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EDITORIAL OPINIONE OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURBERT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Political Revolution Down South
-New Age of Negro Worshipping.

From the Herald.

"Lord, we know what we are, but know not what we may be," says the unhappy Ophelia; and how forcibly is this solemn fact impressed upon us when we look at the vicissitudes and transformations in our party politics and politicians of the last half dozen years ! It seems as if it were but yesterday that we had a decision from the Supreme Court of the United States affirming that "the negro, under the Constitution, has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." But where stands Sambo now? On the French tripod of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," he has become the Hindoo Brahma of American politics. To the disgust of Wendell Phillips, even the old line Democracy and the late higher caste Southern chivalry are down in the dirt muttering their prayers and promises to "the almighty nigger." Truly, in this political revolution, as in the Niagara Falls and the big cedars of California, fat women and living skeletons, and various other things, America beats the

Under "the Union as it was" General Wade Hampton, with the addition of a thousand negro slaves, absolutely his, was the Duke of Devonshire of South Carolina. His favorite and hospitable country seat at Columbia was that of a principality in its luxurious appointments, accessories, and surroundings. His dependants and his slaves, his cotton fields, vineyards, flower gardens, stables, and granaries were those of a prince. "Fallen from his high estate" what is he now? We will let him answer for himself as he spoke at Columbia the other day, in his fraternizing speech to the sympathetic blacks for their political fusion with their late white masters. No personal motives, he contended, could influence him in this appeal; "for," said he, "I am no longer a citizen of the United States, or of South Carolina. The bill which gives the right of suffrage to you (his emancipated slaves) disfranchises me. I have not even a home here; for my home, and the homes of all who love my name, have been laid in ashes. I have no political rights. I have nothing to bind me to this ruined land but the memories of the past, the affections I cherish for its people, and the graves of my kindred." How cold and pointless, compared with this warm and living picture, is the figure of Marius brooding over the ruins of Carthage!

But our point in this case is the negro vote of the South. It is a Southern political balance of power; it covers the popular majority in South Carolina, the importance of which to the ruling white class is thoroughly grasped by Hampton. Like a wise man, he accepts the issues of the war, and bows to the terms of Congress. He appeals to the blacks, lately his slaves, as his political superiors, to try the political experiment of harmonizing with their late white masters before they go over into the political service of strangers. There is in this appeal a degree of chivalry and political sagacity far higher than anything else in the line of chivalry of which South Carolina can justly boast. The broad fact that the two races in the South must henceforth harmonize on a political basis to avoid a bloody conflict of races, is the ground covered by Wade Hampton. But the Northern radicals, and even the old Northern Bourbon Democracy, are in the field for this Southern negro balance of power. What, then, is likely to follow from this givalry for the smiles of Sambo?

Black though it may be, we have to look this thing in the face. You cannot give "the Southern colored gentleman" the ballot and still expect to keep him out of office. Where he has the majority in the matter of color he must be brought off, or the white man must stand back when the time comes. From the political necessities of this party or that party, therefore, it will be no matter for surprise if we have in the next Congress from the South five, ten or fifteen or twenty members of the House, and a scattering shot or two in the shape of a "dark complected" Senator. Colored gentlemen for foreign misthe Cabinet, and the White will then be in order. When James Buchanan was our Minister at London, on one occasion at a court reception he was asked what he thought of the ambassador from Hayti, a strapping African, gorgeous in gold lace, at his elbow. "I think," said "Old Buck," quizzing the glittering negro; "I think that that fellow would fetch fifteen hundred dollars in New Orleans." New Orleans." Upon that platform "the favorite son of Pennsylvania" (O Moses!) in 1856 was elected President by the Southern white balance of power. But now, slavery out of the way, the contest is for the Southern black balance of power, and unless the radicals in the North prove their professions by their acts they will lose it, notwithstanding the Southern machinery is in the hands of Secretary Stanton. Prederick Douglass, the Rev. Mr. Smith or Box Brown, as representative blacks of the North, must be advanced to equal suffrage and a division of the spoils, or Sambo and Pompey in the South will follow the Southern banner of Wade Hampton, Governor Brown, Longstreet, and Lee. The logical programme from negro suffrage in the South must be carried out by the Republicans in the North, or the party will be broken to pieces. Thus there is a fair prospect that the radical Wade Hampton, of South Carolina, on his Southern platform, will yet be more than a match for the radicals of Massachusetts.

More Reconstruction.

From the Times. The records of Congress reveal many extraordinary propositions, but few more extraordinary than that which is embodied in a bill introduced on Friday by Senator Conness, and referred to the Joint Committee on the Library. It is a bill designating four scholarly gentlemen-two American; two English-to form "a Board of Commissioners on the Phometic System." Phonetics, as defined by Webster, is the doctrine or science of sounds, and the phonetic system relates to spelling in phonetic characters as opposed to ideographic.

An odd subject, one would think, for Congress to meddle with, but much more odd when made, as by Conness' bill, the subject of formal inquiry by four Commissioners, to be paid \$5000 each as compensation. And what is to be the business of the Commission! Mr. Conness provides that it shall be to report mpon "the practicability of the substitution of the phonetic for the Latin alphabet in common use in the United States."

In other words, to report whether and how our spelling-books and dictionaries shrll be reconstructed, and whether and how we shall all be the phonetic basis. After a report, of course,

there will be legislation. Congress having by that perfected the reconstruction of the Union, will proceed to reconstruct our English; and we shall probably be required to write on the phonetic system, ou pain of disfranchisement, or some yet severer penalty.

Considering the magnitude of the work, however, a twenty thousand dollar commission is rather a shabby method of beginning it. The reform contemplated is intended to extend wherever the English language is spoken, and nothing less than a grand International Commission should be charged with its inauguration. Mr. Conness evidently has an imperfect appreciation of the mighty movement with which the history of the age will associate his name.

The Fentans and Their Foes.

From the Times.

One would think that a perusal of the results of the Fenian movement in Ireland, and the fate of those engaged in it, would instil some feeling of compassion into the hearts of the most hardened political demagogue. Honest and patriotic Irishmen were deluded into revolt against the British authority-not furnished with arms, not provided with weapons of any kind-and of course were seized, thrown into dungeons, and reserved for execution, or imprisoned at hard labor for ten, fifteen, or twenty years.

The leaders, who had gathered thousands and hundreds of thousands of dollars from the poorer classes of the Irish in this country, under the plea of delivering their native land from tyranny, have pocketed the money, and kept themselves out of danger. The whole affair was foolish and cruel to the last degree. Thousands of families have been plunged into poverty and wretchedness, and not the faintest shadow of good has been accomplished.

Yet men are not wanting in Congress to ommend these robbers and plunderers still further to the confidence of their countrymen. The House of Representatives has passed resolutions of "sympathy," and has tried to pass them off upon the Irish as pledges of aid. Naturally enough, Fernando Wood took the lead in this flagitions and heartless work, and he was nobly seconded by General Banks and one or two other members.

We repeat, what we have said more than once already, that the Irish have not the slighest ground for hope of deliverance from English rule, until the United States is involved in war with England. If Wood, Banks, and their associates are willing to plunge this country into such a war, for such an object, why have they not the courage to say so? Any declarations of "sympathy" for the Irish, short of this, are hollow shams-the emptiest of all shallow pretexts-intended only to carry favor and secure votes.

These men are the worst enemies the Irish can have. They are perfectly willing to rob them of their money, to wring from servants and laborers their hard-earned savings, to send men deluded by their arts to dungeons, to exile and to death, and to plunge their wives and children into the depths of poverty and distress, in the hopes of thereby securing their own political promotion. This, certainly, is the last resort of reckless and despe-

rate demagogues. Even John Mitchel, rash and headstrong as he is, proves himself a much better friend of countrymen than this. He tells them plainly that so long as England is at peace, reland has no hope. He advises effort enough to maintain their organizations in readiness for such an emergency as war with the United States or some other powerful nation, but nothing more. Raids upon Canada, or invasions or revolts in Ireland, he holds to be terrible and fatal blunders.

New Principle in European Politics. From the Tribune.

Old Europe, as it was constructed by the Congress of Vienna, is fast crumbling to pieces. Until the great movements of the year 1848, the leading statesmen could delude themselves by the belief that partial changes like the constitution of an independent Greece and Belgium might yet save the structure of the whole. Since then, the decomposition has been going on at a rapid rate, and the irrepressible character of the national tendencies has become more and more apparent. The French revolution of 1848, and the establishment of the Second Empire, the liberation and the consolidation of the Italian States, the demolition of the old German Confederation, and the aggrandizement of Prussia, were not mere repairs of local defects, but a reconstruction of a very large portion of the edifice, foreboding, moreover, the speedy collapse of the remainder, and the rearing of a European State system upon an entirely new basis.

Heretofore, the relation of the European States to each other had not been regulated by any fixed moral principle. The sovereigns generally held to the opinion that the frontiers of every State ought to remain as they had been fixed at Vienna. When changes seemed to be unavoidable, the principle which guided the policy of most or all of the great Courts was the preservation of the balance of power, which meant that each of the Governments of the five large States-Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and Great Britain-was anxious to prevent an increase of power to any of its rivals which would injure its own rank in the family of nations. As to the grievances of nations like the Italian, German, Polish, they were either treated as entirely imaginary, or only used as a pretext for making political capital, or effecting the aggrandizement of the power which volunteged a patronage of the

oppressed nationalities. The principle of nationality, which was first openly advocated by Louis Napoleon, was a startling novelty. If carried through, it might seriously affect all the great powers. It naturally quickened the revolutionary movements in most of the European countries and in case of war France might expect gratitude from the nations which it had aided in establishing their national unity. The effects of the new principle during the last fifteen years lie open before the eyes of the world. Every one knows that it has had a large share in promoting the unity of Italy and Germany. If, therefore, Louis Napoleon, from advocating the novel principle, expected radical changes in the map of Europe, his anticipations have been realized. But if he at the same time anticipated that, by means of it, France would attain a higher position in Europe, he has been wofully disappointed. Italy and Germany have both become more powerful than can be agreeable to Napoleon; and the prospects of his administration for the future are

anything but favorable. During the past year, in particular, the foreign policy of France has been so unsuccessful that it was expected that the opposition would use it for a powerful attack upon the Government. The speech of Thiers does not fully realize this anticipation. He undertakes to establish two points sent to school again to unlearn and relearn on first, that the principle of nationalities which Louis Napoleon is endeavoring to earry

jurious to the interest of France. The second point he easily establishes in the opinions of his hearers; but in his attempt to prove the first he signally fails. In order to attack the principle of nationalities, he undertakes the defense of the monstrous theory of the balance of power. According to M. Thier's own sexplanation, the adoption of this theory by the Government of France would mean opposition to any movement that would increase the power of another (especially neighboring) nation, while not the least objection would be made to the largest possible extension of the frontier of France. It is plain that the adoption of the same principle by other great powers would make an era of peace impossiole; for each one of them would naturally seek to outgrow and overreach the others. For nations torn asunder and oppressed as Italy has been for so many years, Thiers does not feel the least sympathy. He would have been willing to give the Italians liberal institutions, but unity-never. The same feeling s shown towards the Cretans and the Christian tribes of Turkey. He does not like, he says, the Turk, but he thinks his rule preferable to that by which the Christians now try to replace it. These revolting sentiments were promptly disowned by Garnier Pages one of the Provisional Government of 1848. but they were, nevertheless, very detrimental to the position of the Liberal opponent of the Government. The French policy of Louis Napoleon had never before been more liable to attack, and it was therefore unfortunate that the first great speech against it was, on the whole, a failure.

The New Kingdom of North Germany.

From the World.

The adoption, some days since, by the North German Parliament, of the new Constitution proposed by Von Bismark for North Germany, must be reckoned as one of the great events of the nineteenth century. It ranks with the establishment of the French Empire by Louis Napoleon, the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and the unification of Italy. A year has not elapsed since the world was startled by the advance of the Prussian troops into Holstein, which was the signal of the subsequent trial of strength between Prussia and Austria. Seven short weeks of war sufficed to decide the question at issue, leaving the former power mistress of Northern Germany. Eight months have scarcely passed since peace was declared, and but one since the North German Parliament was convened by the King of Prussia; yet within this time a new Confede ration has been formed, a new constitution submitted, discussed, and adopted, thus completing the triumph of Prussia, and raising her to the front rank of the great powers of the world. By the provisions of the new constitution, Prussia is the head of the Confederation, and is its sole representative among other nations. She has the power to declare war or peace, to make treaties with other powers, and receive or accredit ambassadors. She convenes and adourns the Parliament, and the control of all the land and naval forces of the Confederacy is vested in the King of Prussia, under the title of the Federal Commander-in-Chief and Lord High Admiral, who also has sole control of the expenses for the army and navy. Next to the chief of the Confederacy is the Federal Council, composed of forty-three members, apportioned among and nominated by the several States in the Confederacy. bers of this body will share with the Parliament the control of legislation, and can appear in the latter body and express the views the States which they represent. The Parliament is to be composed of representatives chosen by the people, every man over twentyfive years of age being entitled to a vote. This body, in conjunction with the Federal Counwill enact the laws, which, it should be added, are to have effect throughout the entire Confederacy, and are to supersede the laws of the several States. Questions of trade and commerce, of indirect taxation and customs duties, of weights, measures, and coinage, and of the system of internal communication, are to be referred to these legislative bodies. The proceedings of the Parliament are to be public. and the votes to be decided by a majority, a quorum to consist of more than half of the members. The same rule is to bind the Federal Council, except that a majority of twothirds will be required to effect any change in the Constitution. Every man, except such as serve in the navv, is required to serve seven years in the regular army and five in the militia, and all in the national service, military or civil, are to take the oath of fealty to the King

of Prussia. Such, in brief, are the prominent features of the new Constitution of North Germany. It will be observed that nearly all the power is centred in Prussia, or rather, in the King of Prussia as chief of the Confederacy. The main objection urged against the document was that by it Parliament would have no control over the expenditures; but it is not necessary to explain why Von Bismark was unwilling to intrust the public purse to the representatives of the people. The centralization of such enormous power in the chief of the Confederacy is plainly a compensation for universal suffrage; and unless the signs of the times be false, King William will be elected Emperor, which will be a fit finale of the grand drama that within the past year has been

enacted in Germany. It will be strange if Amerians neglect to draw a parallel between the history of the United States for the past six years and that of Prussia for the past twelve months. Each was rent by internal dissension, and each subdued all armed opposition to its authoritythe one in seven weeks, the other in four years. Prussia has solved in eight months all the great problems which the issues of the war presented, and justly anticipates a most brilliant future; but the United States finds itself at the close of the second year after the cessation of hostilities no nearer a settlement of the questions which incited the war, as well as of those which were evolved by the war, but rather farther from it, in that it has just reduced to military provinces the very States against which it fought to prevent them from severing their relations as States in the Union.

Congress and the Constitution.

From the Nation. None of our readers will ever suspect us of too great a reverence for Congressmen; and we think that we cannot justly be charged with want of respect for the Constitution of the United States. We have all along nrged the adoption of a constitutional policy both by the President and Congress; and while warning those who seek to make the Constitution a means of raining the country, that the nation would not and could not be expected to submit to strangulation by law, we have neither said nor believed that any such result would be produced by a fair interpretation of the Constitution.

Some journals-the New York Times for one -which, during the war, unhesitatingly jus-tifled the suspension of the habeas corpus without the authority of Congress, the estab- trouble.

through in European politics is altogether | lishment of military commissions in loyal false; and secondly, that it has been most institutionality of which is no longer in doubt, if it ever was-are now amazed and afflicted at what they assume to be the unquestioned disregard of Congress for the Constitution. In this lamentation they are of course joined by that larger number of journals which de-nounced the unconstitutional acts of Mr. Lincoln, but applauded to the skies the more unconstitutional (because less necessary) acts of

Mr. Johnson. We do not propose to investigate in detail all the acts of Congress which are thus criticized, nor can we fully discuss the questions raised upon any one of these measures. But when it is taken for granted not only that the action of Congress is utterly violative of the Constitution, but that nobody imagines it to be otherwise, it may be well to indicate, however briefly, the grounds of a different conclu-Some of our readers may be impatient with the subject, for ever since John C. Breck inridge uttered his jeremiads over the viola tion of the Constitution, while himself pre paring to destroy it, the mass of loyal citizens have been too much disgusted with the whole plea of unconstitutionality to listen even to a refutation of it. But this feeling will and should pass away.

The first and most hackneyed objection to the action of Congress is in respect to its "exclusion of ten States." No one reading the articles written on this point would sus-pect that Congress justified this exclusion upon any other ground than that such was its will and pleasure. Yet the writers are perfeetly aware that a large portion of Congress honestly believe that the "ten States" have entirely ceased to exist; while nearly threefourths of Congress are fully satisfied that none of these States have valid and regular Governments. The latter ground has been finally taken by the dominant party, and it is one which is incontrovertibly sustained by the facts. If those Governments were regularly organized, it is scarcely possible to conceive of any usurpation which, being a de facto Government, will not be regular. No argument can be needed to show that, if the State Governments are invalid, the Senators and Representatives chosen under their direc-

tion are properly excluded. The next objection is to the suspension of the habeas corpus by act of Congress, a measure for which we have no special affection, but as to which we must here consider only the question of legitimate power, and not the question of expediency. It is said that the Rebellion is over, and therefore that the power to suspend this writ has expired. It is true that all organized war is over; but is it to be imagined that the suspension of the writ must cease upon the instant that the last Rebel army lays down its arms? Do all the rights of war cease at that moment? If so, no prisoner of war could have been lawfully detained after that time, and all the precautions and machinery incident to a state of war must then have been instantly abandoned. We all know that there is no such rule. Mr. Johnson certainly never acted upon it. No Government or military commander ever did. The state of war lasts until society is restored to its natural and normal condition. If the war is between distinct nations, it lasts until a treaty is signed, even though months elapse, during which the vanquished nation has not a man under arms. If the war is a civil one, it lasts until civil government is fully restored by legitimate authority. This has not been done in the Southern States. Mr. Johnson thinks it has, and utterly ignores all contrary opinions. His veto messages have been care fully framed not to controvert the arguments by which Congress justified its action, but to give the impression to the world at large that no such arguments were thought of by any one. There is something ingenious, but not ingenuous, in this mode of carrying on a public controversy; and the fact that ten men read the veto messages to one who reads the speeches or other arguments in confutation of these, gave Mr. Johnson an immense advantage. Such tricks of argument are common among unscrupulous lawyers, and it is by some such persons, we surmise, that the Presidential messages have been written.

Of the same class is the objection to the recent law regulating the elective franchise in the Rebel States. Mr. Johnson suggests, with an air of mild surprise, that it has never before been deemed within the power of Congress to regulate that subject within any of the States. The fact that these States had become so utterly disorganized as to make the interference of the national Government necessary, in pursuance of an express provision of the Constitution, and the further fact that he had himself acted upon this theory, regulating the right of suffrage in these same States according to his own will, he entirely keeps out of sight.

This poor example of an unworthy Executive is religiously followed by all his sup-porters and apologists. They gladly quote every hasty expression of impatience constitutional restraint which they can find in the speeches of Congressmen opposed to the President's doctrine; but they never allow their readers to suspect that the Congressional policy is believed by any one to be warranted by the Constitution. The establishment of martial law in the Rebel States is probably the most doubtful of any of the measures of Congress; yet its validity, assuming the continuince of the war, has been expressly affirmed by four judges of the Supreme Court, one of them being a Georgian Democrat. Nor did the opinion of the majority of the court in the Milligan case at all affect this question, unless by inference it conceded the power to Congress. Mr. Johnson certainly claimed this power for himself, maintaining and administerng martial law until civil government, in his opinion, was regularly organized. Congress simply proposes to do the same thing until, in its opinion. civil government is regularly rganized. Its power to do so is far more lear than was Mr. Johnson's, while its jurisliction to determine the validity of the governments set up at the South is indisputable.

In conclusion, we expect always to advo-cate a strict adherence to the Constitution, but not a strict construction of it. Such construction has been vehemently advocated, but never maintained. Jefferson, who was its ablest advocate among our earliest statesmen, was compelled to violate it; and Calhoun himself would have done so had he been President in a time of emergency. No human wisdom could frame a detailed plan of government that would not at some period suffocate the nation if strictly construed. We do not believe that the framers of the Constitution ever contemplated the possibility of such war as we have just witnessed, and we therefore do not believe that all its restrictions were designed to be severely applied to such a case. A very wide scope must be allowed to legislative action under such difficulties, and a liberal interpretation should be given to the general words of the Constitution. But we do not imagine that Congress is absolved by these difficulties from obedience to the fundamental law, nor have we seen any evidence that Congress supposes itself to be It has preferred some other dictionary to Johnson's, and this is the origin all of the

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