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SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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EDITOBIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURSALS UPON CURBERT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY BAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Afraid of Restoration. From the Boston Post.

The radical writers handle the restoration question only as party pettifoggers. Mr. Lin-coln used precisely the right phrase when he announced the problem to be the restoration of the people of the Southern States to their former relations to the Union; and he initiated the movement which was sure to provide a solution of it by framing the provisional Government for North Carolina which his successor in office faithfully copied. The object of restoration, then, is simply to bring back-not a part, but the whole of-the people of the South to their true relations to the Union. None but partisans would dream of or desire anything less than this, and none but coward leaders would so far take counsel of their fears as to run to the opposite extreme of tyranny.

But the radical leaders have been almost religiously careful not to employ the significant term restoration at all; they have used reconstruction in its stead. How can the autonomy of a great Union of States be reconstructed, save by the consenting action of every one of them? It notoriously cannot. And hence the steps taken to reconstruct after such a violent fashion are legitimately revolutionary. Thaddeus Stevens confessed that they were, and declared that all who took a part in the passage of these several Reconstruction laws knew them to be "outside of the Constitution"-that is revolutionary. The work of restoration is easy in-deed, by the side of the arbitrary legislation entered upon by Congress. The entire body of the people of the South showed themselves ready for it, and received the encomiums of General Grant, Senator Morton, and other radicals for their excellent dispositions. The Union might have been restored by Dacember, 1865; instead of that, we see to-day that to the three States of the South-Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas -to which the amendments to the Constitution were duly submitted as to integral States in the Union, Congress has forbidden the casting of an electoral vote for President in the election to be held this fall. This is enough to show where all the opposition to restoration lies. Three States, that are ready to testify to their obadience to the organic law by complying with its requirements in voting for President as well as on a Constitutional amendment, are threatened with a severe penalty if they dare to infract a law of Congress by exercising the highest prerogative under the supreme law ! It is held up by the radical press as a stigma

on the patriotism of the great party of the Union that it should have admitted to its National Convention leading Southern men who were actively engaged in the war against the Union. On the contrary, it is to be regarded as the proof of the ability and fitness of that party alone to restore the long-lost fraternity of the sections. A State is such, not by reason solely of its territorial area and its physical resources, but of its men; and these men who are alluded to are among the most intelligent and influential of the entire Southern population. Radicalism, we know, is trying the vain experiment of setting up the inferior and the degraded in place of the superior: just as it is erving out for peace while discussing a plan for arming one race in the South against the other. But the good sense and large views of the American people will not suffer themselves to be confused by the pettifogging of such partisans. To restore the South, the intelligence of the South must by some means be won over. The radicals are of too bigoted and malicious a temper to be equal to such a task, and the Democrats have demonstrated for their part that it can be successfully accomplished, for the strengthening of all the national bonds. It is perfectly natural that the radical journals should snarl at them for this, and betray their envious hatred by charging the success ful party with sympathy for the old plans of the Southern people. The dominant party had such an opportunity once to practise magnanimity as no political party ever en-joyed before. It might have bound the Southern population to its cause forever. But it was not born for great and generous things. It would to-day a thousand times rather have a fragmentary Union, to be deplored of all patriots and men who love rational liberty, than admit that the Democrats had anything to do with fighting the battles of the Union, or came in for the least share of honor and preise for the grand accomplishments of our common arms. Therein it exposes its real character. In its very accusations of its opponents it unwittingly publishes itself. How, pray, would it have these leading men of the South dealt with ? Shall they be perpetually disfran-chised, which is practically Mr. Summer's thirty-year proposal? What kind of peace and fraternity should we have, with the best minds of one-third of the population of the country forbidden to interest themselves in public affairs ? What would the States thus deflowered and palsied amount to? Let us not deceive ourselves by thinking that the infliction of such a penalty would not react with a terrible fatal ty on ourselves. Burke says, "liberty is a good to be improved, not an evil to be lessened. It is not only a private blessing of the first order, but the vital spring and energy of the State itself, which has just so much life and vigor as there is liberty in it." We have a class of statesmen now, however, who fancy that they can improve on the standard principles and axioms. They hold to restraints, and not to freedom; nominally that freedom may take no hurt, but, really that they may themselves secure all the advantage. The country looks at these things just as they are, and not as they are distorted and discolored by the ingenuity of radical malice, about to be foiled of its favorite purpose What the American people demand is the speedy and perfect insternization of the whole country. If Rebel officers are ready to return to their old allegiance, then one great end of the war has been gained. As for assorting and placing a population in the South for political purposes, it never can be done and the constry will not wait to see it attempted What it wants and impatiently desires is precisely what it sees is being rapidly and seccessfully accomplished by the great constitutional party of the Union.

Seven or eight months ago, in the general and charter elections, the Tammany machine was all powerful, bore down every opposition, and carried its candidates into office by unprecedented majorities. It obtained control of the judiciary, the Legislature, the several elective city departments, the Boards of Su-pervisors, Aldermen and Councilmen, and succeeded in placing one of its principal workers on the Police Commission. It wiped out Mozart, swallowed up the Union Democracy, and laid the ghost of the Citizens' Assooiation. One might have supposed that Tam many, from the sweeping character of its vio tories last fall, was booked for a long career of absolute power over the affairs of the city of New York. But it begins to show symp toms thus early of a decline more sudden than its recent rise. Miles O'Reilly has departed. and the friendship which with true Irish generosity he had tendered to his old enemy after giving him a tremendous whipping is lost forever. Comptroller Connolly, who heads the Finance Department, while smooth and easy with his associate leaders, is, as usual, prepared to take care of himself before any other organization. McLean, the gallant Street Commissioner, gives neither force nor weakness to any party, being a sort of negative

political quantity, with excellent social quali-fications. Fernando Wood, having pocketed his leases and abandoned his outside opposition, is more to be feared than ever. In the midst of all this the unsettled, dissatisfied element inside the Tammany organi-

zation is working and working, and boding mischief. It will concentrate in opposition to the nomination of Hoffman for Governor, to which the leaders are pledged, and will accept any candidate, from Buffalo to Brooklyn, in order to defeat him. This inside revolution will be headed by Sheriff James O'Brien, one of the pluckiest, mest influential, and efficient of the Tammany braves, and will count in its ranks such Democrats as Alderman Mike Norton, Coroner Flynn, and any number of active politicians from the First Ward to Mackerelville.

The worst of the business is that the prize ring has separated from the political ring at the very moment when shoulder hitters are in demand and bruisers are beyond price. John Morrissey, who two years ago forced the nomination of Hoffman and demanded and received for himself the position of Congressman, now deserts the Tammany leaders and Democratic candidates, bets his money heavily on Grant, the great General, and Collax, the great Kuow Nothing, and avows his determination to beat Hoffman in the State Convention. Under these circumstances there is only one course for the Tammany leaders to pursue. They must at once look round for some young prize fighter from the other side of the water, with good muscle and lots of pluck, enlist him in their cause and pit him against Morrissey. It is important that they should have the prize ring on their side. Jem Ward would do if he were younger and an Irishman instead of an Englishman. But as that champion is ineligible, and as such bogus fighters as Heenan and Coburn are out of the question, they must take O'Baldwin, the Irish giant, or some other Hibernian bruiser, into their pay. They can soon fit him for office, for Morrissey himself was only naturalized a few weeks before his election to Congress. Then if they can pacify. Sheriff O'Brien and will pay their honest debts, which at present they neglect to do, they may yet bridge over the next election and extend their term of power another year.

Who are for Peace?

From the N. Y. Tribune. General Grant and his supporters are labor-

ing assiduously to heal the wounds inflicted on our country by a parricidal Rebellion and a devastating civil war. They do not propose to do this by surrendering everything to the Rebels and making them lords paramount. They demand that the loyal people of our whole country-not a part, but all of themshall be placed on as good a feoting as the Rebels, and henceforth enjoy equal advantages and opportunities, rights and privileges, with those who squandered one million humau lives and five billions of property in a desperate struggle to divide and destroy the Union. Is that unreasonable ? The Rebels are disfranchised in two States only-Tennessee and Missonri-not by Congress, nor by Federal authority in any form, but by the loyal people in those States. If this be right, Andrew Johnson, above all other men, deserves the credit of it; if it be wrong, he should bear the blame. It was he who gave out the watchword—"Loyal men, white or black, shall rule America." It was he who managed the first election in that State at which Rebels were not allowed to vote. He thus carried the State for Lincoln and himself in 1864; but Congress did not count her vote ! The Rebels of Tennessee and Missouri want to vote. We want them enfranchised. But from unmistakable indications, we infer that, if they were this day restored to the fallest rights of citizenship, they would use their power to disfranchise the blacks of Tennessee, and perpetuate the vassalage of those of Missouri. If they will unite with us in favoring universal amnesty and impartial suffrage, we are quite sure that both will be speedily carried. But, so long as they demand enfranchisement in order that they may disfranchise thousands who were never Rebels, is it a wonder that they excite little sympathy ? In the recently reconstructed States a very small fraction of the Rebels are disfranchised. Congress decreed that so many of them as had taken a solemn oath of fidelity to the Constitution in order to enjoy the honors and emoluments of public station, and had voluntarily, deliberately violated that oath by aiding the Rebellion, should not vote until the restriction should be legally abolished. The radicals of Alabama and Georgia have just enfranchised the dis'ranchised Kebels of those States; the other States will follow as fast as they can safely do so. Governor Scott has strongly recommended this course in South Carolina, and the Legislature will doubtless coincide with him, if the Rebels will behave so that they can

Either disfranchisement and dis shill it were never necessary, or it is abourd to remove them now-bat is, if there he as to remove them now- hat is, if there we any truth in the radical representations of the or-sent condition of the Southern mind. This sudden removal, so soon sfirst they were im-posed, is an extorted confersion that one of the main pillars of the radical colles was rotten from the beginning. The *Tribune's* eac minus on the liberality of the alabian it light the are prepositerons. The carpet big Leadslatures are mere puppels of the Northern radicals. The disabilities are removed because the Republi-can leaders have became frightened. They dark not encounter the lungment of the neople updu not encounter the judgment of the people upor their policy in all the network deformity,"

Comments by the Tribune.

The views and inculcations of this journal touching amnesty and enfrauchisement should by this time be well known. We have been setting them forth persistently for more than three years. With General Grant's constant efforts in the same direction, the public is also familiar. And no man can well be ignorant of the fact that the disabilities imposed on the prominent Rebels by Congress were intended to be temporary, and to be removed so soon as they could be with safety.

But the Rebels are as defiant and malignant at ever, urges the World. That is, unhappily, too true; and hence the failure of the late ef fort to enfranchise them in Tennessee. W wish they would let us help them out of their hobble; but if they choose an opposite course, we must submit.

Yet it by no means follows from the fact insisted on by The World that they must remain disfranchised. If General Grant were this day elected, their claws would be cut so that they might be turned loose without fear. And whenever his election shall have been insured by the popular vote of November 3 ensuing, we confidently trust that they can be enfranchised without danger. Frank-Blair's revolution will then be exploded; so will all their dreams of upsetting the new State Govern-ments, driving out the "carpet-baggers," and reducing the blacks to seridom. Congress, by a two-thirds vote, may legally remove their disabilities. We are sure it may safely do so whenever Grant's election is assured. If they insist on keeping themselves disfranchised as long as may be, very well. The Democrats in the next Congress cannot possibly have power to remove their disabilities; the Republicans will have. Will they take counsel of their sense or their malignity ?

"Democratic Doctrine for Workingmen." From the N. Y. World.

"It appears to be one of the fa d h en al dretrines of the Democratic party, that work ng-men shall vote as their em, loy its comman ; and that if any work't gunning year uses to have a political mind of his own, he and als iamity shall be starved. Thus, Wal- Hamplon, who helped make the Democrafic platform, said the other day in what the World praises as a spiech which "does honor is the American character," "lot us not employ in the forure any one which or block who stress his ald to

character," "let us not employ in the fature any one, white or black, who gives his aid to the Republican party. "This plank of the Democratic platform world considerably simplify electrons. Suppose a Democratic capitalist employs a hundred or two hundred men; they have only, it seems, according to the present Damo-cratic doctrine, to humbly ask their master for whom he wishes them to vote, and he has only to put his hands in his plokets, pull out the whom he wishes them to vote, and he has only to put his bacds in his pickets, pull out the ticket he happens to favor, and distribute it to them. "Vote that or starve," is his gentle and persuasive language to what a friend of Wade Hampton's, also a great Democratic light, Mr. Hammond, used to call the "mudsills of society."-New York Evening Post

We have nothing to say to the captions spirit which snaps at an isolated expression of one public man, and holds a whole party responsible for his haste or indiscretion. But the advice attributed to Wade Hampton suggests some reflections which we take this opportunity to lay before the public. The fact that such advice is given and will

perhaps be acted upon, is one of the most convincing proofs of the mischievous consenences of the radical policy in the South. It proves that in one of the fairest and most

perty from the benefit of an amnesty operated as a flaw in their title, so that they could give no security for the loans which they needed to set the machinery of production in fall operation. Tas chief necessity of a section of country so exhausted, was a large influx of foreign capital. The vengeful policy of the R-publicau party forbade cautious capitalists to risk their money without security in a community that was kept in a state of tarmoil and disturbance, and held in the iron grip of military despotism. The future of the South was too uncertain, under this provoking experiment, for the men of prudence to embark in any enterprise which looked to dis tant returns. The consequence is, that the South has been subsisting merely from hand

to mouth, and all its greater interests continue to lie prostrate. It was for the common advantage of all sections that the war should have been forgotten as speedily as possible by the absorption of all the best business talent of the South in industrial recuperation. If proper encouragement had been given for Southern activity to have taken this direction, and things had been put upon such a footing that capital would have flowed in, to be employed in great material enterprises, the demand for labor would have so outrun the supply that every thrifty treedman would have been on the sure road to independence. "But in that case," it may be said, "the

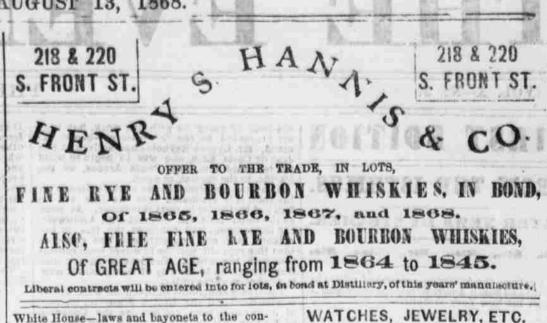
negroes would not now have been in possession of the ballot." True, they would not; nor can we see that the ballot is of any advantage to a class who cannot vote with independence. But the elective franchise would have come to the negroes in time as a consequence of the thrift and prosperity of the South. In the competition for their labor, the different States would have bid against each other by offering political advantages, just as our Western States did in their competition for immigrant settlers when they made voters of unnaturalized aliens. The laboring classes can have influence only when the demand for their services is so great as to make them independent of their employers. The ability to give an independent vote is the most important qualification for the suffrage. The laboring classes are not exalted but degraded by a nominal possession of the privilege when their condition is so abject that their employers can control their votes. The first care o those who wished well to the negroes should have been to have made them sharers in the material prosperity of the South; but a laboring population can thrive only when their employers are prosperous. The life of industry is the rivalry of profitable undertakings-the kind of rivalry that can never have place in an impoverished and unsettled community where credit is blighted and enterprise pros trated by the uncertainty that hangs over the future. Whenever the material prosperity of the South begins to be built up on a stable foundation, and its magnificent resources are in the full course of development, the demand for labor will so far exceed the supply that the freedmen-like the workingmen who engage in the frequent labor strikes in the Northwill be more likely to dictate terms to their

The Southern Opposition—What is its Nature ?

From the N. Y. Times.

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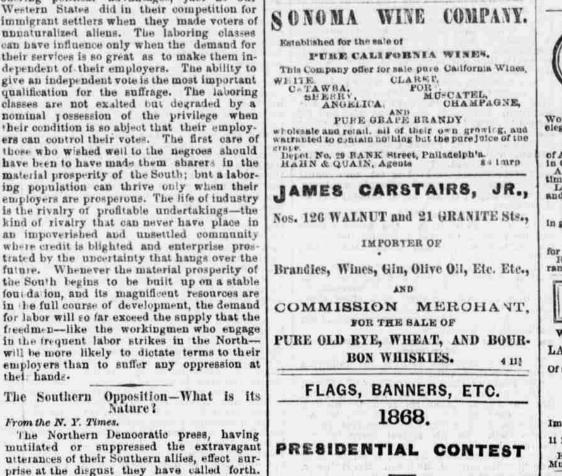
The Northern Democratic press, having mutilated or suppressed the extravagant utterances of their Southern allies, effect surprise at the disgust they have called forth. Instead of meeting fairly and squarely the issues raised by Cobb, Wade Hampton, Semmes, and others of that sort, the Northern triends of Seymour and Blair refuse to see in the Rebel declarations anything more than reasonable opposition. It is an old trick-this of hiding the real thing, and then con-



White House-laws and bayonets to the contrary notwithstanding.

This being the general character of the Southern opposition, we are warranted in denouncing it as an embodiment of Rebel doctrine. The name would be as nothing if it were not earned by those to whom it is applied. They wince under it because its application is deserved.

For opposition of the kind we have described cannot be confounded with that to which the country was formerly accustomed, or with that which now manifests its power under the parliamentary system of Eugland. Opposition which is entitled to consideration uniformly carried on within limits defined by the laws. This makes war upon the laws themselves, and is therefore revolution.



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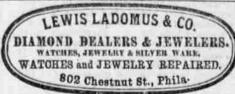
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A Trying Time for Tammany-The Politi-cal Ring and the Prize Ring. From the N. Y. Heraid.

Temmany is in trouble. Following the bent of the people of all countries in the present y, its wild Indiana are ripe for revolution that and y for a change. They have got into their new quarters in an aristocratic neighborhoed, surrounded by music halls, a grand opethe orterame, a circus, a new hotel and any ; of first-class shoddy boarding-houses they miss the old Pewter Mug and the ock rlum lager beer saloons of Franklin and orth William streets. With their change of ocation has come a corresponding disturbance a their sentiments towards their old leaders.

The World insults the friends of universal amnesty as follows----

"Nothing very favorable can be said of the efficacy of the deathbed repentance; but the conscience which is aroused by the terrors of such a situation nevertheless takes a juster which it committed without computation when the transmitted without computation when the second actions and the transmitted without and the second action and the transmitted without computation when the the second actions had a strong hold non-strong the second actions and a strong hold non-strong the second actions and a strong hold non-strong hold a strong hold non-strong the second strong hold non-strong hold non-strong hold a strong hold non-strong hold non-strong hold non-strong hold non-strong hold a strong hold non-strong hold no it thought it had a strong hold upon life. The foregoing paragraphs, commenting on and commending the action of the Alabama Legiscommending the action of the Alabama Legis-lature in removing political disabilities from white citizens, are a complete acknowledgment that those disabilities ought not to have been imposed. For what is the ground on which the disfranchisement has been defonded? Way, that the Southern leaders were so disaffected and disloyal that they could not safely be trusted to exercise political rights. If the reason was good, the disabilities should have been con-tinued until there was evidence of a better tinued until there was evidence of a better state of mind. But the radical organs daily de-clare that the Rebel leaders are growing con-stantly worse and worse-that their attitude is stantify worse and worse-int their attitude is bolder, is more reckless, contumations, and de-tant, at the present time than it has been be-fore since the close of the war. And yet this is the time selected for the removal of the disa-bilities so often deciared to be an indiscensable precaution against Rebel influence! If the cur-rent radical accounts of the Southern temper are correct this precaution was more correct, this precaution was never necessary as at this moment, are so

fruitful sections of the country enterprise is paralyzed and the supply of labor is in excess of the means for its profitable employment. In a thriving and prosperous community, where great public and innumerable private undertakings are in pro-gress, and competing with one another for hands to carry them on, no class of citizens are more independent than the laboring If one man will not employ population. them, hundreds of others are glad of their services. Employers who are growing rich by the prosecution of their business cannot afford to have it brought to a stand. They will attach less importance to the political opinions of laborers than to a full and constant supply of their labor. In a prosperous community, an attempt to control the votes of the working classes by threatening them with loss of em-ployment, would be despised and laughed at. The advice given by General Hampton is a melancholy and distressing proof of the abject condition of the Southern laborers, and of the stagnation of Southern business, under the hideous misrule of the Republican party.

The natural capacity of the South to give full employment to all its laborers is proved (among other things) by the enormous increase in the price of slaves previous to the

war. The raising of the Southern staples, construction of the Southern railroads, and growth of the Southern towns, made the ompetition so brisk for the limited supply of labor, that, in the eagerneis of suployers to secure as much as they useded, they were constantly over-bidding one another and running up its price. When slavery was abolished, the same causes ought to have produced similar effects. Instead of competing for the life service of laborers, employers should have competed with equal activity for their annual, or their monthly, or their daily service. There was much of this kind of competition even under the slave system. Nothing was more common than for the owners of slaves to hire them out for wages, and they never failed to flud remunrative employment. It is all the same to a Southern employer whether he pays high wag-s to the laborer himself or to some other man who claims to own him. When slavery (ell, industry ought to have goue on all the same; and the wages system was better suited than the slave system to a community so impove rished as the South was after an exhausting war. If the demand for labor had been a great as before, the free-im-n would have rapidly grown to a condition of independence by the competition of their services. But after four years of ireedom they are in so degraded a state that employment is rather a boon to them than a benefit to those who furnish it; while in every prosperous and well governed community it is directly the reverse. No Northern employer would dare utter such a threat as that made by Wade Hampton; for he would punish nobody but himself by putting it into "execution." He would stop his own profits; his hands would immediately find other employers.

Now, what is the reason that the labor sup ply in the South is in excess of the effective mand for it? It is owing entirely to the absurd and oppressive policy of the Radicals. They have kept the South in so unsettled and distracted a state as to blight all enterprise, and to convert into discontented sponting po liticians men who would be otherwise engaged in repairing their broken fortunes. Though but little property has been confiscated, the menace which has been held over the principal property owners has been scarcely less mischievous than actual confiscation. The prolonged exception of men of pro-

founding things that are different. It is played now by ignoring all that is objectionable in the Rebel displays, and treating them as legitimate resistance to an obnoxious policy. The Philadelphia Age for instance, assumes an indignant air, thus:-"We demand of these Northern presses which

object to Southerners seeking redress of their CALL ON OR ADDRESS wrongs through the ballot, whether they desire to establish in the South any kind or form of government in which this mode of redress shall be omittel? Because this is what it comes to. Every opposition to the radical ticket, accord-ing to radical ideas, is support of Rebel doc-trine. To deny that the white race should be held in subjection to the black, is an opposition to the radicals, and therefore the Rebel doc-trine; therefore anybody who holds it should not be permitted to vote, and anybody who does whit for it votes with the Beaus Bur it to a alli thp not be permitted to vote, and any body who does vote for it, votes with the Rebels. But it is a doctrine peculiar neither to the North nor the south. It is common to all white men. Recol-lecting, then, that the whole of our theory of gevernment is founded on this right of any part of the country to urge by means of elections; what ever they may, rightly or wrongly, believe to be their rights; recollecting, too, that it was not because the South straggled to maintain STEVENSDALE IN BOARDING SCHOOL FOR YOUN Corms-Board, Tuition, etc.-per scho not because the South struggled to maintain certain rights, but because it sought to main-on them by force, we ask what it is Hampton or Forrest means when he identifies the suc-cers of Seymour and Blair with his own wishes." utroulars at Mesars. Fairbanks & B OHESNUT Street; also at Mesars. T. Brothers', No. 806 CHEBNUT Street. Address, personally or by note,

If the Southern opposition were confined to the fair exercise of lawful and peaceable means, we should have nothing to say against it, except on the ground of its own merits. Such an opposition, however zealously conducted, would not furnish a valid reason for impugning the loyalty or the objects of its promoters. Any form of government under which this mode of obtaining redress might be dis couraged, or branded as an offense, would teserve all the censure of the Age and its fonds.

We have recently shown, however, on no less authority than that of the Charleston Mercury, that the newly formed governments admit of the largest liberty to their opponents. No obstacle is offered to those who are in opposition; no authority invoked to restrain or bafile their endeavors. The opposition is, in truth, at once so free and so powerful that the more boast'ul of the Rebel prints claim for it a certainty of success in at least three of the reconstructed States. No stronger proof could be had of the absolute freedom of opinion and action which properly belongs to publican government.

But with this lawful opposition the Southern extremists whom the Age undertakes to defend are not satisfied. They do not merely aim at out-voting the Republican party, they threaten that if black votes determine the GARDNER & I result, it shall not be respected. They de not limit their advocacy of change to the channels and agencies which the constitutions of the several States provide; they denounce these constitutions, and the Governments organized under them, as unworthy of respect, and threaten them with a violent overthro if the Democratic ticket be elected. They do not propose to overcome the evils attendant upon the sudden and universal entranchisement of the blacks by the means which supe rior intelligence and property confer; they declare, on the contrary, that white votes alone shall settle the contest between the candidates, and that negro enfranchisement shall cease. They contend, generally, after the manner of Frank Blair's letter, that the new 5 governments have no claim to the obedience or support of the whites, and that the first duty of a Democratic President will be to dea loy them by Federal force. Carrying out this principle, Wade Hampton has maintained that the black votes shall not be included in the count, and that if a majority of whites are for Seymour, he shall be installed in the

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