SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPTHIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPLED EVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

What Henders Reconstruction ! From the N. Y. Tribune.

The great body of the American people earnestly desire an early and complete adjustment of all remaining difficulties connected with er growing out of our late civil war. The interests of business and industry imperatively demand it. Property and enterprise unquestionably need it. There are millions of acres of Southern lands held in tracts of 500 to 50,000 acres by men who are hunted by sheriffs and pinched for bread, yet who could pay every dime they owe if our troubles were settled, so that immigration and capital would be attracted to their section and their lands be salable at something near their actual value. The South, badly shattered and scathed, is still rich in natural resources, and could soon pay all she owes and become thrifty if our country were really at peace; while her paying would diffuse activity and thrift throughout the North. Every thing good waits for a real, essential closing up of our great struggle. What hinders that beneficent consummation?

The Herald is the special organ of Johnson (for whose impeachment it flercely clamored through the year which closed with last July) and Johnsonized Democracy. It has a bevy of correspondents traversing the South to report whatever can be twisted into the service of Johnsonism. Here is a sample extract from the report of its Mississippi correspondent, dated Vicksburg, September 21:-

"Until quite recently, it seemed to be acknow ledged that the Convention party must succeed, and that the only ground for Southern men to take was that of a 'masterly inactivity,' hoping take was that of a 'masterly inactivity,' hoping in this way to avoid the appearance of consenting to the yoke of negro suffrage, and leaving an open door for them to turn against it, and, if possible, aboilsh it, when the State shall have been restored to the Union. But since the returns from the elections in Maine and in California have come in, a very different feeling and policy have obtained.

"The hope of reaction in the North, and of Democratic ascendancy, has awakened the hope of defeating the Convention, and, from annineness and inactivity, the Southern leaders

supineness and inactivity, the Southern leaders have launched out, with equal suddenness and inactivity, upon an earnest campaign to secure their great object. The singular feature of this reaction is this, that the party that reaction is this, that the party that has all all along been invelghing bitterly against the military rule is now working most carnestly and heartily for its continuance for years, simply as an escape from the more odious domination of the negro.

tion of the negro.

"To-day a general meeting or convention is held in Jackson, to commence the organization of the White Man's party, and warm work may be expected in Mississippi for some time to come. The white party work at a great disadvantage, from their lateness of organization and sudden and complete chapter of policy.

advantage, from their lateness of organization and sudden and complete change of policy.

"The methods adopted by these two great parties are in striking contrast. The one quiet, secret, burrowing in the League room at night, and pledging their partisans to cooperation, with instructions which few will disregard. The other bold, outspoken, venement, and pugnacious in words, luxuriating in offensive epithets. This is very bad policy, to say nothing of bad taste.

"The Vicksburg Herald delights to call the Republican Convention 'The Baboon Convention,' and others follow in the same style of graceful description. But, however appropriate and descriptive may be the name, 'The Baboon Convention,' and of 'gor lias' as members of it, it is quite certain that no baboon would do so foolish a thing as to insult and worry the power that may very soon control the affairs in Mississippi, and constitute anew the State. But common sense has never had much to do with Mississippi politics. The blacks light aggregate to this mon sense has never had much to do with Mis-sissippi politics. The blacks listen eagerly to this sort of talk and inwardly, but decisively resolve that they will never consent to place in power the men who thus betray their hatred and con-tempt of the black people; and thus the fire-eating whites are unconsciously co-operating with the Yankees in consolidating and unifying the sixty thousand negro votes of Mississippi, and rendering almost certain the calling of the Convention; the election of radical members to it; the adoption of a radical Constitution; and the election of radical, perhaps negro, repre-sentatives to Congress. The excitement of the canvass already waxes warm, and threatens a

-Here you see exactly why and how the Southern States are to be kept out of their proper place in the Union for years longer if "the white man's party" have power to achieve that result. They have been groaning over "military despotism," "the five satraples," etc., for months; but they are doing their best to keep their States for years longer under military rule, in the hope that their Northern friends may meantime achieve power, and then help them to trample blacks under foot. They complain that the blacks are banded against them, when their organs are daily calling these blacks "baboons" and "gorillas," and openly proclaiming their pur-pose to remand them to serfdom whenever they can. Is it any wonder that the blacks are Republicans? Who can blame them?

Mississippi has some 700,000 inhabitants. whereof nearly 400,000 are black. The Herald's reporter says there are 20,000 more black than white men in the State. Every one of those blacks will vote to-morrow to enfranchise every white, however bitter a pro-slavery Rebel he has been, provided the whites will agree that there shall be no disfranchisement of either race evermore. But Democratic gains at the North are stimulating the whites-Rebels though they were, and some of them still disfranchised therefor-to band together for the single, absorbing purpose of disfranchising the blacks evermore. Demoracy at the North means the restoration of the late Rebels to uncontested power at the South, in order that they two (if you can call them two) may combine to rule the country as of old. And it is this conspiracy that now stops the car of reconstruction and compels the maint :nance of military rule at the South. The country ought to be rid of the cost and trouble of it forthwith; but Democrats and Rebels conspire to perpetuate it, in the hope of thus furthering their mutual ends. Will the country permit them thus to triumph?

The Southern Elections. From the N. Y. Times,

We shall soon be enabled to judge of the probabilities of reconstruction under the law as it stands. The Louisiana election for delegates to the Convention to frame a Constitution and civil government for the State took place on Friday and Saturday. To-day and the two succeeding days a similar proceeding will be held in Alabama; and later in the month Virginia and Georgia will follow in the game step. In each case there is more or less chance of failure. For, though there is no likelihood of the rejection, by a majority of votes, of the preliminary measure ordered by Congress, there is at least a possibility that it may be for the moment frustrated by indifference or other causes. The law requires not merely that a majority of the votes cast shall be in favor of a Convention, but that the number of votes shall constitute a majority of the entire number registered. Contingencies may therefore arise which, while not directly defeating the project of a Convention, may indirectly I produce that result.

The despatches from Louisiana thus far re-ceived are too mesgre in their statements of fact, and too evidently partisan in their origin to warrant a positive conclusion as to the sufficiency and complexion of the voting in that State. If the truth is told in regard to New Orleans, a majority of the registered electors abstained from voting, the estimate being 12,000 votes as compared with 28,000 registered. It must be remembered, however, that the official record of registration in the State exhibits a total of 44,732 whites and 82,907 blacks; so that the absence of 16,000 voters from the polls in New Orleans does not necessarily imply a refusal to hold a Convention by the State. Where indifference exists we may presume that it is evinced by the whites; and though the whole body of registered whites absented themselves, the blacks would still have the power of giving effect to the law. We know of but one circumstance that may prevent the full exercise of this controlling influence, and it is occaioned by the imperfections of the law itself. For a full vote anywhere ample facilities for voting are indispensable. But Congress in its haste has practically restricted the voting places to one in each county, and hence large numbers may find it impossible to attend within the period prescribed by the order.

Concerning Alabama, a well-informed correspondent furnishes some suggestive points. There a more universal interest has been manifested in the work of reconstruction, as the large registration shows. The registered whites count 72,747; blacks, 88,248—the latter lacking but 3000 to reach the aggregate of colored males of the requisite age in the State. It is computed that the number of non-registered whites is little short of 33,000, and of these the great majority are described by our correspondent as disfranchised-a much larger percentage of the white population than we should have considered probable. Our correspondent, however, has excellent opportunities of ascertaining official facts, and we direct attention to his statement as indicating a wider operation of the disabilities imposed by the law than its authors can

be supposed to have contemplated. The causes which have doubtless diminished the vote in Louisiana, threaten also to operate adversely in Alabama. That a vast majority of the votes given will be for a Convention appears certain; but the remoteness of many thousands from the polling places may prove equivalent to disfranchisement, and thus the required majority of the total number registered may be unavailable.

On every ground it is to be hoped that neither in Alabama nor in any other State will such a result be realized. Its effect upon Congress and the country, and especially upon the South, would be most unfortunate, since it would not only delay reconstruction, but would invest it with fresh complications and render inevitable fresh legislation. Its tendency, moreover, would be to produce an impression of greater hostility, and even of greater indifference, than seems to exist. What our correspondent says upon this subject, with reference to Alabama, may, we believe, be accepted as equally applicable to the other Southern States. The great body of the peo-ple are tired of the existing condition of affairs, and anxiously desire the completion of reconstruction in any manner which Congress may choose to dictate. But the absence of proper facilities for voting may nevertheless subject them to misapprehensions which cannot but be mischievous. For this and other reasons, the progress of the elections, now commenced, will be watched with mingled anxiety and hope. They will decide whether the South shall have early restoration to the Union, or whether the task of reconstruction shall be taken up anew and made the occasion of further controversy. The result—the establishment of the mastery which Congress asserts-may be stayed by accident or antago-nism, but its ultimate occurrence does not admit of doubt.

The Reaction Against Radicalism-The Position of the New York Conservatives.

From the N. Y. Herald.

The political reaction apparent at the extremes of the country-in Maine and California-will be felt with much greater force at the next elections in the interior and central States, and will assuredly turn Penusylvania, New York, New Jersey, and probably Ohio, over from the Republican party to the opposition. The radicals are endeavoring to persnade themselves that their recent disasters in the East and the West are attributable to local causes; but they will soon discover their error. The people were well satisfied with the Constitutional amendment as a settlement of the question of reconstruction. That amendment gave to the Southern States the same constitutional rights enjoyed by New York, Penn-sylvania, Ohio, and all the other States of the Union, leaving to each the control over the elective franchise within its own borders, but providing that wherever the negroes were denied the ballot they should not be reckoned in calculating the basis of repre-sentation of the State withholding from them the privilege of voters. This was the issue upon which the last general elections were fought, and it secured to the Republicans the control of nearly every State not embraced in the Southern Confederacy, and unprecedented majorities in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The subsequent legislation of Congress and the action of President Johnson disturbed the settlement agreed on by the people, and threw the question of reconstruction again open to agitation. The consequence is that to-day the country is as far from a solution of the difficulties arising out of the Rebellion as when the soldiers of the Confederacy first laid down their arms. It is idle to pretend that the Republican

party is not responsible for this state of affairs. The Republicans have had the sole control of the Government in all its branches ever since Grant put an end to the war. They elected all the present national administration, and have held constant possession of nearly all the loyal States as well. President Johnson, Congress, the United States Supreme Court, Fenton and the New York Legislature, are all their own, A family quarrel broke out among them soon after President Lincoln's death, arising partly out of the dispensation of the Federal patronage by his successor, and partly out of the conflict of schemes for the succession; but that does not alter the fact that Johnson, Seward, McCulloch, Welles, Browning, Stanbery, and all in the Executive branch of the Government are as much Republican as are the Congressional majority, Chase, Stanton, Fenton, and the rest of the radicals. The people, there-fore, have a right to hold the Republican party responsible for the non-settlement of the country and for all the agitation and dangers which now surround us. It is the knowledge of this fact that has occasioned the present reaction against that party. All who are desirous of seeing the country once more settled and at peace, are arraying themselves against the men who have shown their incom-

petency or unwillingness to accomplish such a result.

next election which will not be observable elsewhere. Here the Republican Convention, in the hands of Governor Fenton and his friends, refused to admit into their body the delegates of the conservative branch of the party in this city, representing the Seward and Morgan division, and treated a resolution to afford them an opportunity to be heard in defense of their rights in the organization with marked indignity and contempt. The Republicans, thus summarily rejected and insulted, very reasonably believe that they have a right to resent the injustice done them, and are organizing a powerful and important opposition to the nominees of the Syracuse Convention, which will probably control fifty or sixty thousand votes in the State. The extent and strength of this defection may be gathered from the fact that all the daily and weekly newspapers published in this city, with the exception of two-the Tribune and the Dispatch -have virtually arrayed themselves against the radicals, while last year the whole Repub lican press was a unit in support of the party candidates. This will make one of the most formidable oppositions ever organized against the radical ticket. Last year Mr. Seward predicted that the radical nominees would be defeated in New York by forty thousand votes. He probably only made a mistake of one year in his calculation, for it now appears certain that the Syracuse ticket will be beaten in the

State by at least that majority. The result of the election this fall is, in fact life or death to Seward, Morgan, and their friends in this State. If the Fenton radicals, after shutting the conservatives finally out of the organization, can keep up their vote in this city, there will be no chance of the rejected faction obtaining any recognition from the next Republican National Convention. The Seward Republicans will all be excluded, and Fenton and his "young radicals" will walk over the track. The only hope or chance for the former is to defeat every distinctive candidate that the radicals may put up for any office, and nearly wipe out the whole Republican vote on the State ticket in this city. They should not seek any union with the Democrats, for that would be fatal to them. Let them cast their votes as an independent party, who, having been excluded from the Syracuse Convention, are in no manner bound by its actions; and then, if they give the radicals an overwhelming defeat, they will be in a condition next year to make their own terms, and check the career of those who are rapidly driving the country into all manner of difficulties and dangers by their violent, intemperate, and reckless policy.

The Elections Next Week.

From the N. Y. World. The States in which general elections are to be held next week are Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iowa. Particular interest is felt in them from the fact that the results are supposed to foreshadow, in a measure, the results of the elections in November. In every instance the issues are squarely stated, always excepting the underhanded policy of the radicals, which seeks to dodge the questions of local interest in the hope that the ignorance to which they appeal will comprehend nothing beyond the general idea of a conflict of views on reconstruction between the President and Congress.

In Pennsylvania the only officer to be chosen by the State at large is the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, George Sharswood being the Democratic and Henry W. Williams the Republican candidate. Judging from the tone the Pennsylvania press, there is no dispute as to the qualifications of the two candidates for Chief Justice, it being conceded that Judge Sharswood is the superior, in every respect, of his opponent. The issue is made on national | we compare the noble license of this incomquestions rather than on the personal merits of the nominees. It is, therefore, important idioms of the language of Mr. Lincoln's to know the drift of political sentiment in this State since the last Presidential election. In 1864 the total vote polled was 572,707, of which General McClelland received 276,316, and Mr. Lincoln 296,391. A year later, at the election for Auditor-General, only 454, 263 votes were cast, of which the radicals obtained a majority of 22,660. Last year a Republican Governor was chosen by a majority of 17,17,8 the total vote being 597,370. Comparing this last vote with that of 1864, the result is as follows:-

R-p 20,075 17,178 Dem. Rep. Rep. Rep.276,316 296,391290,096 807,274290,096 It will be seen from these figures that the increase of the Democratic vote of 1866 over that of 1864 was 14,780, while that of the radicals was but 10,883, showing a clean gain of nearly 3000 votes for the Democrats-an evidence that conservative sentiments were gaining ground. It must be owned, however, that in the coming election the radicals have the advantage in possessing control of the State patronage, which they will use in every way that they believe to be to their own advantage. On the other hand, the Democratic candidate immeasureably superior to his opponent, and remembring the change in public sen-timent as evinced by the results of the elec-tions in New Hampshire and Connecticut last spring, and the more recent ones in Maine and California, there are good reasons for believing that, with proper efforts, the Democrats will carry Pennsylvania next Tuesday. Such a consummation is devoutly wished for by good men throughout the land, and we shall be disappointed if the conservatives of the Keystone State leave a single stone unturned to attain so desirable a result.

The contest in Ohio is unusually exciting. The Democrats have in Allen G. Thurman a very strong candidate for Governor, particularly so as compared with his opponent, Rutherford B. Hayes. And aside from the personal n crits of the candidates, the radical platform is so redolent of the worst features of radicalism that the people of Ohio will be false to themselves if they do not reject it by a large majority. In 1864 Mr. Lincoln carried the State by a majority of 58,586, the total vote being 470,722; yet a year later the Republican majority at the election for Governor was only 29,546, the decrease in the Democratic vote being less than 12,000, while that in the Republican vote was over 40,000. Last year a Secretary of State was chosen, but the result of the election was unimportant as compared with that of Representatives in Congress. For the convenience of our readers we append a table giving the votes of the State for the three years mentioned, that of 1866 being the vote for Congressmen:-

Democratic ... Republican...

A glance at these figures shows that a comparison of the votes of the State in 1864 and 1866 reveals the fact that the radicals lost 11,000 votes, while the Democrats gained 9000, a clear evidence that the votes lost by the former were given to the latter. It needs but little calculation to demonstrate that a proportionate gain at the coming election will result in a Democratic victory, which, taking into consideration the detestable platform esult.

In our own State, however, there will be by no means the impossibility that the radical his leave of life—"The rest is slience." some peculiar distinctive features about the press would have us believe. Oldy Principles Related absent ward dataly interests Proposed Mariners for Benjag

learly has seldeon massall out to belled, and g

In lows a full State ticket in to be chosen The radical majority in this State for the past three years has been so overwhelming that it can hardly he expected that it will be overcome at the approaching election. Yet it can and probably will be materially reduced, unless the reaction in public sentiment which is so manifest in New England and California be not felt in this far Western State.

The facts and figures which are presented above afford great encouragement to the con ervatives in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Iows. One week of the campaign remains. Let them use every hour of it to the best advantage, in the full assurance that a glad reward will await them when the polls shall be closed and the returns counted. tide of radicalism is stayed, and nothing but the earnest efforts of conservatives are needed to roll up a counter-wave that will cheer the hearts of all who are working for constitutional principles, true liberty, and the right.

A. J. Bunsby on Silence.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Mr. Lowell, in his Fable for Critics, ridiculing our American love of finding a European prototype for every fellow-countryman who rises above mediocrity, says:-

"I myself know.
A whole flock of Lambs, any number of Tennysons—
In short, if a man has the luck to have any sous,
life may feel perty certain that one out of twain
Will be some very great person over again." We confess that we share this national veakness, if weakness it be, and we own to having spent a good deal of time lately in trying to fix upon the great European whom Mr. Johnson most resembles. Nature seldom makes only one thing of a kind, and just as she repeats King Solomon in Mr. Tupper, and Peeping Tom in Mr. Seward's friend McCracken, so we have all along felt that Andy Johnson must be a copy of somebody who has already lived and died. And although a person of such variety of powers, of such deep sagacity, and such wide experience, must be like a great many illustrious people in different walks, we think that in his greatest moments there is no man he is so much like as he is like Jack Bunsby. As the character and career of -that immortal personage have been portrayed in a lively manner by the pen of Mr. Charles Dickens, we do not need to dilate upon them at this time, nor is it necessary to do more than remind the reader that Bunsby' great forte was in the handling of logic, and that for nothing is he more famous than for the clearness with which he could state a proposition. But Mr. Johnson, in a recent great speech, proved himself more than a match for Bunsby, not only in the clearness with which he stated the wenderfully original propositions on which his majestic effort was built up, but in the beautiful simplicity with which the whole complicated argument is evolved. We have seldom seen the parts of English speech thrown about with such a charming negligence as they are in this performance. The opening sentence is a rare example of syntax in undress, and shows how a great master of rhetoric may throw parsing to the dogs, and not only have none of it himself, but refuse to let any one else have any of it. In the second sentence he shows as great an antipathy for that very useful and respectable member of grammatical seciety, the auxiliary "shall," as if it were one of the laws of Congress, and betrays as much partiality for "will," as if it were a hopelessly unreconstructed Rebel. This pleasing exhibition of ignorance is, however, well enough supported further along by a very pretty combination of the present and past tenses used in speaking of the same event, and by that favorite idiom of the unlettered classes, the use of "lay" for "lie." When parable effort with the servile adherence to the speech at Gettysburg, a speech might have been written by Shakespeare, or Milton, or by the translator of Judah's speech to his brother Joseph, or by any one of the few great masters of mere English, we see how worthy A. J. is to be compared to Jack Bunsby. Jack was never, that we know of, so put to it for ideas, but he could hardly have given a more muddled account of those he had. It is, however, in the enlogium he passes on silence that A. J. most reminds us of the manner of J. B. The three first sentences of his speech are taken up with the declaration of his determination to hold his tongue. In the first, he says that he has not come to make lengthy remarks. At least, this seems to be the gist of the sentence, which, though it has no logical beginning nor end, has yet a good deal of middle. In the second, he says as plainly as his muddled wits will permit, that he will say nothing whatever. In the third, finding to his great disappointment that nobody objects to his holding his tongue, he declares again that he will not attempt to give utterance, etc., etc. Apparently put into a very bad state of mind by the unlooked-for imperturbable acquiescence of his victims in his determination to stay shut up, he snaps out a fourth sentence-"I shall attempt no such thing." Observing smiles of satisfaction beaming on the countenances of the immense auditory, who had been all along in misery lest he should attempt it, he determines in the very spirit of Quilp to blight their fondest hopes, and observes with a demoniac chuckle in the fourth sentence that, though he only came to shut his mouth and open his eyes, since he sees they wish him to be silent, "he must be permitted to speak." He then burst out into that magnificent enlogy on silence which would be sufficient in itself to make all his other speeches forgotten, if anybody had ever wasted time in remembering them. "When we look on your battle-field," not his, mark, but ours (True for you, A. J.!) "and think of the brave men on both sides," (Don't you

sleeping in peace in their tombs, and live together in friendship and peace!" Well, A. J., never mind us, old boy! Just at present we are keeping as quiet as need be. 'Tis you that need to be advised to silence, and we commend the ingredients of your poisoned chalice to your own lips. The very best thing you can do is to hold your tengue and not speak another word in public till you get back to Tennessee, which we heartily wish could be to morrow. As for us, we have not the slightest intention of making dead men of ourselves because you are one, but we hope to show you before long that we are very much alive indeed. Silence is an admirable thing when, as in your case, a man has only platitudes to express, and no grammar to express them in, and you have yet one chance to win a little favor at the hands of your disgusted countrymen of all parties and all classes, viz., by letting us write the record of the last few mouths of your execrable administra-

wish, A. J., you had dared to say what you thought—"the brave men on one side, the Southern") who fell in the fierce struggle of

battle, and who sleep silent in the grave-you

who sleep in silence and peace after the earnest

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