

JUDGE BLACK is gone. To say of him, in the words of the foremost man of all this world in the realms of thought; in words which no use can make common and no abuse despoil of their power, that "he was the noblest Roman of them all" is peculiarly appropriate of one who made Shakespeare his master, companion and guide, and who drew from the lofty association language and imagery as noble, pure and unmingled with the dregs of baser tongues, as his life was simple, unsullied and based on the antique mould of the great of the past, who the great poet made greater in interpreting. No sentence of this length would have suited the taste of him of whom it is spoken, which preferred the terse, laconic and unadorned; dealing in grand, massive, granite words, which he hurled like the mighty stones wielded by gods and heroes in the battles of mythology. But it is not our gift to condense and crystallize. We must write as we can, and leave that work to such as him we now deplore. Differing from Judge Black as completely, in politics, as it is possible for men to disagree, we hesitate not to accord him the meed of praise due to so few of his late confederates, that of being a sincere and honest man. His sincerity and earnestness of character contributed not a little to lay the foundations of his greatness. "Man has no majesty like earnestness," says the poet of St. Stephen's of the oratory of Plunkett. The same was true of the life of Black. Though the greatest of American forensic speakers, he made no claims to originality, but framing his sentences from the Bible, Shakespeare and Milton, he uttered the loftiest and most soul-stirring which have electrified courts and senates since the days of Webster. Of this great, brave, simple, intolerant and misguided man we can but say that take him for all and all, a century will pass before again in the tides of time we shall behold his equal.

GOV. HOLDEN'S CARD.

Following the charitable, if not judicious example, of the press of the State generally, we shall forbear any extended comment on the latest somewhat of this rather aged political acrobat until his promised explanation is vouchsafed to us. We do not know, indeed, that we are safe or accurate in using the word "promised," for it seems to be a doubtful matter, resolvable by certain contingencies, as to whether or not we shall be contentedly indulged in any explanation or not. It has occurred to us that this veteran intriguer is probably withholding his "reason" for this change until the hour-press shall kindly furnish him with one or until he has extracted the same. After this has been accomplished and he has drawn the fire of his anticipated adversaries, perhaps he will choose from the map of suggestions at hand and adopt for his own such "reasons" as will most effectively elude the charges made against him and most gratify those whose good will he now seeks to conciliate. We would therefore, counsel our friends of the press to make no comments. Drive him to select his own battle grounds. If he can afford to be silent, so can we. The burthen is upon him who has denounced and battled for years with a party, and suffered disgrace and ruin at its hands, to show how it comports with honesty and honor that he should make its leading organ the instrument of announcing his desertion of those who raised him to the power and distinction which he forfeited, and consoled and pitied him in his decline. His card shows his eagerness to speak to the people, and they will very patiently wait for him. We have no need to begin the attack so. He is down and dead, and like Brutus, we would "be sacrificers, but not butchers."

"To cut the head off, and then hack the limbs; with wrath, in death, and envy afterwards."

GENEROUS.

"We would be highly pleased to see Butler Governor of Massachusetts as often as he can be elected, but when it comes to the presidency, we are 'agin' him."—*Roanoke News*.

The above lofty and elegantly phrased sentiment is about a fair exponent of the feeling which prevails among the class for whom it was mainly intended. Gen. Butler, the devil, or "any other man," is good enough for the purpose of beating the Massachusetts Republicans, as the North Carolina Democracy are not to share in the disasters of his evil rule. A generous sentiment, truly, and one which the Democrats of the Bay State might remember when next called upon in a national election to rid "the down-trodden south" of the horrors of "negro supremacy and a centralized despotism," but for the fact that the paper propagating it is in all probability not known to exist by a single citizen of that commonwealth. We would commend it, however, to the citizens of western North Carolina, when instructed by this journal, as they doubtless will be, in next year's campaign, in the lofty patriotism ex-

pected of them in relation to county government. When our western friends are then asked by the *Roanoke News* to surrender the privilege of local self rule, to save the "negro ridden east" from colored domination, let them not forget to recall to its attention this instance of its own selfish indifference to the welfare of its political allies in another state.

ONE GUESS.

The daily *Journal Observer* of Charlotte, under the head of "a significant withdrawal" hazards a surmise as to Gov. Holden's latest change which may be a shrewd approximation of the truth. After calling attention to his having held for some time the lucrative position of postmaster at Raleigh, it refers to his displacement in favor of Mr. Nichols, and remarks that "this of course, was calculated to dampen his ardor." Very true. Few things more so, and without departing from our intention to not give Mr. Holden grounds for attacking others when it is his business to defend himself, we submit this suggestion to our readers as one will deserving their consideration—especially at this time when a general turn out of "the rascals" might again turn in such displaced officials as our postmaster governor.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

The Asheville *News* of August 15th, in a leading editorial of great ability, and no less ingenuity, brings forward the names of Hawley and Lincoln as our next candidates for president and vice-president respectively. The editor adroitly and briefly does away with Arthur and Blaine by announcing, from some source of information as authoritative as it is mysterious, that the former would in no event consent to succeed himself, while the latter goes by the board for the sole and sufficient reason that he is too great to be nominal president, and must resign himself to the fate of great men, of being president as to the work of the office, while smaller ones reap the honors and emoluments. A sad warning to great men, which we shall not fail to heed.—The great Sherman, too, despite his distinguished connection with the finances and tariff of the country, would, we suppose, go the same road for the same reason. Well, we might "go further and do worse" than to accept the suggestion of our contemporaries. We are not making presidents just now, though when we get leisure for that business we will let our friend know. For the present we forbear to blight or brighten the prospects of these gentlemen, and merely say what we have to "give the news" and let our readers see what is thought by others.

Has the British Lion Worn Out His Paws?

BY ALBERT S. POLLEK.

Our Free Trade brethren say he has. They say that the lion has been, he is now gentle and lamb-like; that even the weakest nation is safe in his sight, for, say they, is not his motto: "Peace, good will among nations?"

Our purpose is to examine the condition of his paws. Their sharpness was well known in the American colonial days. At that time the colonies were regarded simply with the view of enriching the English shipper, merchant and manufacturer. The English government forbade them to make their own wares. A keen watch was kept over them to prevent competition on their part with the artisans of England. The governors of the different colonies were directed to make a careful report to the home government of the condition of the colonial manufactures in order that they might be destroyed. Iron foundries and sifting mills were discovered, and they were speedily suppressed. The manufacture of fur hats was discovered, and accordingly this industry was restricted so closely that hats could not be exported even to the next colony from the one in which they were made, and the makers were allowed only two apprentices at a time. Wool and flax manufactures were suppressed by stringent provisions. American factories were declared nuisances. Great Britain even forbade the printing of the Bible in America. One of the greatest of English statesmen, the elder Pitt, expressed his opinion on this subject in Parliament which has been often repeated: "The colonies ought not to be permitted to make even a hob-nail." This opinion, as Pitt well knew, was held not by him alone, but by the merchants, shippers and manufacturers. The hob-nail policy was regarded the correct one for England to enforce, whatever might be the result to the colonies.

But the American colonists were not the first people toward whom English rulers, inspired by English merchants and manufacturers, had shown the depths of their heartlessness and rapacity. Ireland had been compelled to drink a still more bitter cup. After the Cromwellian wars had ended in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Irish desired to cultivate their lands in peace. At that time these were the principal sources of Irish wealth. The raising of cattle was the most profitable branch of industry, large numbers of which were exported to England. But

ere long the English landholder became alarmed. He feared the results of Irish competition. Accordingly he took steps to prevent it. What those steps were we shall briefly relate. They are described by Lecky in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century." We shall reproduce them mainly in his own words, so that no one can accuse us of distorting this chapter of English history. For surely no one will question either the honesty, ability or impartiality of this historian.

What the English landholder feared was that the Irish rivalry in the cattle market would lower English rents. The remedy he desired was as simple as it was effective. In 1665 and 1680 laws were enacted which absolutely prohibited the importation into England from Ireland of all cattle, sheep and swine; of beef, pork, bacon and mutton; and even of butter and cheese. "In this manner," adds Lecky, "the chief source of Irish prosperity was annihilated at a single blow." At that time the Irish had a few ships afloat, and there were slight beginnings of a colonial trade. The English shippers did not look with any favor on those few Irish ships that were occasionally seen in foreign ports. Accordingly laws were enacted to protect the English shipper. With a very few specified exceptions no European articles, it was declared, could be imported into the English colonies unless they came from England, in ships built there and manned by English sailors. Nor could any articles save a very few be brought from the colonies to Europe unless they were first unladen in England.

Through fear that these regulations might not utterly destroy Irish shipping, in 1696 another act was passed which declared that no goods of any kind could be imported directly from the colonies to Ireland. "In this manner," says Lecky, "the natural course of Irish commerce was utterly checked. Her shipping interest was annihilated, and Swift hardly exaggerated when he said: 'The convenience of ports and harbors, which nature bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.'"

We now come to the third act of England in repressing Irish industries. Forbidden to export cattle to England, and to navigate the sea, the Irish turned their land into sheep-walks, and began to manufacture wool. As early as 1638 Strafford, one of the English ministers, noticed that there were some small beginnings of a clothing trade in Ireland, and he proposed to discourage it to the utmost limit it should interfere with the woolen manufacture in England. Lecky says that if it had been an object of statesmanship to make Ireland a happy country, to mitigate the subject and heart-rending poverty of its people, and to develop among them habits of order, civilization and loyalty, the encouragement of this industrial tendency was of the utmost moment. England was bent on the destruction of this industry.

The manufacturers urgently petitioned for the total destruction of the rising industry. The House of Lords represented to the king that "the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessities of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth irritate your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to alter their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woolen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here." The House of Commons in very similar terms urged the king to join all those who employ in Ireland to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the discouraging the wool manufactures.

The king promised to do as he was requested. A Parliament summoned in Dublin in 1698 for the express purpose of destroying the woolen industry of Ireland. Just imagine the feelings of the men who were convened to destroy the industry in which their friends were engaged or perhaps even themselves. But Lecky says that the Irish Parliament was at first completely subservient to English influence, and had it been otherwise, it would have had no power to resist. In 1699, therefore, a crushing law, prohibiting the Irish from exporting their manufactures, wool or other commodities whatever, killed at a single blow this industry. "So ended," continues Lecky, "the fairest promise Ireland has ever known of becoming a prosperous and happy country. The ruin was absolute and final." Ireland, wrote Swift, an Irishman, and unrivalled in some respects among English writers, "is the only kingdom I ever heard of, or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state. Yet this privilege, by the mere superiority of power, is refused us in the momentous parts of commerce." Lecky, therefore, is justified in saying that "the main industry of Ireland had been deliberately destroyed because it had so prospered that English manufacturers had begun to regard it as a competitor with their own."

It is true that the English promised to encourage the linen and hemp manufacture as a compensation for destroying the woolen manufacture. How did England execute this promise? The woolen trade, as we have seen, was destroyed in 1699. Not until six years afterward was the slightest legislative encouragement granted to the linen industry. Then, at the urgent petition of the Irish Parliament, the Irish were allowed to export their white and brown linens, but only to the British colonies, not even they permitted to

bring any colonial goods in return. "In spite of the compact of 1698," says Lecky, "the linen manufacture was so discouraged that it positively ceased. Disabling duties were imposed on Irish sail-cloth imported into England. Irish checked, striped and dyed linens were absolutely excluded from the colonies. They were virtually excluded from England by the imposition of a duty of 30 per cent, and Ireland was not allowed to participate in the bounties granted for the exportation of these descriptions of linen from Great Britain." Thus it became "abundantly evident to all reasonable men," concludes Lecky, "that England possessed both the power and the will to crush every form of Irish industry as soon as it became sufficiently prosperous to compete in any degree with her own manufactures. It appeared useless to persist." The woolen manufactures which were ruined had afforded employment to 12,000 families in the metropolis and to 30,000 dispersed over the kingdom.

"For nearly fifty years after its destruction the people were in such a state of poverty that every season produced an absolute famine." Does any one wonder that the Irish race became disheartened over English rule? Would they have been men, and quietly submitted to the destruction of their industries, which meant the robbery of their own bread? Those who think that the Irish have no cause of complaint against England cannot be familiar with Irish history. What people would have submitted with better grace to so many insults than did the people of Ireland? Those who imagine that the Irish desecration is a recent and a trifling wrong, who think that the Irish have no cause of complaint against England cannot be familiar with Irish history. What people would have submitted with better grace to so many insults than did the people of Ireland? Those who imagine that the Irish desecration is a recent and a trifling wrong, who think that the Irish have no cause of complaint against England cannot be familiar with Irish history.

In the light of these terrible wrongs does any one wonder, we repeat, why the Irish should hate Great Britain and thirst for revenge? We may regret whatever they do contrary to law; nevertheless, we can not be human and help feeling sympathy toward that people whom England through a long course of years has robbed in order to enrich herself. It is impossible to find the slightest excuse or justification for the English policy. The Irish were forbidden to export cattle, simply, solely, and only because by so doing they interfered with the trade and prosperity of Englishmen. They could not export wool, simply, solely, and only for the same reason. The Irish industries were destroyed, not in the way of punishment for past misdeeds, but simply that English trade and prosperity might not be injured. Happily the Irish are beginning to find out that, if they can not recover any portion of their losses, the cause of British greed and power, those living in this country can at least prevent Great Britain from re-enacting the old story in America by objecting that industrial policy the object of which is to maintain our markets and our industries for the benefit of the people who live and labor on this side of the sea.

It is said, England may have treated Ireland and the American colonies badly, but she has become wiser and more humane in modern times. This formerly was she still is in spirit and too often in practice. Wherever she can enforce her policy by night she does not shrink from the effort. Let us take Turkey as an example. The policy of Turkey was protective so far as the industries existed in that country which were fairly prosperous. Says Dr. Hamlin, who lived in the country for many years, there was no rich manufacturer, but the numerous workmen in their small workshops were much better off than the similar class in England. In one quarter of Scutari there were five or six thousand weavers of cotton goods for the home market. Copper-smiths were very numerous in Constantinople. The native cutlery, carpenters' tools, cane and shoe-makers, stone-workers, tailors, and the makers of amber, wood, oriental boots, shoes, embroidery and many other domestic arts, employed tens of thousands of industrious workmen in that city, and the products of their labor went to all parts of the world. The sea and the land routes to the Asiatic and African ports, and the African trade were in the hands of the Turkish. Through Cobden's efforts Turkey was inveigled into introducing Free Trade. What happened? All the industries mentioned which flourished then, and many others, disappeared or were reduced to insignificance with astounding rapidity. The Turkish fabrics were imitated in Manchester, with a nicer finish, and sold at less than half price. Of course, the Turkish manufacturers soon succumbed. Dr. Hamlin says that "every loom in Scutari ceased to work. The long, narrow buildings where they worked have rotted down. I had occasion to go to hire one, but it was too much decayed to be easily repaired, and rot and rust drove me out. That large population perished in wretchedness and misery extreme."

Another illustration is worth giving. Dr. Hamlin says that in 1840 he visited Brusa, a city in the interior and especially noted for its silk-works and for weaving Brusa bath-towels. At that time this was a large and flourishing industry and supported thousands of hands. After the introduction of Free Trade into Turkey, Manchester began making the shag towels of Brusa, and sending them even to that very city. They were poorly made, but looked like the real thing and were sold cheap. Every Brusa loom was stopped. After the industry was thoroughly killed the price of towels rose again, so that Dr. Hamlin, in proposing to the senate that it was in them the people had to pay probably at least twenty-five per cent. more for these goods than for the aid ones of native manufacture.

This is a fair illustration of the policy of Great Britain, which is sanctioned by the Queen's Club, whose motto is peace and good will toward nations. Introduced bogus goods, sell them cheap, ruin competing industries, raise prices and rob the people! And the doing of these things is called an exhibition of peace and good will toward nations.

"Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them."—SHAKESPEARE.



THE LITTLE GIANT.

General William Mahone, United States Senator from Virginia, whose position in that body is the subject of so much political controversy, was born in Southampton, Va., in 1827; was graduated from the Virginia Military Institute in 1847; and afterwards, until the outbreak of the war of secession, devoted himself to civil engineering. He was the constructor of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. He embarked in the secession movement; took part in the capture of the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1861; raised and commanded the Sixth Virginia Regiment, and was with it in most of the battles in the Peninsula campaign, those of the Rappahannock and those around Petersburg. He was made both brigadier-general and major-general in the year 1861, and afterwards commanded a corps in Lee's army, and it is well known by the members of that army that he was beloved by Gen. Lee and regarded as one of his very best commanding officers. He was in every important engagement that took place in the Virginia army. No man was in as many pitched battles as Gen. Mahone. At the close of the war he returned to railroad engineering, and in the course of time he became president of a trunk line from Norfolk into Tennessee, over four hundred miles long. His railroad direction has given him a power in politics, which he has always exercised in a large and independent way, utterly baffling to the politicians of the old school, but often very useful to them. When the Democratic party was at its wits' ends, and by every means possible was attempting to overthrow Republican rule in Virginia, it was Mr. Mahone who suggested that the bourgeois should inquire Mr. Walker, a Northern man, and an avowed Republican, as Governor. Walker proved to be all that Mahone had promised the Virginians. Since then, it is said, the Virginia railroad king has made Withers United States Senator and Kemper Governor of Virginia. The nomination of Mahone to the United States Senate, still more completely, and in default of securing the nomination for Governor for himself, he turned it over to Holliday and elected him. Holliday having allied himself with Mahone's enemies, the latter entered the field again at the head of the "Readjusters" was elected by them United States Senator in place of Hon. Robert E. Withers, and took his seat March 4th, 1881. His term will expire March 4th, 1887.

General Mahone is at the head of the Liberal movement in the South, and is therefore one of the most important political persons in this country today, striking out as he has and organizing and leading a new party of the independent and liberal-minded men of the South. He succeeded in re-deeeming Virginia, and it now looks as if he is bound to take a large majority of the southern States from the Bourbon democracy.

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JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

U. S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT. No public man of the present day holds a higher position in the hearts of his countrymen than General Joseph R. Hawley. He was born at Stewartsville, Richmond Co., North Carolina, Oct. 31st, 1826, and until he was eleven years of age, he attended school at a little log school house at a place known as Scotch Hill in Richmond county, N. C. At this time he removed to Connecticut with his parents.

For three years he worked on the old farm of his forefathers, and then returned to school. He entered the Sophomore class Hamilton College in 1844, and was graduated in 1847.

As a student, he held a high rank, especially in the languages and studies pertaining to literature and politics. He was a good writer and gave early evidence of the oratorical ability which has since made him famous as a campaign orator and skillful debater. He took the first prize in declamation, and though the different societies of the college were carrying on a hot rivalry, he was unanimously elected to deliver the annual address in 1847. Among the members of the faculty and the trustees, he was as popular as with the students, an evidence of which is the fact that he is, to-day, a trustee of the college, by election of the alumni, and Doctor of Laws, through the courtesy of the corporation.

After his graduation, he studied law at Cazenovia, N. Y., taught school for two winters; studied law one summer with John Hooker Esq., and subsequently became his law partner at Hartford, Conn. From the start, Sept. 1st, 1849, the firm of Hooker & Hawley, did a thriving business.

Hawley's first political appearance was in the autumn of 1850, when he rose in a meeting, which he and his partner had assembled, and protested vigorously against the fugitive slave law. He had imbibed his father's anti-slavery views, and during his entire political career has never belonged to either the Whig or the Democratic party.

He took the stump in 1852, making thirty or forty stirring speeches. Into the brilliant campaign of Fremont and Dayton, in 1856, he plunged with all his soul and made fifty speeches, which probably had much influence in securing Fremont's election by a substantial majority.

The Hartford Press, of which he became proprietor in 1856, and which was merged in the *Courant*, in 1857, was the field for his first journalistic and literary work. He is still one of the proprietors of the paper one of the best paying newspapers in the country, besides it is the leading Republican paper of New England.

Upon the outbreak of the war, he was the first man in Connecticut to enlist. At the nation's call for troops, he answered; by ordering rifles and beginning the organization of a company, before the call had reached the smaller towns. As Captain, he led his fellow soldiers to the battle of Bull Run, where he won high commendation from his Colonel for valor. He immediately raised a regiment and in 1861, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General of Volunteers. He won in many hard fought battles and achieved great praise, from his superior officers for his bravery and good management handling his men during these fights. He was at the capturing of Fort Fisher near Wilmington and was second in command to Gen. Terry. He commanded this military division for many months, and by his orders many thousands of white and colored people were fed until they could raise a crop in 1865.

During the month of August 1865, a testimonial to his heroism, intelligence and lofty christian character, was presented to him by distinguished friends, a "general officer's regulation sword," was manufactured for him at an expense of eleven hundred and fifty dollars. The succeeding month, he received promotion to the rank of Major General of Volunteers by brevet.

Upon his return from the war, he was elected Governor of Connecticut in 1866, by a large majority, and served his state with dignity and honor. He was President of the National Republican Convention of 1868 at the time Grant received his first nomination, and was appointed Presidential elector. He was Secretary of the committee on resolutions in the National

Convention of 1872. He was chairman of the committee on resolutions in 1876. He was President of the United States Centennial Commission from its organization in 1873 to the completion of the work of the Centennial Commission in 1877.

He filled the vacancy in the Forty-second Congress, occurring through the death of Hon. J. L. Strong, and at the succeeding election was returned, as well as to the Forty-sixth Congress. In 1881, he was elected U. S. Senator to succeed Hon. W. W. Eaton and took his seat March 4th, 1881. His term will expire March 4th, 1887.

The whole life of the man is pleasant study, from the little log school house, in the wilds of the Carolinas, to the chair he holds with so much of public approval in the Senate.

His popularity as President of the Centennial Commission, was amply attested in the gift of a superb vase, from the members.

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