SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPTRICES OF THE LEADING JOURNALS FOR CUBRENT TOPICS-COMPILED SVERY DAT FOR THE EVENING TRLEGRAPH.

The Republican Troubles. From the N. Y. Nation.

It is now, we believe, pretty generally agreed that Pennsylvania has been lost to the Republican party for the same reason that California was, and that many people fear New York will be lost-the corruption of the Republican politicians and the inferiority in point of character and standing of the Repub-Hean candidates. We are glad to see, also, that most even of the party papers acknowledge this to be the melancholy truth, and are not, as after the Connecticut election, of opinion that the disaster was due to want of sufficiently strong advocacy of negro suffrage. The Tribune meets the reverse in the only manly and sensible way, by acknowledging its extent and showing that, though great, it is not irretrievable; that misfortunes as great have overtaken the party before, and yet have not destroyed it.

We feel bound to say, however, that this is, under the circumstances, but very imperfect consolation. The Republican party has the greatest work to do, and has had it to do for the last seven years, which has ever fallen to the lot of a political party, and it is necessary to the successful performance of the work that it should not be interrupted. But the people have now twice attempted to take it out of Republican hands—once in 1862, perhaps in great part because they were not yet ready for the emancipation policy; and now, because they are disgusted by its corruption and fondness for over-legislation. But no matter what the cause may be, as long as it is a preventible cause, the interruption is not only unfortunate for the country but discreditable to the Republican managers. As regards the corruption, nobody expects any change for the better from the Democrats. The Republicans are driven out rather by way of punishing them than in the hope of inaugurating a reform. If we are ever to have any improvement in political morality, it is from the action of the Republican party it must come, for it contains most of the principle as well as most of the intelligence of the country. The Democratic party has, and will have as long as it lasts, to rely so largely on the worst elements in the American population, that its best men, let them be ever so well inclined, will find themselves powerless. It is not likely that it will ever do anything towards banishing corruption be-yond "denouncing" and "stigmatizing" it in its platforms. The diminution of political corruption, the extinction of the practice of selling acts of the Legislature to the highest bidder, of dividing the public offices as plunder amongst thieves, the general raising of the tone of public men, and the recognition of character as the greatest and most valuable of political forces, and, in fact, the only one to which the nation can in the last extremity look for salvation, is the great question of our time. It is greater than the suffrage, greater than reconstruction; for if no means could be devised of infusing more morality into politics, it would make little difference who voted or on what terms the North and South were reunited. What are the chances that the Republican party will, while doing other things, not leave this undone? To judge from some indications, they are poor enough; but to judge from others-the late elections, we take leave to say, amongst the number-they are tolerably good. The curse of our politics is, as everybody. when there is no election in progress-now acknowledges, the yoke of party discipline. It has always been enforced and upheld, even by some rigid moralists, that it was necessary to success, and that, even if it were an evil, i was an evil through which a still greater evi was prevented. For instance, it might be wrong to send a bad man to Congress, but by sending him you helped to prevent the perpetuation at the South of the degradation and oppression of millions. Everybody is fami-liar with this mode of justifying doubtful political manœuvres just before the elections. People who preach morality at that period are generally pronounced by "practical politi cians" either fools or traitors, and are urged as we have been ourselves, to stop sermon izing till the election is over; then, indeed, it is impossible to be too pious, and a good moralizer on the rascality of politicians may expect to have a fine audience even of the successful party, with the most hardened wirepullers and jobbers seated in tears on the front benches. The theory of the "practical men" is that you cannot, before elections, too completely drown your scruples, and cannot too blindly swallow the ticket if the election is an important one, but when all is over it is your duty as a good citizen to "testify" against the nominating convention, and expose the weakness and wickedness of the can-didates it imposed on you, so that next time it will do better. But, as we pointed out when discussing the subject last spring, nominating conventions cannot be got to do better in this way. The plan has been tried for years and has utterly failed. If preaching down corruption and knavery and time-serving, and preaching up the duty of nominating good men to office, between elections, were of any use, the Gov. ernment of the country would be monopolized by the wise and just, and the rascals would be calling out for "personal representation." The pulpits have resounded with this sort of thing ever since nominating conventions first began; the press has teemed with it; and it has formed the standing excuse of all the young and old prigs who "have nothing to do with politics," and devote themselves to with politics," and devote themselves to money-making and light literature and tufthunting in Europe. The managers are always willing to let you preach till the crack of doom provided you keep your place in the ranks and vote the regular ticket on election day, and they can always provide you with a dozen fine reasons for your doing so-and so long as you do so, there is absolutely no chance of any improve ment in the nominating conventions. This is as certain as anything in politics can be. The reform must come from the readiness of voters to desert the party standard. The only thing that will incline the leaders to better ways i the fear that if they do not nominate good men, and keep out of jobbing, their labors will be thrown away, and their nominees defeated at the polls. This may sound very wild doctrine to practical politicians, but we maintain that it is we who are practical and they who are visionaries. They constantly flatter themselves and try to persuade the public that each election is the most critical one that has ever occurred and that if it can be carried all will go well ever after. But no one election, except the election of Mr. Lincoln in 1864, has ever settled any great question. The work of form-ing public opinion is slow; the work of carry-

ing it into action is slower still. It took the anti-slavery party nearly twenty years of agitation and dozens of elections and four years of bloody war to get the Government of the country into their hands; it will take the Republican party, in our opinion, eight or ten years more of power to carry out their policy to its legitimate result, and settle society at the South upon a sure and lasting foundation; and we hold it to be of the highest importance to the country that they should succeed in retaining it for this period. No such transformation as we are now attempting can be effected in a year or two.

But no party can hope to retain power any longer than the Republican party has retained it, or long enough for the proper execution of any such work as the latter has in hand, unless it can manage to keep pure and to confine its attention to one object. All parties which remain long in office naturally attract the knaves to them, and naturally grow overconfident in their own strength; and the longer they remain in office the bolder the knaves grow, and the more disposition there is to lend the party strength-just as manufacturers let out their surplus steam-power-to any little lot of enthusiasts who apply for it and offer to pay for it in noisy support. Now, no party in America can count on remaining in office long after it gets into this condition. A party, as we have more than once pointed out, is not an army. It is a collection of free agents, influenced in a greater or less degree by one idea, and party organization can only be strong in proportion to the ignorance of the members. No party at the North can ever be as strong and compact as the pro-slavery party has been at the South; the Republican organization can never be as perfect as that of the Democrats; and although it is quite true that the more you spread newspapers and books, the more Republicans you make, it is also true that the more highly educated the Republican party becomes the more care will the management of it require, if the leaders do not wish to be left high and dry, as they are today in California, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Intelligent and educated men can only be led through their reason and through their conscience. They will not go into battle for any cause under the leadership of knaves, hypocrites, and thieves, and it is well for the country, and well for the negro, and well for everybody whose destiny is bound up in that of the nation, that they should not. The loss of even one election at such a crisis as this is, of course, a great loss. We are sorry for it, but if it helps to disabuse party managers of the idea under which the *Tribune* says they acted in Pennsylvania, that "anything that is put on the Republican ticket can be elected;" if it convince them that to be sure of a long tenure of power they must respect the popular con-science, we hold that the lesson, though bitter, will prove invaluable.

We are no more afraid of the tide turning in the United States in favor of restricti n and political inequality, than we are afraid of the rivers beginning to flow backwards. All the forces of the age fight against privilege. But we are afraid of having the popular faith in honesty and integrity destroyed, and all the traditions of virtue and decency wiped out, by that most dangerous of all kinds of corruption, the corruption of men who profess to be serving great moral ideas.

The theory which some Western papers are propounding, that the elections have gone wrong because the country is disgusted with the delays of Congress, is doubtless a pleasant one, but we do not know where any support is to be found for it in the history of the past two years. The extreme radicals have, no doubt, started a good many alarming schemes, but Congress has not adopted any of them. All that the Thirty-ninth Congress did was to claim for itself exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of reconstruction. The first terms it offered the South were as mild as any terms could be, and it had, of course, to give the South a reasonable time to consider and adopt Even the Philadelphia Convention them. could not say they were hard: what it did say was that it was humiliating for the South to have to accept any terms at all. The present plan was not resolved upon till after the South had had a year for consideration, and it contains nothing but negro suffrage to make it objectionable to any Northerner who supported the war ; and as to negro suffrage, it has not been sprung suddenly on the party. It is a cry two years old, which every Republican journal or statesman has been steadily repeating ever since the South produced its Black Codes in the fall of 1865. The question of negro suffrage at the North is comparatively a novel question, and has probably not come home to the great majority of Northern voters, and the way in which the Ohio Republicans have treated it is certainly most discreditable to them; but the way in which the party has been managed everywhere has not been such as to fix people's attention on the principles of equal rights underlying negro suffrage at the South, and to make them sensible that this was-as the Springfield Republican well pointed out the other day-the only basis of the party, the great reason for its existence. It has been, on the contrary, managed or talked of by many of its leaders for the last year or two as if it was a gigantic factotum for the suppression of free-traders, drunkards, fornicators, Sabbath-breakers, for the spread of universal freedom, the better dis-tribution of landed property at the South, and the production of a general rise in wages combined with a general shortening of the hours of labor, and, finally, for the cheating of the public creditors. Some of cheating of the public creditors. the most extraordinary doctrines in jurisprudence and political economy ever heard of, in our day at least, have been produced under the shadow of its standard by men claiming to lead it; and though the party as a party has not given any formal countenance, it has done enough to share in the discredit of them, and it has at last fallen into carelessness, or worse, in making its nominations. But defeat at elections does not mean its death. The party is not to be found at conventions or in platforms. Its strength lies in the ideas and aspirations of the best men and women in America, and in these there is no change. The late losses, so far from showing a decline in the sentiment to which the party owed its origin, in our opinion shows that it is stronger than ever, for he is no true lover of equal political rights who does not love truth and

an instrument which had no validity whatever, to remain in a condition of servitude, None of the provisions in an ordinary appron ticeship indenture applicable to minors gene-rally appeared in the agreement. The appren-tice was simply held bound, under a covenant, to which her mother on the one side, and her former owner on the other, were parties, to do merial work for a term of years.

Perhaps it was the sort of work the girlonsidering her former condition-was best fitted for. But that in no way affected the rights of the case; and Judge Chase, in deciding that the indenture was invalid, only gave indicial expression to the sentiment of the community where the case was tried. The master of the girl made no formal de-fense. His personal plea was one which did not sim at a contravention of the law of Congress, which in this case was clearly ex pos acto, nor did he plead that he had made the indenture good under the State law. He simply contented himself with stating that the Civil Rights bill, which was passed eighteen months after the child was indentured, did not appear to him to be violated by the agree ment

Judga Chase, while regretting that the ques tion was not submitted to argument, holds that the first clause of the thirteenth amend ment of the Constitution of the United States interdicts slavery or involuntary servitude. except as a punishment for crime, and establishes freedom as the constitutional right of all persons in the United States, and that the alleged apprenticeship in the present case is involuntary servitude within the meaning of these words in the amendment. He further reasons that if this were otherwise, the indenture set forth in the return does not contain important provisions for the security and benefit of the apprentice which are required by the laws of Maryland in indentures of white apprentices, and is therefore in contravention of that clause of the first section of the Civil Rights law enacted by Congress April 9, 1866. He decides that the law, having been enacted under the second clause of the thirteenth amendment, in enforcement of the first clause of the same amendment, is constitutional, and applies to all conditions prohibited by it, whether originating in transactions before or since its enactment, and clinches the decision by declaring that colored persons, equally with white persons, are citi-zens of the United States.

There can be no question as to the fairness and justness of this decision as affects the condition of colored apprentices, indentured under the conditions related. But it is one o the worst features of our social system that there is such a repugnance to apprenticeship among the growing community. For one apprentice that we find to-day in the different crafts which create and sustain our home industry, we ought to have a dozen. This does not apply equally throughout the country; but it applies to an alarming extent in our larger cities. Persons who are barely fit to enter upon an apprenticeship, are eager to become foremen. An easy and smart way of living is becoming so common that it is alarming The equality of man is preached to an extent which is not without danger. We all rejoice to hear that this Maryland girl is released by Judge Chase's mandamus from doing involuntary duty as a housemaid. But we should have perhaps as great cause for rejoic-ing, if *service*-real, steady, voluntary service-were not held to be so discreditable a thing as it is, North and South, especially among a certain class of people of all colors. Where are our educated seamen, outside of the Navy? What is the seament does our our mercantile marine? How far does our credit run when we sum up the achievements of our coasting navigators? It is needless to speak of other industries. But this business of apprenticing to a craft where one might learn something has so far fallen into disfavor that we know not where to look for it. If it should become unpopular among our colored brethren, as it has become here, it will neither do them nor us much good. Even the valuable franchises conferred on them will contribute but little to their personal affluence, or towards the prosperity of the country. If we could teach them that honest labor is not at all discreditable, we should perhaps do as much for their moral comfort and their moral enlightenment as by teaching them all that we happen to know about the natural rights of man.

banished. Many an editor and publisher and bookseller has been arrested, imprisoned, and beaten with whips for having instructive literature in his possession which white men might incontinently read. These precautions were taken against popular intalli-gence without regard to color or race. But all this time, and by the same order of arrangement, the opulent class at the South, the rich slaveholding class, the aristocracy, took care of their own education in a manne to suit themselves. The wealthy people had schools. Some educated their children abroad, in England or on the continent of Europe. Many sent their sons to our Northern colleges: Harvard used to be disfavored with their visitations. But there was no lack of schooling at home for those who would pay for it. Free private schools were scarce at the South, but costly private schools were plenty. Common schools were hard to find; but colleges, seminaries, institutes, and academies were in abundance. It has been stated that the South which more than neglected its public schools. which more than neglected its public schools, maintained these costly superior schools more generously than the Northern people did theirs; for the reason that they wanted schools for a superior and wealthy class, while we wanted schools for the people. Virginia had 421 private schools and collèges, liberally eu-dowed, to 327 in Massachusetts. Alabama opposed her 213 to Connecticut's 202. Ala-bama laid no tax on these high-class schools. bama laid no tax on these high-class schools. but made no appropriation for common schools. Rhode Island educated on the cheap free system 25,570 pupils; South Carolina, with four times her population, educated 20,716; but South Carolina had 240 high-priced "col leges" for the aristocracy, all untaxed, while Rhode Island could count but 59. The Southern gentry were largely cultivated, accom-plished people. They had the best of teachers, professors, tutors, and governesses. Some of them had fine private libraries. Their tables were covered with elegant literature. Cultivation was one of their marks of distinction. They used it for political influence and social prestige. It was a badge and a luxury. Between the educated and the uneducated classes of the South there was this great gulf fixed. The slaveholding caste were the educated: the non-slaveholding classes, white or black, were the illiterate; and because these last were so numerous and might be so formidable, the aristocracy played them off against each other, for its own advantage, making the whites despise the blacks, and the blacks hate the whites. In this view of the case, it is plainly a mistake to devote ourselves exclusively, or even disproportionately, to the negroes. Important as education is for them, for he whites it is even more important. The blacks, though illiterate, have had their intelligence quickened and turned in the right direc-tion by the experience of the war. They are eager to learn, and they have an instinct that teaches them what they should learn. They are ready to receive liberal instruction in liberal ideas. Their former masters have little or no influence over their minds; the white people about them they have been compelled to distrust; what the Yankee tells them they believe, and not much else. They need education less for their general enlightenment in national opinions and loyalty than for their personal advantage and social improvement. The uneducated whites need education for this too, but they need it for a great deal more than this. Their intelligence is clouded by malignity as much as by ignorance. Their minds are set against the light. Instruction must do for them the work of opening eyes that are blind, and furnishing a new set of theme. They have been fighting stupidly against their friends, and are still persuaded that their ruin is due to the triumph of a power which was in arms for their deliverance. Northern education is as unpalatable to them as it ever was, because it means Northern ideas and civilization. The efforts of our



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they took unlawful possession of. Some three hundred of them were armed for resistance, and one of them, in a speech to the Government agents, said they did not care a fig whether the President had pardoned the owner of the estate or not; that the reconstruction acts of Congress did not recognize pardons by the President; that this property was theirs now, and that they were determined to hold on to it in deflance of all opposition. He said "the Indians were driven off these lands by the whites, and that they (the blacks) would now take them from the whites." "We have suffered enough," he exclaimed; "now let the white man suffer. The days when the white man could say, 'Come here, John, and black my boots,' are passed. The times have changed, and now the time will come when I can say to the white man, "Come here, John, and black my boots,' and he will have to come.' " Receiv ing frequent applause from his audience, he warmed up and declared that "he would never be satisfied until the white man be forced to serve the black man, that the whites must be driven away from the lands, or must remain as servants, and that neither secosh nor Yankee should drive them (the negroes) off the land."

Such is only a specimen of the harangues and conversations of the negroes in this and other parts of the South. These ignorant and deluded people have been excited to the point of resistance and insurrection by the teachings of radical emissaries in the South. Hunnicutt, who ought to have been arrested for his incendiary language a few days ago, not only told them to arm, but went so far as to tell them to take the torch in their hands. The speech delivered by this revolutionary incendiary at Richmond on last Monday night together with the speeches of other white and negro orators, were full of the same sort of mischief. Truly, these wretched demagogues are firing the negro heart, or, rather, the negro passions, for a terrible purpose.

Negro supremacy is determined on by the radicals, or, failing in that, the ruin of the South. In this the Southern radicals are aided and encouraged by the radical party of the North. They are resolved to maintain their political power in the republic through educational societies scarcely touch these

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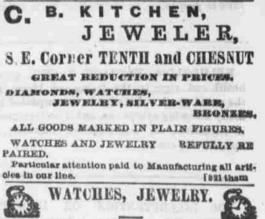
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Remnants of the Slave System-The Law of Apprenticeship. From the N. Y. Times.

honesty better still.

On Wednesday there was a case before the United States Circuit Court in Baltimore of more than local interest. It was a matter involving the validity of an apprenticeship indenture. The case was that of a negro girl who had been apprenticed to the defendant-a Maryland slave-owner-two days after the State Constitution abolishing slavery came into operation in November, 1864.

The apprentice, by the terms of the indenture, was not entitled to any training whatever, either of a general or of a technical char-AT I DO THE

The Education of the South. From the N. Y. Tribune.

We have said a good deal from time to time about the ignorance of the South, and the necessity of education there. But there is one word more to be spoken on the direction that education should take at the South, the class of people it should mainly bear upon, and the ends it should aim at compassing. The fact forced emphatically on the Northern mind has been the ignorance of the negroes, and their demand for education to protect them against the craft of the white people, and to prepare them for their new duties and privileges in the State. To mest that demand prodigious efforts have been made. The people have poured out their money by millions of dollars through the different associations, religious and secular, that have pledged aid to the black people. Under the charge of the Bureau for Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, alone, there were, at the beginning of the year, 14gd schools, 1737 teachers, and 95,167 black pupils. The American Missionary Association, but one of the numerous societies engaged in this work had, last season, 506 teachers in its service with 56,919 black scholars. This is well. But it should not be forgotten that the "poor whites" of the South, including the great mass of the Southern people, are as ignorant as the blacks, have been purposely kept in ignorance, as the blacks were, for social and political ends, and are as helpless intellectually as the blacks are. The South had no common schools no free schools for any class, white or black. The fifteen slave States educated but one in thirteen of their population; the nineteeu free States educated one in four and four-fifths. Virginia, with a population of 1,505,310, supported 3778 public schools; Massachusetts, will a population of 1,231,066, maintained 4134; Iowa, a State 20 years old, had, in 1860, 383 tree schools for her 574,948 people; North Carolina, one of the original thirteen States, had at the same date 2994 schools for her 992, 622 people. The young Western State edu cated one out of every four; the old slave State one out of every nine and a half. Nor is this the whole difference. While the North-ern schools were used by the people, the Southern schools were to some extent monopolized by the richer classes. There was a deliberate purpose that the common people should not be educated. This purpose shown in other ways besides that of disconraging free schools. Restrictions were placed on the dissemination of literature; booksellers were watched; mails were inspected; publishers' invoices were searched; newspapers, tracts, pamphlets, popular works of our own and foreign authors which acter. She was simply to be the servant of might help to enlighten the people on her former owner, and became bound, under matters of civilization, were kept out or squatters refused to evacuate the property And operation with seal doub. I show out the shirting that we show the seal of the

people. Until recently they burned our schoolhouses, broke up the classes, insulted, and drove away the teachers. Then and there they availed themselves of the benefits supplied by the Freedman's Aid Associations, but their numbers were inconsiderable, and up to this time are not large. The better portion of them are gradually inding out what is going on, and are trying to secure for themselves a share of the advantages which the blacks are so eagerly appropriating. But the great work among them remains unattempted as vet-on any large scale. This must be looked after. The intelligence, and consequently, as we believe, the good-will of these people, is of vast social and political importance. They are as well worth saving as the negroes are; as an element in society they are a perplexity, a trouble, and a danger, as the negroes are not. Education would elevate them as individuals, and improve them as citizens; it would also tend to heal the ancient feud between them and the negroes, and would give the requisite balance to the two 'elements in society. The education of both races is necessary to create a strong middle class, able to establish republican institutions on a popular basis.

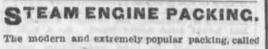
The Consequences of Negro Ascendancy in the South. From the N. Y. Herald;

We begin to realize the evils in this country which all other countries have experienced where the colored or inferior race have acquired power, Insurrections, conflicts between the races, revolutions, and decline in material prosperity, ending in the destruction of constitutional government and the establishment of despotism, are the inevitable results of placing the balance of political power in the hands of the ignorant masses of an inferior race. Universal equality is a fine thing in theory, and might be practicable if nature had made all the races of mankind equal. But it has not done so. Physiology, history, and all experience show there is great difference in the intellectual and moral character of the races, and, consequently, in their capacity for self-government. Yet we are endeavoring to form an equality, against the laws of nature. between the lowest and the highest types of mankind-between the negro and the Cancasian races-between a people who have never shown themselves capable of government or even of emerging from barbarism unaided by a civilized people and the most civilized race. What monstrous folly ! What an absurd experiment ! What a dangerous policy !

History teaches by example, it is said, but not to the radicals of this country, nor to the radical revolutionists of any country. Fanatics are never taught. They have but one idea. Theory, with them, usurps the place of reason and ignores the lessons of experience. The information we are receiving from the South. and particularly from our Virginia corresponddence, shows that the negroes are becoming, under the lead of unprincipled white demagogues, revolutionary and brutal. In Eastern Virginia there was, the other day, a serious *Emcute* among the negroes to hold possession of the lands on which they had squatted. They armed themselves to resist the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the rightful owners from taking possession of these lands. At

the ignorant blacks, though the white people of the North may defeat them at the polls. Since the late elections they avow their main reliance to be on this negro balance of power Even the Times, the lesser organ of the radi-cals in this city, which pretends to be conservative, declares it as necessary now to secure this negro balance of power. Let in surrection come, let a war of races take place, let the South perish, rather than lose politi-cal power and the spoils of the Government, is

the cry of this infamous party, St. Domingo, with all its horrors; Jamaica, with all its desolation; the South American epublics, with their everlasting revolutionsall the result of elevating an inferior race to hold the balance of political power-afford no instruction to our radical revolutionists. They will destroy the country rather than give up an impracticable theory or the power they hold. This is the prospect before us, and unless the people of the North loudly demand the suppression of these modern Jacobins, we shall certainly be involved in terrible scenes of bloodshed, a vast military establishment enormous expenses, a deficient Treasury, and he risk of a military dictatorship.



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