THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

IMPORTANT SPEECHES BY THE PRESIDENT.

Colored People and Their Rights.

ADDRESS TO A DELEGATION OF COLORED MEN.

Reception of a Delegation from the Far West.

The delegation of colored representatives from different States of the country, now in Washington to urge the interests of the colored people before the Government, had an interview with the President yest afternoon. The delegation was as follows: Trederick Douglass, of New York; George T. Downing, representing the New England States; Louis H. Douglass, son of Fred. Douglass, and Wm. E. Matthews, of Maryland; John Jones, of Illinois; John L. Cook of the District of Columbia; A. J. Ranier of South Carolina; Joseph Oats, of Florida;
A. W. Ross, of Mississippi; Wm. Ripper,
Pennsylvania; John M. Brown and Alexander Dunlap, of Virginia, and Calvin
Pepper (white), of Virginia.

The President shook hands kindly with
nearly member of the delegation. Frederick

each member of the delegation, Frederick Douglass first advancing for that purpose. George T. Downing then addressed the President as follows: We present ourselves to your Excellency to make known with pleasure the respect which we are glad to cherish for you; a respect which is your due as our Chief Magistrate. It is our desire for you to know that we come feeling that we are friends, meeting as friends. We should however, have manifested our friendship by not coming to further tax your already much burdened and valuable time. But we have another object in calling. We are in a passage to equality before the law. God hath made it by opening a red sea: We would have your assistance through the same. We come to you in the name of the United States, and are delegated to come by some who have unjustly worn iron mana-cles on their bodies; by some whose minds have been trammeled by class legislation in States called free.

The colored people of the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New England States, and District of Columbia, have specially delegated us to come. Our coming is a marked circumstance noting determined hope; that we are not satisfied with an amendment prohibiting slavery, but that we wish it enforced with appropriate legislation. This is our desire. We ask for it intelligently, with the knowledge and conviction that the fathers of the revolution intended freedom for every American, that they should be protected in their rights as citizens and equal before the law.

We are Americans, native-born Americans. We are citizens, we are glad to have it known to the world, as bearing no doubtful record on this point. On this fact, and with confidence in the triumph of justice, we base our hones. We see no recognition of color or race in the organic law of the land. It knows no privileged class, and therefore we cherish the hope that we may be fully enfranchised, not only here in this district, but throughout the land. We respectfully sub-mit that rendering anything less than this will be rendering to us less than our just dues; that granting anything less than our

full rights will be a disregard of our just rights and disrespect for our feelings. If the power that be do it will be used as a incense, as it were, or an apology to any community, or for individuals, thus dis-posed to outrage our rights and feelings. It has been shown in the present war that the Government may justly reach the strong arm into States and demand from them, from those who owe it allegiance, their assistance and support. May it not reach

out a like arm to secure and protect its sub-jects upon whom it has a like claim? Frederick Douglass advanced and ad-dressed the President, saying: Mr. President, we are not here to enlighten sir, as to your duties as the Chief Magistrate of the Republic, but to show our respect, and to represent in brief the claims of our race to your favorable consideration. By the order of Divine Providence you are placed in a position where you have the power to save or destroy us—to bless or to blast us; I mean our whole race. Your blast us; I mean our whole race. Four noble and humane predecessor placed in our hands the power to assist in saving the nation, and we do hope that you, his able successor, will favorably regard the placing in our hands of the ballot, with which to

save eurselves. We shall submit no argument on that point. The fact that we are the subjects of Government and subject to taxation, subject to volunteer in the service of the country, subject to being drafted, subject to bear the burdens of the State, makes it not improper that we should ask to share in the privileges of this condition. I have no speed to make on this occasion. I simply submit these observations as a limited expression of the views and feelings of the delegation with which I have come.

Reply of the President.

The following is substantially the response of the President—In reply to some of your inquiries, not to make a speech about this inquiries, not to make a speech about this property of the pr inquiries, not to make a special about this matter, for it is always best to talk plainly and distinctly about such questions; I will say that if I have not given evidence in my former course that I am a friend of former course that I am a ment of thumanity, and to that portion of it which constitutes the colored population, I can give no evidence hereafter. Everything that I have had, both as regards life and property, has been periled in this cause, and I feel and think that I understand (not to be egotistic) what should be the true direction of this question, and what course of policy would result in the amelioration and ultimate elevation not only of the colored, but the great mass of the people of

the United States.

I say that if I have not given evidence that I am a friend of humanity, and espe-cially the friend of the colored man, in my past conduct, there is nothing that I can now do that would, I repeat, all that I possessed, life, liberty and prosperity, have been put up in connection with that ques-tion, when I had every inducement held out to take the other course, by adopting which I would have accomplished, perhaps, all that the most ambitious might have de

If I know myself and the feelings of my own heart, they have been for the colored man. I have owned slaves and bought slaves, but I never sold one. I might say, however, that practically, so far as my con nection with slaves has gone, I have been their slave instead of their being mine. Some have even followed here, while others are occupying and enjoying my property with my consent. For the colored race my means, my time; my all has been periled, and now, at this late day, after giving evidence that is tangible, that is practical, I am free to tell you that I do not like to be arraigned by some who can get up hand-somely-rounded periods, deal in rhetoric and talk about abstract ideas of liberty, who

never periled life, liberty or property.

This kind of theoretical, hollow, unprac tical friendship amounts to but very little.
While I say that I am a friend of the colored man, I do not want to adopt a policy that I believe will end in a contest between the races, which, if persisted in, will result in the extermination of one or the other. God

work now. It is always best to talk practically and in a common sense way Yes, I have said, and I repeat it here, that if the colored man in the United States could find no other Moses, or any Moses that would be more able and efficient than myself, I would be his Moses to lead him from bondage to freedom; that I would pass him from a land where he had lived in slavery to a land (if it were in our reach) of freedom. Yes, I would be willing to pass with him through the Red Sea to the land of promise, to the land of liberty; but I am not willing, under either circumstances, to adopt a policy which I believe will only result in the sacrifice of his life, and the shedding of his blood. I think I know the shedding of his blood. I think I know what I say; I feel what I say, and I feel assured that if the policy urged by some be persisted in; it will result in great injury to the white as well as to the colored man. There is a great deal of talk about the sword in one hand accomplishing one end, and the ballot accomplishing another at the

hallot-box. These things all do very well, and sometimes have forcible application We talk about justice, we talk about right. We say that the white man has been in the wrong in keeping the black man in slavery as long as he has. That is all true. Again we talk about the Declaration of Independence, and equality before the law. You understand all that, and know how to appreciate it. But now let us look each other in the face. Let us go the great mass of colored men throughout the slaye States. Let us take the condition in which they are at the present time (and it is bad enough we all know), and suppose by some magic you could say to every one, "You shall vote to-morrow." How much would that ameliorate their condition at this time? Now, let us get closer up to this subject and talk

What relation has the colored man and the white man heretofore occupied in the South? I opposed elavery upon two grounds First, it was a great monopoly, enabling those who controlled and wined it to constitute an aristocracy, enabling the few to derive great profits and rule the many with an iron rod, as it were; and that is one great objection to it in argument, its being a monopoly. I was opposed to it, secondly, upon the abstract principle of slavery. Hence, in getting clear of a monopoly we were getting clear of slavery at the same time. So, you see, there were two right ends accomplished in the accomplishment of the one.

Mr. Douglass - Mr. President do you The President-I am not quite through vet. Slavery has been abolished. A great national guaranty has been given, one that cannot be revoked. I was getting at the relation that subsisted between the white man and the colored man. A very small proportion of white persons, compared with the whole number of such, owned the colored people of the South. I might incolored people of the South. I might instance the State of Tennessee in illustration. There were the twenty-seven non-slave-holders to one slaveholder, and yet that slave power controlled the State. Let us

talk about the matter as it is. Although the colored man was in slavery there, and owned as property in the sense and in the language of that locality and of that community, yet in comparing his condition and his position there with the non-slaveholder, he usually estimated his importance just in proportion to the number of slaves that his master owned with the non-slaveholder. Have you never lived upon a plantation?

Mr. Douglass—I have, your Excellency.

The President—When you could look over and see a man, who had a large family, struggling hard upon a poor piece of land, you thought a great deal less of him than you did of your own master.

Mr. Douglass—Not I.
The President—Well, I know such was the case with a large majority of you in those sections; where such is the case, we know there is an enmity; we know there is a hate. The poor white man, on the other hand, was opposed to the slave and his mashand, was opposed to the slave and his mas-ter, for the colored man and his master com-bined kept him in slavery by depriving him of a fair participation in the labor and pro-ductions of the rich lands of the country. Don't you know that a colored man in going to hunt a master (as they call it) for the next year, preferred hiring to a man who owned slaves rather than one who did not. I know the fact, at all events.

Mr. Douglass—Because they treated him

better.

The President—They did not consider it quite as respectable to hire to a man who did not own negroes as to hire to one who

Mr. Douglass-Because he wouldn't be treated as well. The President—Then that is another argument in favor of what I am going to say. It shows that the colored man appreciated the slave owner more highly than the man who didn't own slaves. Hence the enmity between the colored man and the non-slaveholders. The white man was permitted to vote before government was derived from him. He is a part and parcel of the political machinery, not by rebellion or revolution.

And when you come back to the objects of this war you find that the abdition of slavery was not one of the objects. Congress, and the President himself, declared that the same ward on our part in order to that it was waged on our part in order to suppress the rebellion. The abolition of slavery has come as an incident to the suppression of a great rebellion—as an incide and as an incident we should give it the proper direction. The colored man went into the rebellion a slave. By the operation

of the rebellion he came out a freedman, equal to freedmen in other portions of the Then there is a great deal done for him on this point. The non-slaveholder who was forced into the rebellion, and was as loyal as those who lived beyond the limits of the State, was carried into it, and his property, and in a number of instances the lives of such were sacrificed, and he who has survived has come out of it with nothing

gained, but a great deal lost.

Now, upon a principle of justice, should they be placed in a condition different from what they were before? On the one hand one has gained a great deal. On the other hand one has lost a great deal, and in a political point of view, scarcely stands where he did before. Now we are talking about where we are going to begin. We have got at the hate that existed between

the two races. The query comes up whether these two The query comes up whether these two races, situated as they were before, without preparation, without time for passion and excitement to be appeased, and without time for the slighest improvement, whether the one should be turned loose upon the other and be thrown together at the ballotbox with this enmity and hate existing between them? The question comes up, will we not then commence a war of races? I think I understand this thing; and espeally is this the case when you force it upon a people without their consent.

You have spoken about Government. Where is power derived from? We say it is derived from the people. Let us take it

is derived from the people. Let us take it so, and refer to the District of Columbia by way of illustration. Suppose, for instance, here, in this political community, which to a certain extent must have government, must have law, and putting it now upon the broadest basis you can put it, take into consideration the relation which the white has hitherto borne to the colored race, is it proper to force upon this community, without their consent, the elective franchise without

regard to color, making it universal?

Now, where do you begin? Government must have a controlling power, must have a lodgment. For instance, suppose Congress should pass a law authorizing an election to should pass a law authorizing an election to be held, at which all over twenty-one years of age, without regard to color, should be allowed to vote, and a majority should de-cide at such election that the elective fran-

forbid that I should be engaged in such a chise should not be universal, what would you do about it? Who would settle it? Do you deny that first great principle of the right of the people to govern themselves? Will you resort to an arbitrary power, and say a majority of this people shall receive a state of things they are opposed to? Mr. Douglass-That was said before the

> The President-I am now talking about a principle, and not what somebody else Mr. Downing—Apply what you have said, Mr. President, to South Carolina, for

instance. The President-Suppose you go to South Carolina, suppose you go to Ohio, that does not change the principle at all. The query, to which I have referred, still comes up when the Government is undergoing a fund amental change. The Government menced upon this principle, it has existed upon it, and you propose now to incorpor ate into it an element that did not exist be

I say the query comes up, in undertaking this thing, whether we have a right to make a change in regard to the elective franchise in Ohio, for instance; whether we shall not let the people in that State decide the matter for themselves?

Each community is better prepared to de termine the depository of its political power than anybody else, and it is for the Legislature for the people of Ohio, to say who shall vote, and not for the Congress of the United States.

I might go down here to the ballot-box to morrow and vote directly for universal suffrage, but if a great majority of this people said no, I should consider it would e tyrannical and arbitrary in me to attemp to force it upon them without their will. It is a fundamental text in my creed that the will of the people must be obeyed when fairly expressed. Is there anything wrong or unfair in that?

Mr. Deuglass, smiling—A great deal of wrong, Mr. President, with all respect. The President—It is the people of the States that must for themselves determine this question. I do not want to be engaged in a work that will commence a war of races. I want to begin the work of reparation. If a man demeans himself well, an shows evidence that this new state of affairs will operate, he will be protected in all his rights and given every possible advantage by the State or community in which he lives when they become reconciled socially and politically to certain things. Then wi this new order of affairs work harmoniously But forced upon the people before they are prepared for it, it will be resisted and work inharmoniously. I feel a conviction that forcing this matter upon the people, upon the community, will result in the injury of both races, and the ruin of one or the other. God knows I have no desire but the good of the whole human race. I would it were so that all you advocate could be done in the twinkling of an eye. But it is not in the nature of things, and I do not assume or pretend to be wiser than Providence, or

this question. There is a great law controling it. Let us endeavor to find out what that law is, and conform our action to it. All the details will then properly adjust themselves, and work out well in the end God knows that anything I can do I will do in the mighty process by which the greatend is to be reached. Anything I can do to elevate the races, to soften and ameliorate their condition, I will do, and to be able to do so is the sincere desire of my heart. I m glad to have met you, and thank you

stronger than the law of nature. Let us

now seek to discover the laws governing

for the compliment you have paid me.

Mr. Douglass—I have to return to you our thanks, Mr. President, for so kindly granting us this interview. We did not come here expecting to argue this question with your Excellency, but simply to state what were our views and wishes in the premises. If we were disposed to argue the question, and you would grant us the per-mission, of course we would endeavor to-controvert some of the positions you have

Mr. Downing-Mr. Douglass, I take it that the President, by his kind expressions and his very full treatment of the subject, must have contemplated some reply to the views which he has advanced, and in which ve certainly do not concur, and I say this with due respect.

The President—I thought you expected

me to indicate, to some extent, what my views were on the subject touched upon in your statement.

Mr. Downing—We are very happy indeed, to have heard them.
Mr. Douglass—If the President will allow me I would like to say one or two words in

reply.

The President—What I have done is simply to indicate what my views are, as I sup-pose you expected me to from your address. Mr. Douglass—My own impression is that the very thing that your Excellency would avoid in the Southern States can only be averted by the very measure that we pro-pose, and I would state to my brother delegates, that because I perceive the President has taken strong ground in favor of a given policy, and distrusting my own ability to remove any of those impressions which he has expressed, I thought we had better end the interview with the expression of our thanks. [Addressing the Presiden.t But, if your Excellency, would be pleased to hear, I would like to say a word or two in regard to that one matter of the enfranchisement of the black as a means of preventing the very thing which your Excellency seems to apprehend—that is, a conflict of

The President—I repeat, I merely wanted to indicate my views in reply to your address, and not to enter into any general con-troversy, as I could not well do so under the circumstances. Your statement was a very frank one, and I thought it was due to you to meet it in the same spirit.

Mr. Douglass—Thank you, sir.
The President—I think you will find, so far as the South is concerned, that if you will all inculcate these ideas in connection with your own, that the colored people can live and advance in civilization to better advantage elsewhere than crowded toge-ther in the South, it would be better for them.

Mr. Douglass-But the masters have the making of the laws, and we cannot get away from the plantations.

The President—What prevents you?

Mr. Douglass—We have not the simple

right of locomotion through the Southern States now.
The President—If the master now con-

trols him or his action, would he not con-trol him in his vote? Mr. Douglass—Let the negro once understand that he has a right to vote, and he will raise a party in the Southern States among the poor who will rally with him. There is this conflict that you speak of between the wealthy slaveholder and the poor man.

The President—You touch right upon the point there. There is this conflict, and hence I suggest emigration. If he cannot get employment in the South, he has it in

get employment in the South, he has it in his power to go where he can get it.

In parting, the President said that they were both desirous of accomplishing the same ends, but proposed to do so by following up different roads.

Mr. Douglass, on turning to leave, remarked to his fellow delegates, "The President sends us to the people, and we will have to go and get the people right."

The President—Yes, sir; I have great faith in the people. I believe they will do what is just, and have no doubt they will settle this question right, and hope that it will be submitted to them for final action.

The delegation then bowed and withdrew.

ington city, called upon the President. for the future, who want to make one or-B. M. Pinney, United States Marshall for ganization for one purpose and another for the Territory, Chief Justice Hosmer, Gen. Barrows, and twenty-five or thirty others were among the number. Mr. Pinney ad dressed the President on behalf of the dele-

gation. He said:

Mr. President: It becomes my duty as a member of this delegation to assure you that the principles announced in your annual message to Congress, and your policy in relation to the present political condition of this country have gladdened the hearts of the people of our mountain land.

We're using all know that my work is to restore, the Government, not to make combinations with reference to any future candidacy for the Presidency of the United States; I have reached the uttermost round. My race is run, so far as that is concerned. My object is to perform my duty, and that I will be a present the government, not to make combinations with reference to any future candidacy for the Presidency of the United States; I have reached the uttermost round. My race is its to perform my duty, and that I will be a present policy in relation to the present policy

We are using no idle or imaginary words when we assure you that we take the greatest possible pleasure in saying that we recognize in you, as the Chief Magistrate of this great nation, a person who possesses that sound mind, that general knowledge, that firm and patriotic devotion to the ruling interest and welfare of the whole country which are so necessary to carry it safely over the ocean of political speculation and debate. We attach no great importance to this asseveration of our feelings in relation to yourself; but we should be doing injustice to yoursely; but we should be doing injustice to ourselves and injustice to the people of the territory of Montana, and should merit their severest censure if we did not say that we firmly believe that if you meet with a cordial and generous support on every hand this nation will come forth from this present political crisis a stronger and better present political crisis a stronger and better nation, prepared to take a higher stand, and do a nobler work on the platform of history that has ever yet been allotted to any nation of the earth. Montana has searcely had a two years' political existence, and already numbers fifty thousand in-habitants. Places of habitation and of ousiness are dotted all over our fertile val leys, and our numerous thoroughfares are constantly trembling with the crush of merchandise. The gold and silver which the Almighty had long kept hidden and garnered up, in our hills and ravines, have been revealed or discovered at a time when the nation needs them, new channels of flowing wealth to supply her treasury: and Montana possesses, as well as great minera wealth, all those agricultural resources s well calculated to make her early populous and powerful. At the same time we trust we are not unmindful of the vast importance of promulgating correct politica

We believe that we are starting right and will be starting right if we advocate those great political truths which you have proclaimed to this country and the world, and which are understood to be at the foundation.

tion of all good governments.
The President replied as follows: Gentlemen:—It is no ordinary pleasure for ne to meet you here on this occasion, and to hear the sentiments you have announced To receive so large and respectable a body o intelligent gentlemen from the remote region of the country from which you come is highly gratifying to me. In response, sir [addressing Mr. Pinney], to the eloquent manner in which you have expressed the sentiments and feelings of those whom you represent on this occasion. I might confin myself to simply returning my thanks fo your kind expressions. But you have made some allusions to which, under the circumstances which surround us. I cannot be indifferent. You have alluded to the grea principles of our Government having beer enunciated by me in a paper sent a shor time since to the Congress of the United States. The declaration by me of thos principles was not the result of impulse It was the result of a thorough and calm consideration of those great truths which lie at the foundation of all free goyern ments.

Those who understand these truths an have laid them down as their guide canno fail to understand the doctrines enunciated in that message. It is not necessary to in-quire whether they emanated from this man or that man. Those who understand and believe in these principles, no matter from what standpoint they look at them, will find themselves involuntarily and imper-ceptibly, it may be, but surely coming together in all great struggles that may take place in regard to them, while those who disclaim them, who are willing to repudiate them and set them at naught will be found disintegrating and traveling in a divergen

For this reason there may be many now coming together without any previous con sent or arrangement, but imperceptibly because they agree on these great princi-

I think, gentlemen, there is no one who can mistake the great cardinal principles that are laid down in that message. They comprehend and embrace the principles upon which this Government rests, and upon which, to be successful, it must be administered. I care not by what name the party administering the Government may be denominated—the Union party—the Republican party—the Democratic party—the American party—or what not—no party can administer the Government successfully unless it is administered upon the great principle laid down in that paper. You would meet with about the same suc-

cess in attempting to carry on the Government upon any other principles than those which are found in the Constitution as you would if you should take hold of a piece of machinery that had been constructed and trained to run harmoniously in one direction, and attempt, by reverse action, to run it in the opposite direction.

I say again that I think no one can mis-

take the doctrines of that message.

It is very easy for persons to misrepresent. and to make assertions that this, that or the other has taken place, or will take place, but I think I may be permitted to say to you, on this occasion, that, taking all my antecedents, going back to my advent into public life, and continuing down to the present time, the great cardinal doctrines set forth in that paper have been my constant and unerring guides. After having gone so far, it is too late for me to turn and take a diffrom this time onward, and those who understand them may know where I shall atways be found when principles is involved. Here let me say to you, in order to disabuse the public mind as far as it is possible for an individual to do so, that my public career is well nigh done. The sands of my political glass have well nigh run out. If I were disposed to refer to myself I might trace my career back to the log cabin, then an alderman and a mayor in a village, then through both branches of the State Legislature, then for ten consecutive years in the ture, then for ten consecutive years in the national House of Representatives, then through the gubernatorial chair to the Senate of the United States, then provisional Governor, with a slight participation in military affairs, then Vice President, and now in the position I occupy before you and now in this position, if I can be instrumental in restoring the Government of the United States, in restoring to their true position in the Union, those States whose relation to the National Government have for a tion to the National Government have for a time been interrupted by one of the most gigantic rebellions that ever occupied the attention of the world, so that we can proclaim once more that we are a united people

I shall feel that the measure of my ambition has been filled, and filled to overflowing. At that point, if there be any who are envious and jealous of honor and position, I shall be prepared to make them as polite a bow as I know how, and thank them to take the place I have occupied, for my mission will have been fulfilled. In saying this in the performance of my duty, and in response to the encouragement you have given me. I feel that I am in a con-

faith in the people. I believe they will do what is just, and have no doubt they will settle this justin right, and hope that it will be submitted to them for final action.

The delegation then bowed and withdrew.

Specific of the President to a Delegation from Montana Territory.

Yesterday morning a large number of the citizens of Montana Territory, now in Wash-

ganization for one purpose and another for another, that they are not in my way.

I am not a candidate for any position, and hence I repeat I can afford to do right, and being in that condition I will do right. I make this announcement for the purpose of lefting all know that my work is to restore.

deavor to do. Let us then all join in this great work of restoration; and while we are restoring and repairing the breeches that have been made, et us also unite in the work of making new States, and populating them with a people who are worthy of the Government which protects them, and let those new State Governments be founded on principles in harmony with the great machinery devised by our fathers.

So far as regards any aid or assistanc that can be given here in the progress and in the consummation of this great work of building up the new States, as well as in the restoration of all the former States, you will find me a willing and a candid helper.
Gentlemen, I did not expect this demonstration, but you will please accept my thanks for the compliment you have paid me on this occasion and the encouragement you have given me in the discharge of my duty. All I can say, in conclusion, is to assure you that any assistance you may need from this quarter will be most of fully given to advance the interests of the community you represent.

The gentlemen present were then introduced personally to the President.

General Barrow submitted to the inspection of the President, on behalf of the delegation, a large number of specimens of gold-bearing quartz, obtained in different portions of the Territory, which were ex-amined with much interest by the President, and the interview terminated.

Hemicide at Corning, N. Y. CORNING, N. Y., February 7th .- A man named Callahan was deliberately murdered in this place on Monday evening, by a man named John Emperor. They had a dispute about a woman, when Emperor drew a large knife and drove it into Callahan's down, and dropped dead. The murderer

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Superior Black French Cloths,
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GOOD MUSLINS, BY THE PLECE,
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CLOSING OUT CASSIMERES AND CLOTHS,
Dark Striped Doeskin, \$1.75.
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Plaid Cassimeres, for B *195, \$1.15.
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Olive Brown Cloths, for Friends,
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Citron Beavers, for Overcoats,
64 Heavy Melton Cloths, at \$4.50.
These goods are low. Examine for yourselves, at
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8-4 PUPE WHITE MOHAIR GLACE, with a Silk inish, just adapted for Evening Dresses.
4-4 White Alpacas,
White Irish Poplins,
White Wool Poplins,

Vhite Wool Poplins,
White Wool Poplins,
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White Cloths, with Spots,
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