

The Impeachment Bubble.

The impeachment fever reached the crisis last week by the sudden conversion of the old member of the committee, who had been reported to have failed in obtaining certain favors from the President, and the appearance of a long, violent, but weak majority report in favor of impeachment, which was presented to the House.

This action of the defeated radicals is one of the foolish and wicked steps taken by them, which ensures their downfall. The end of this will be a debate about impeachment and a Democratic victory in 1868.

Trial of Jeff. Davis.

Chief Justice Chase, who wants to be President, and therefore dreads to have his secession theories ventilated, was absent from Richmond on Nov. 26, when the U. S. Circuit Court opened, and as no "judge" was present except Underwood, the Davis trial was put over till the 4th Wednesday of March next; at which time Chase will no doubt again manage to dodge the trial. Greeley & Co. continue as bail for Davis.

The Great Democratic Victory in the Empire State.

Official returns from all the counties, says the Albany Argus, give the Democratic State Ticket 373,836 votes, and the Radical State ticket 324,017 votes, making a Democratic majority of 49,819!

In 1865, when Slocum and Barlow were candidates for Secretary of State, Slocum received 272,763 votes, and Barlow 300,254 votes; Barlow's majority, 27,491.

The comparison of this year's vote should be made with that of 1865, when the election was for the same class of State officers.

It will therefore be seen that the increased Democratic vote over 1865 is 101,120!

The Democratic vote this year is the largest vote ever polled by any political party in this state!

New Jersey!

The official Democratic majority in New Jersey is 17,924. The vote was as follows: Democratic 65,431; Radical 48,507. The Democracy hold 18 counties and the Rads 3. Democratic gain, over 20,000 in one year!

Doings in Congress.

Nov. 25.—Senate met; first item of business was reception of petition from Massachusetts for negro female suffrage in District of Columbia.

In the House Mr. Butler offered a bill to the effect that the national indebtedness shall be paid in exact accordance with the acts of Congress creating it; that is, that all debts contracted to be paid in gold are to be so paid, and all not so contracted, to be paid in lawful money of the United States.

The Judiciary Committee being ready with reports on impeachment, the majority report of some 150 printed pages was partly read and then dispensed with. The conclusion is that

"In accordance with the testimony herewith submitted, and the view of the law here with presented, the committee is of opinion that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, is guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, requiring the interposition of the constitutional power of the House on that," &c. It closes with the resolution:

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, chairman of the committee, presented a minority report for himself and Mr. Woodbridge, the conclusion of which is as follows:

We therefore declare that the case before us, presented by the testimony and measured by the law, does not disclose such high crimes and misdemeanors, within the meaning of the Constitution, as requires the interposition of the constitutional power of this House, and recommend the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the proposed impeachment of the President of the United States, and that the subject be laid upon the table.

Mr. Marshall, of Illinois, on behalf of himself and Mr. Eldridge, stated that they fully concurred in the resolution just offered by the chairman, and also concurred entirely with the arguments presented by the chairman with reference to the law governing the case, and the application of the evidence thereto; but there were on secondary points matters of difference between them and their associates, Wilson and Woodbridge, and he therefore presented the views of himself and Mr. Mr. Eldridge. The reports were all laid on the table, and ordered to be printed, and the whole subject was postponed and made the special order for Wednesday, Dec. 4.

The Speaker announced the committee

The original source of all executive and legislative power is the same—the people; the warrant and measure of those powers the same—the Constitution. In his constitutional and legislative sphere, in the exercise and conduct of his department, the President is as free to act and as independent as Congress.

While acting within the bounds prescribed for it by the Constitution, he is no more accountable or responsible to Congress than Congress is to him. Congress has no more authority to censure and condemn him than he has to censure and condemn Congress. His discretion exercised within the bounds of the Constitution, is no more subject to the animadversion or reproof of Congress than are the constitutional and discretionary acts of Congress to his.

Neither Congress or the President has any powers or authority not derived from and found in the Constitution. The only question with reference to which the committee were authorized to enquire was whether the charges against the President were true, and constituted an offense or offenses subjecting him to impeachment. Certainly if this is not the only question referred to the committee, it is the only question which the committee, as such, has investigated.

The political purpose by the acts of the President has not for one moment engaged the attention of the committee. We most certainly have no other motive than to serve our country and do our duty. In the matters referred to us we have never once, in the taking of testimony or the examination of witnesses, supposed that any question other than the impeachment before us. The impeachment of the President, the chief officer of this great Republic, the one whose duty it is to ascertain whether he has committed any offense for which he ought or might be put upon trial before the most august tribunal of the world, impressed us from the beginning with most solemn awe.

We endeavored, in the investigation, to exclude from our minds every question of mere politics, and, as far as possible, to be uninfluenced by party bias. We were admonished that in one sense, the nation, the people, in the person of their Executive head, were on trial before the world, and that personal animosity and party politics should be inflexibly and scrupulously forgotten and ignored.

For any cause, to have shrunk from a full and careful investigation of the great question of impeachment, was cowardice; to have pursued it in the spirit of party, to have degraded it into a mere investigation of political policy, with reference to partisan success, would have been meanness, and would have degraded the nation itself by scandalizing the nation's constitutional head.

We repeat, therefore, that the investigation of the committee was, so far as we took part in it, with the sole view to ascertain whether the President, under the charge preferred against him, was guilty of any impeachable offense. Not only so, but with the belief that it was the only question we were authorized or expected to inquire into. Not a witness was called or examined with any view to proving a case for merely censuring or condemning the political action of the President.

No suggestion was made, or intimation given by the majority of the committee, till the resolution of censure was offered, that there was any purpose of considering, as a committee, any but the question of impeachment, nor was there then, as we understand it, any purpose of reporting such resolutions in the House, for its official action. We think, therefore, that we are warranted in saying, that although much testimony, irrelevant, illegal, and experimental, was taken much that had no bearing upon the question of impeachment, and much more that was not testimony in any case, or for any purpose; that none was taken with any view except the impeachment, and hence we insist that, if the committee had the right and jurisdiction, which we deny, to inquire into the political and discretionary acts of the President, with a view to his condemnation, that it has not in any legitimate and proper manner, investigated, or attempted to consider that subject. We do not impugn the personal motives of any member of the committee who differs with us. Our intercourse upon the committee has been pleasant, and the courtesy with which we have been treated, uniform and uninterrupted.

We entertain none but the most kindly personal feelings towards every member, but candor and a sense of duty compels us to declare that we can find no warrant or excuse for this traveling outside or beyond the subject with which the committee was charged, to censure and condemn the President, except in the prejudice and zeal of overheated partisanship.

The President needs and can ask no defense from us upon party grounds, or upon any other than those which spring from official obligation and duty. He was not the President of our choice, nor is it necessary that we should agree with him or justify or approve all he has done. Neither do we feel called upon to review all the great mass of testimony taken by the committee, to show that his censure and condemnation are not warranted by it, though taken as it has been, and unchallenged as it was.

In that regard, we do not, however, believe the unbiased, the unprejudiced mind will be able in the testimony to discover any just or reasonable cause for condemning or impugning the motives by which he was actuated. Indeed, differing with him in opinion, as we have, as to the policy and propriety of many things he has done, and many more that he has left undone, we feel compelled to declare that the proofs before us will not warrant a charge that he was in any instance controlled by motives other than those pure and patriotic.

His greatest offense, we apprehend, will be found to be that he has not been able or willing to follow those who elected him to his office in their mad assaults upon and departure from the constitutional government of the fathers of the Republic, and that, standing where most of his party professed to stand when they elevated him to his present exalted position, he has dared to differ with the majority of Congress upon great and vital questions. He has believed in the continuing and binding obligations of the Constitution, that the suppression of the rebellion against the Union was the preservation of the Union and the States composing it; and that when the rebellion was put down, the States were all and equally entitled to representation in the Congress of the United States.

Planting himself firmly and immovably upon this position, he has incurred the fierce and malignant hatred and opposition of all those who claim, by virtue of the alleged conquest of the territory, and the subjugation of the people of the lately rebellious States, the power and right to dictate to them the constitution and laws they shall live under, and the liberties they shall be permitted to enjoy. In this difference between Congress and the President, and the desire of each for the adoption by the country of their respective views, it is, we suppose, to be found not only the cause for the movement to impeach the President, but of his censure and condemnation. Out of it has grown the embittered feeling and violent hatred of the President by his former friends.

The majority of Congress and of the committee have entertained, and been prepared to declare at all times, in Congress and out of it, even more strongly than is expressed in their report, the same censure and condemnation. This opinion was not formed upon any testimony taken before the committee, or upon any facts elicited by its investigation. It was a political opinion growing out of a difference of views upon political questions. It was the opinion with which the majority of the committee entered upon the investigation. It was that which inspired and stimulated all its inquiries and examinations. But notwithstanding these pre-existing opinions and prejudices, the minority of the committee have been compelled to find, after the fullest examination and the most protracted deliberation, that the President had committed no offense for which, under our laws, he can or ought to be impeached, and hence none, as we insist, subjecting him to the official jurisdiction of the committee of the House.

The censure and condemnation of the President, either by the majority or minority, is without our jurisdiction, not justified by the facts or becoming one department of the government toward the other, and calculated to bring reproach upon the committee, the House, and the nation. We cannot ignore the fact that time has been spent, and testimony taken by the committee, endeavoring to ascertain if the President, in his official capacity, has spoken censoriously or condemnatory of Congress, with a view to his impeachment. Therefore, can it be more becoming in a committee of this House, or in the House itself, to go beyond its jurisdiction and censure and condemn the President, than for him to censure and condemn Congress?

Is not the impropriety of the one as apparent as the other? If one is impeachable, is not the other wrong? What would be thought of the Supreme Court if, after having been compelled, in a case properly pending before it, to decide an act of Congress constitutional, it should, because it did not agree to the propriety or policy of the enactment, declare its severe censure and condemnation of Congress for having passed it? Who would hesitate to pronounce this an unjustifiable and even an unwarrantable interference with the rights and duties of Congress by the Supreme Court calculated to disturb the harmony of our governmental system, and to bring into unhappy, if not fatal, collision, the co-ordinate departments? Like this attempt to censure or reprove the President for acts or wrongs not amounting to offenses subjecting him to the legal jurisdiction of the House of Representatives, such an act would, it seems to us, be sheer impudence; an act on the part of the court justly meriting obloquy and reproach. Such interferences by one department of the government with the others, without authority of law, must and will most assuredly break off that courtesy which should at all times characterize their relations and intercourse. The end cannot but be foreseen; the antagonism will ultimately produce enmity, open hostility and aggression, which must result in the destruction of one or more departments, and, as a consequence, destroy our system of government. Altogether, with all due respect to the majority of the committee, we cannot regard the charges made against the President as a serious attempt to procure his impeachment, without dwelling upon their utter failure to point to the commission of a single act that is recognized by the laws of our country as a high crime or misdemeanor.

removing these officers from the places which they hold.

Mr. Stanton, the late Secretary of War, gave his emphatic approval of the acts for which the President is arraigned; and yet the ex-Secretary is a favorite and popular martyr, and the whole country is vexed with clamors for his restoration to power and place. The President is held criminally responsible for the acts of subordinates of which he did not even have the slightest notice or knowledge; and yet those bringing him to trial enact a statute depriving him of all control over these same subordinates, and they are deemed worthy of the especial protection of Congress.

The President has used every means within his power to bring the great State prisoner, Jefferson Davis, to a speedy trial, and yet he has been denounced throughout the land for procrastinating and preventing the trial, while judges and prosecuting officers, having entire control of the matter, have been deemed worthy of the most honored plaudits. Were ever inconsistencies more glaring and inexplicable than these, and can we possibly be mistaken when we assert that, however honest may be the majority of the committee, the verdict of the country and posterity will be, that the crime of the President consists not in violations, but in refusals to violate the law; in being unable to keep pace with the party or progress in the rapidly advancing movements, or to step outside of and above the Constitution in the administration of the government; in preferring the Constitution of his country to the dictation of an unscrupulous partisan cabal;—in daring to meet the maledictions of those who have arrived at the accomplishment of a most wicked and dangerous revolution, rather than to encounter the reproaches of his own conscience and the curses of posterity throughout time? If the subject were not too grave and serious a one for mirth, some of the grounds of impeachment presented by the majority would certainly be sufficiently amusing.

The President is gravely arraigned for arraying himself against the loyal people of the country in vetoing the mis-called reconstruction acts of Congress, when, without dwelling upon the constitutional right and duty of the President in the premises, Congress itself has for the same acts just received the most withering and indignant condemnation and rebuke from the entire people from Maine to California.

The impeachment, forgetting that they have been themselves impeached, and that the verdict of the tribunal of last resort has already been rendered against them, still persist in trifling with the peace, safety, and prosperity of the country, by precipitating upon it this dangerous question, at a time so critical as this. It is wicked thus to trifle with the interests of a nation, and disregard the voice of a great people, when spoken, as in this case, so emphatically in favor of the preservation of our constitutional form of government, and the rights and liberties established by our Revolutionary fathers.

We should not attempt to add anything to the able, and as we believe, unanswerable argument just presented by the Chairman of our committee, upon the law of impeachment, had not experience taught us the wonderful diversity of human judgment and conclusions. We should find it difficult to believe that there could, upon the questions submitted to us, possibly be two opinions among candid and intelligent men. Blind bigotry and unbridled partisan rage, it is true, can see no crime in the most meritorious actions, and men governed by these unhallowed passions do not hesitate to drag to the stake and the torture of the inquisition, all who will not conform to their wretched creeds and miserable dogmas.

They substitute their own crude and often crazy theories for truth and justice, and under pain of the severest penalties demand of all men to bow down and worship the idol he have erected. That their own judgment may be fallible, or that other men, differing from them, may be equally wise and honest with themselves, does not occur to their minds;—and they will without hesitation, question the justice even of the Almighty, if the ways of Providence do not conform to their own crude theories.

This class of men has constituted a considerable portion of mankind in all ages, and in none have they been more numerous than in our own. They have furnished the bigots and persecutors of all times; and their pathway through the long line of history, from its earliest dawn to the present time, has been marked with carnage and desolation. With such men, no argument based upon the Constitution and established laws can have any effect. They are too pure and immaculate to be fettered by the restraint of constitutional or written laws.

They are of law unto themselves, and both men and gods must conform to their views and theories, or receive their bitterest maledictions. But our people will never submit to have their Chief Magistrate arraigned for trial for offenses unknown to the laws, and which exist only in the heated brains of his political enemies. It would be a precedent disastrous in its consequences, and subversive of our political institutions.

We cannot doubt that the evidence herewith, this day submitted, will be received with one universal burst of indignation by the American people. If they retain any just pride in their country and its institutions, they will blush to find that the chief officer of their government has for ten months been subject to the scrutiny of a secret star chamber, an inquisition unparalleled in its character in the annals of civilization.

A drag-net has been put to catch every malicious whisper throughout the land,

and all the vile vermin, who had gossip or slander to retail, hearsay or otherwise, have been permitted to appear and place it upon record for the delectation of mankind. Spies have been sent over the land to hear something which might blacken the name and character of the Chief Magistrate of our country. Unwhipped knaves have given information of fabulous letters and documents, that, like the ignis fatuus, eternally elude the grasp of their pursuers, and the chase ever resulted only in aiding the depletion of the public Treasury.

That most notorious character, General Lafayette C. Baker, Chief of the Detective force, even had the effrontery to insult the American people by placing his spies within the very walls of the Executive mansion. The privacy of the President's home, his private life and habits and most secret thoughts, have not been deemed sacred or exempt from invasion. The members of his household have been examined, and their chief prosecutor has not hesitated to dive into loathsome dungeons and consort with convicted felons for the purpose of accomplishing the object of arraigning the President on the charge of infamous crime.

When we consider all these facts, and that the investigation has been a secret and ex parte one, carried on at a time of unparalleled party excitement, when the President has been hunted down as no man was ever hunted down before, it is really wonderful that so little has been elicited that tends in the slightest degree to tarnish the fair fame of the President.

In what we have said of the evidence taken before us, we must not be considered as reflecting upon the action of the committee or any member thereof. In an examination before a committee it would be impossible to confine the evidence to such as would be admissible before a court of justice.

The first witness examined was General Lafayette C. Baker, late Chief of the Detective Police, and although examined on oath, time and again and no various occasions, it is doubtful whether he has in any one thing told the truth, even by accident. In every important statement he is contradicted by witnesses of unquestioned credibility, and there can be no doubt, that to many previous outrages, entitling him to an unenviable immortality, he has added that of willful and deliberate perjury. We are glad to know that no one member of the committee deemed any statement made by him as worthy of the slightest credit. What a blush of shame will tinge the cheeks of the American student in future ages, when he reads how this miserable wretch for years held, as it were, in the hollow of his hand, the liberties of the American people; that clothed with power by a reckless administration, and with his hordes of unprincipled tools and spies penetrating the land every where, with uncounted thousands of the people's money placed in his hands for his vile purposes that creature not only had the power to arrest without crime or writ, and imprison without limit, any citizen of the Republic, but that he actually did so arrest thousands all over this land, and filled the prisons all over the country with the victims of his malice or that of his master.

This whole system, such an outrage upon the Constitution and every principle of free government, anti-American and anti-republican, has, with its originators and supporters, thank God, been damned to eternal infamy; and it is pleasant to reflect that not only the system but its unprincipled agent, will go down to posterity loaded with infamy and followed by the curses of millions.

It sometimes happens that the administration of the most dangerous usurpation is placed in the hands of men so respectable for character and talent as to disarm suspicion, and conciliate even those whose liberties are endangered. We have reason to be thankful to an ever-kind and merciful Providence, that the worst feature of the worst despotism, when the attempt was made, in an unhappy hour, to transplant it to our free American soil, was placed, for its administration, in the hands of a class of men so destitute of manhood and character as to arouse the undying scorn of the entire people; and as these infamous outrages were not sanctioned by any precedent in our own country, it is hoped and believed that they will never, throughout all time, be deemed worthy of imitation.

It is not our purpose now to attempt an analysis or discussion of the evidence taken before us, or to point out the gross absurdities and inconsistency of a very large portion of it. It will be read and be considered by the American people, and we cannot doubt that their verdict will be when those who have been attending to load with disgrace and infamy the Chief Magistrate of our country, shall stand pilloried in the undying scorn and indignation of a great people.

He, after passing through this fiery ordeal, we have no hesitation in predicting, will have, and retain, all over the land, even to a greater extent than heretofore, the respect and confidence of his countrymen.

(Signed) S. S. MARSHALL, CHARLES A. ELDRIDGE.

Fenians Executed. MANCHESTER, Nov. 23.—Noon.—Allen, Larken and Gould, the convicted Fenians, have been executed. All is quiet here.

PORTSMOUTH, Nov. 27.—Frank Jones, Democrat, has been elected Mayor of this city by 50 majority, in a total vote of 2,052, the largest vote ever cast here.

HARTFORD, Nov. 25.—At the town election, held here to-day, the Democratic ticket was elected by an average majority of 300.

tees: Judge Woodward is on Mining and Private Land Claims. Nov. 29.—In the Senate Mr. Morrill introduced a bill looking to the resumption of specie payments. It provides that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized after July 4, 1869, to pay legal tender notes in coin when presented; the second section requires the Secretary of the Treasury to sell any excess of coin over \$75,000,000, which may be in the Treasury after paying the interest on the public debt, and deducting the gold certificates; the fourth section requires the banks to redeem their notes in coin or United States legal tender notes, after July 4, 1869.—The bill was laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

The Senate was in executive session for about three hours this afternoon, and the result of its proceedings is the confirmation of the following named gentlemen, whose nominations had been lying over since the taking of the recess at the July session, namely: Horace Greeley, Minister to Austria; A. C. Hunt, Governor of Colorado; and Horace Capron, of Illinois, Commissioner of Agriculture.

House not in session.

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