" obtaining "recognition" by the sweat of their brows. The Republican party needs its best men in the advance. It has passed through the struggle of a mighty war. It has seen the overthrow of slavery. It has sustained freedom in spite of the treachery of the outgoing President. It has outlived corruption and shame in its own counsels. It has seen one great and trusted leader carry to the opposition all the weight that came from his splendid intellect and his great name. The issues that have thus far welded it together are dead. It is a triumphant army bivouacking upon a well-fought field, with nothing more to conquer. It has saved the nation-now it must purify the Government of the nation.

And now we begin the new administration, trusting that, so far as Republicanism is concerned, good men and strong men will be placed in position; that the tainted campfollowers of the Johnson army will be dismissed from their positions, and that General Grant will rest upon a regenerated and mighty organization. The Republican party must show itself worthy of its triumphs, its destinies, and its fame!

Social Science. From the N. Y. World.

The American Social Science Association announces a two days' session at Albany,

held quarterly in different cities, and the meeting at Albany may be for the purpose of pressing certain subjects upon the attention of the Legislature. In addition to the openirg address by John Meredith Read, chairman, papers are to be read by the following persons:—On "University Education," by Goldwin Smith, who cannot possibly know Goldwin Smith, who cannot possibly know less on that subject than he does about many other matters upon which he frequently and publicly discourses; on "Model Lodging Houses," by Charles L. Brace, who has been doing for many years the London Brother Mayhew business in this city, and who has a practical knowledge of the wants and woes of the poorer classes; on "Higher Education," by Dr. Eliot; on "Protection of the Ballot," by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., a subject which will specially interest the memmers of the Loyal League in this city; on the mers of the Loyal Lasgue in this city; on the "Supervision of Public Charities," by F. B. Sanborn. Besides these, John Stanton Gould will make an oral statement concerning the work of the cattle commission, and Horace Greeley is to make an address on a subject not announced, nor is it a matter of moment, since Mr. Greeley is a benevolent "Bavard" who is ready to talk at any time upon any topic, anywhere and before anybody. to be feared that the most of the subjects to be treated by the association at its coming meeting are a little beyond popular compre-hension at present. Yet this matter of Social Science is of the highest interest to all classes of people, and the objects aimed at by the association are most commentable. These objects embrace the discussion of all that concerns every relation in social life: hygienic reforms, the treatment of oriminals. relation of the sexes, how to live best for the least money and with the least work, and generally how to improve our social condition. All these things are really of more vital interest than most of the political issues of the day, and as such they commend themselves to the public everywhere. There is no reason why local social science associations, or at least committees, should not be formed in every city in the country, to present and discuss local topics and to cooperate with the central association. The wider and freer the discussion of the topics, the more speedy, practical,

Our Commerce and the Confederates. From the N. Y. World,

and general will be the results.

Have we not had almost enough of the awful ruin inflicted upon us by the "Confederate cruisers" and their ontfitters, the British aiders and abettors of armed rebellion against the best Government the world ever saw? The potency perpotually attributed to these marine monsters by journals like the Tribune is a perpetual insult offered to the navy of the United States. Undoubtedly, the Alabama, the Shenandoah, and the three or four Southern vessels which contrived, in one way or another, to get to sea and keep there during a longer or shorter period of the war, did inflict considerable injury upon our commerce. Undoubtedly the "Britishers," who helped the Southern adventurers to get and keep these vessels afloat, proved themselves, as Dogberry says of the knaves who would not stand in the Prince's name, "to be no true men." But when the Tribune, in this year of grace 1869, keeps on entreating its fly-gobbling readers to believe that "the decline in "our foreign tonnage is whelly the work of "Laird, Semmes, Mafiet & Co.," we respectfully protest, in the name of rational journalism, that it is time, nautically speaking, "to belay."

To believe such a monstrous proposition is to believe that the United States cruisers were as inefficient as they were numerous, and that our merchants would have kept on sending their ships to sea, though they had nothing to send therein and merely out of a patriotic devotion to the flag, had they not been frightened into common sense by a scurvy half-dozen more or less formidable privateers wandering vaguely over the ocean in the commission of an hermetically

blockaded and unrecognized government!

The war and the blockade cut down at one blow, almost to insignificance, the most important exports of the United States. It locked up the cotton and tobacco crops, and in so doing naturally arrested the return movement of our importations from abroad. Hardly had these inevitable effects of the war begun to make themselves felt, when the radicals in Congress, finding their opportunity in their country's extremity, set to work tinkering the tariff in such a fashion as would of itself have sufficed, without any war at all, to cut down our commerce far below its just proportions to the commerce of other countries less richly endowed than our own, per-

haps, but more wisely administered.

All the Confederate cruisers put together never drove one-fourth as many American ships from the Atlantic as were thrown out of all profitable use to their owners by a single Vermont Senator or a single Massachusetts Congressman.

How to Settle the Alabama Claims. From the N. Y. Herald.

The United States cannot be responsible for British insanity. The fact that Earl Russell said that the escape of the Alabama from England was "due to the insanity of the law officer of the Crown" has nothing to do with the case. It may be a plea for us to show mercy in our demands, and make them as light as possible under the circumstances. There should have been an addition to the expression of opinion of Earl Russell. He should have stated that the insane law officer was the best representative of England that could be possibly found during our civil war troubles. That officer represented lord, merchant, bootblack. He was the exponent of English sympathy for the great republic, and of English neutrality whenever an ocean port was found large enough to give shel-ter to any privateer that would fulfil the wish nearest to the English heart-the destruction of American commercial supre-macy. But we are willing to be gracious to a great people with whom we have so many traditions in common, and with whom we are linked in ties of religion and language. We are beyond being satisfied with a few paltry millions of treasure as a salve to our wounded national honor; for the destruction of a few ships was not and is not the point with us. We therefore propose that we shall do good for evil. Instead of pressing the Alabama claims through our gastronomic diplomat now in England, who will be recalled immediately that General Grant takes the executive chair, we shall propose to England, through a special commissioner, that we take Canada and the whole of British North America in exchange for all the injuries done by the Alabama and other commercial representatives of English neutrality, and for all the grievances which have from time to time been heaped upon us while yet Great Britain

was in the zenith of her power.

The far-seeing wisdom of Russia caused her to sell Alaska to us. She saw the steady movement of the United States to the west and northwest, and knew that soon we should be pressing upon the Alaska frontier. It would be good statesmanship if England could have the same broad view of the march of events on this continent, and acknowledge their inevitable tendency to territorial con-

February 17 and 18. The meeting is a gene- | quest. These events are completely beyond ral one, such as the association proposes to | our control. They are the movable force that sends us onward upon this vast wave of Western civilization with a power that would swamp the republic were we to attempt to resist it. If England is still advised by "inesne law officers" she will cling to Canada instead of yielding it up to the United States. If she cannot see that the very elements that bind us together as a nation are elements that laugh at and strike out boundary lines, it will be because she will not listen to the teachings of civilization and to our warnings. The whole of North America has been taken possession of by the modern forces which the liberal genius of Germany, France, England, and the United States has called into action. Our Southern States. clinging to feudal principles which had, unfortunately, been planted upon their soil, tried to stand in the pathway of this modern giant. They were crushed by it. Our Constitution forbade the addition of territory to the old Union, and yet we went on adding, first the valley of the Mississippi, then Florida, then Texas, until, finally, we debouched upon the Pacific through California. Our eyes now turn northward and southward. Canada is essential to us and we are essential to Cauada. The times will have it so, and in stating this we simply recognize a fact. To England Canada is a burden, and a severe one, too, in view of the present condition of Europe. Europe, with six millions of men under arms, stands divided against itself, waiting, as it were, for the railroad, the telegraph, and modern civilization to strike the teesin which shall inaugurate the great final struggle be-tween the relics of feudalism, as represented in class privileges and great stauding armies, and the liberal progressive movement of this century. We can bide our time; but, we ask, can England do the same ! She has an Indian empire to take care of which keeps half of her cotton manufactories in motion. She has Australia and Ireland on her hands-both nearer to the United States by adoption than they are to Great Britain by national ties. Is not worth consideration on the part of British statesmen that, under the administration of Grant, we shall always be prepared to settle the Alabama and other claims to our own liking? Perhaps we may settle them according to the example set us by the mother country, which, sometimes, in late years, has spoken with pride of a people who are apparently wedded to English habits and customs. If we undertake this method, we promise to make old England very proud of us. Better, however, surrender Canada, and by making the amende honorable to us prepare the way to friendship, which, in the coming European struggle, would be the only reliable foreign

> Counting the Electoral Votes. From the N. Y. Times.

element upon which England could depend.

We hope the recent experience of Congress will have the effect of showing that body the wisdom and necessity of making some further provision, by law, for counting the electoral votes, and ascertaining whom the people, at any time, have chosen to be President and Vice-President of the United States.

The Constitution provides for this necessary service only in the most general way, leaving the details in this, as in most other cases, to be supplied by law. It merely prescribes that the sealed certificates sent from the several States, inclosing their electoral votes, shall be opened by the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and that the votes shall then be counted. But whether this coming together of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be in convention, which becomes a distinct and independent body, and if so who shall preside over it, by whom rules shall be made for regulating its proceedings, questions that may arise during its ses sion shall be entertained and how decided, whether each house may dissolve it by withdrawing, or whether neither can do so, and it can only be dissolved by its own actionall these and many other points that are or may become of very great importance in connection with the general object to be attained, are left by the Constitution wholly unprovided for. All eminent commentators on the Constitution have remarked this de-

fect, and have urged the duty of supplying it.

This can be done by legislation—by law, duly enacted by Congress. It is not a matter to be controlled or regulated by joint rules, for it is not in any sense joint action of the two houses. The only special action enjoined by the Constitution in connection with it is imposed upon a single individual—the President of the Senate-and the only duty imposed upon the Senate and House of Representatives is that of being "in his presence" when he does it, so as to be witnesses of his action. General Butler very properly asks what good can that do, if they have no power to correct what they may see wrong in that action; but Mr. Shellabarger very properly answers, perhaps it can do no good, but that is all they are empowered by the Constitution to do in the matter. The defect must be supplied by law. Neither the Senate nor the House can adopt rules, acting separately or by joint action, for the govern-ment of a body distinct from either, and yet not organized by any law as identical with both. Those rules must be adopted by the body itself, or must be prescribed by law. General Butler declared that the joint reso-

lution declaring that the vote of Georgia should be counted, and prescribing the form in which it should be declared, was invalid because unconstitutional; and in this he was doubtless correct. That joint resolution was not a law, because it lacked the approval and signature of the President, nor was it a joint rule of order, as it had nothing to do with the order of business in either house, nor in any body subject to the control of either. It declared what should be done with the electoral vote of a State. If Congress has control of such a question as that, it certainly cannot exercise it in any manner less formal and emphatic than by

the enactment of a law. Congress ought, therefore, at an early pe riod of the next administration to pass a law to regulate this whole matter of counting the electoral votes. It ought to define and fix the character of the meeting of the two houses in which this ministerial act is to be performed, and determine how it shall be organized and how rules shall be adopted for the regulation of its proceedings. We shall then be able to avoid such embarrassments and conflicts of authority as were experienced on the recent counting of the votes, as well as other difficulties of a much more formidable nature which may arise hereafter.

The Constitutional Amendment.

From the Chicago Tribune. The Senate, after a protracted debate, has disagreed to the constitutional amendment as proposed by the House of Representatives, and has adopted another, containing three

propositions:-1. Prohibiting discriminations among citi-zens of the United States in the exercise of suffrage, on account of color, race, nativity, education, property, or creed.

2. Prohibiting like discriminations among citizens in the right to hold office in any of the

3. Transferring to Congress the power of regulating the manner of appointing electors of President and Vice-President.

The third proposition is to be submitted separately from the others, and may be ratified or rejected upon its own merits. The other two are united, and must be approved or rejected together. The public mind has been directed to the question of suffrage, and not to that of holding office, and while there is a general willingness to accept universal suf-frage based upon citizenship, there is not the same popular agreement in reference to the right to hold office. The United States ought not to continue the existing anomaly of having its own constituency liable to be enlarged, abridged, or destroyed by another government, whether that government be foreign or do-mestic, independent or subordinate. For the United States, therefore, to establish a uniform regulation of suffrage, and to place it in the Constitution beyond the reach of ordinary legislation, is but the practical resumption of a power and an authority inherent in all governments. It is in fact nothing more than an exercise by the whole people of their unquestionable right to secure to them-selves, beyond all interference or control by the States, the privileges which constitute the life of republican institutions. Therefore the provision prohibiting any discrimination among citizens of the United States in the right of voting because of color, race, nativity, education, property, or creed, is not only wise and just in itself, but demanded by the national safety. No such consideration, however, prevails with respect to eligibility to effice. State officers are not, like voters, constituents of the National Government. Their qualifications may be safely left to the people of the State. The constitutions of the several States provide various qualifications for their offices. The governors of some States are required to be native-born citizens. Under each State we have a variety of offices to be filled by persons having a knowledge of particular sciences; we have Judges and Attorneys-General; we have Prosecuting Attorneys, State Geologists, and Surveyors; we have hospitals for the insane and for the treatment of other forms of disease. Why should not the State of Illinois require that persons elected or appointed to these places shall be able to read and write? that her judges and attorneys shall be edu-cated in the law? that her public physicians and superintendents of hospitals shall have a medical education? Yet the amendment proposed by the Senate prohibits the State from establishing any such qualifications, and makes eligibility to office co-extensive with the right to vote. All citizens, of all colors and races, whether they read or write, or speak the language, or hold property, are made eligible to all offices in the State. any person give any good reason for this pro-position? If it had been submitted as a separate article, the mistake of the Senate would not have been serious; but being united with the suffrage clause, both have to be rejected or

approved together. We do not think that such an amendment can be ratified at the present time. We do not believe that it will secure the requisite number of votes in Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio: we do not think Connecticut or Rhode Island or New Hampshire will ratify it, and it may fail in New York and Pennsylvania. The Pacific States will undoubtedly reject it. The universal suffrage clause cannot carry itself and the office-holding clause also. It cannot persuade the people to give up their right to fix the qualification of their governors, legislatures, their State officers, their assessors, treasurers, tax collectors, mayors, aldermen, and other local officers. That is a power in no wise necessary to be exercised by the National Government; why, then, should a practical, substantial, and necessary measure, like that of equality of suffrage, be put in peril in the vain effort to force the people to accept some-

ate of New Hampshire excludes Roman Catholics from holding office, just as Delaware and Kentucky exclude negroes; this disquali fication, repulsive as it is to all reason and justice, is nevertheless within the power of the State. Rhode Island excludes naturalized citizens not property-holders from voting, and also from holding office. These States will certainly vote against an amendment which takes from them the right to fix the qualifications of their local offices, though both would probably vote for the amendment prohibiting any disqualification from voting for such causes. The House of Representatives will very surely reject this amendment of the Senate, and we hope that the result of a conference will be the submission of an amendment confined to the simple proposi-tion:—That at all elections in the United States the right of voting shall not be denied to any citizen of the United States because of his color, race, former condition as a slave, or for any other cause not equally applicable to all other citizens. That simple proposition will meet the views of the whole people, wil be promptly ratified, and the country will be relieved from any further controversy on the

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