SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPIOS-COMPILED KVHHY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Meet the Issues.

From the Boston Post. The Journal is trying to frighten its party With a hotehpotch of terrible things which it knows are sure to result from a Democratic triumph in November. Its predictions must have been penned with an extremely wet handkerchief at its eyes. But suppose it re-moves the "wiper," and looks through its tears at the condition to which its own party has brought the country already. The people do not ask that reckless and corrupt partywhich Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, said would bankrupt the treasury if Congress continued in session any longer-to forecast the future for them; they demand an explanation of the alarming state of affairs which is right upon them now. Thirteen hundred millions of dollars taken from their pockets in three years of peace! What is the reason of that? If the Government expenses have actually been as moderate as the radical press insists, what has become of the immense remainder? They may cipher down their figures on expenditures as close as they choose, they cannot rub out the large figures of the revenues. And if the latter have been so huge, and the former so moderate, why does not that prove the extravagance and corruption of this party to be even greater still?

They have had uninterrupted control of everything. For fear they might in some way be obstructed in their schemes, they drove forth opposition members from both Houses of Congress for strict party reasons, stripped the Executive of his power, so that he cannot even remove an incompetent Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and tied the hands of the Judiciary. A radical Congress has been supreme, holding both purse and sword, and performing at once legislative and executive functions. Therefore, for the existing condition of affairs the radical party is wholly responsible. Can it successfully evade that responsibility before the people by crying up its fears of what the Democrats will do if they should be trusted with power? Of that the people are fully competent to be their own judges. Radicalism is much too interested a witness in a case of that sort. It is itself on trial. The people are not now questioning this false party of what it thinks the Democrats will do—they simply ask it to stand up and explain its own conduct. What has been done with all this money, wrang from the sweat of labor? Why is not the Union restored, when Southern representatives were at the doors of Congress nearly three years ago, seeking admission? Why are five armies stationed in the Southern States? Why have we not general pacification, restored confidence, revived industry, reopened trade, and a lightened load of taxes

These are the issues now-not old wars, nor future dangers. We are to face the facts that lie all about us. The radicals would be very glad if we would forget those facts, and look either forwards or backwards. That paltry trick, however, will not do. The day of account is here. The people are demanding of this reckless party of usurpers and corruptionists that they shall show their vouchers; and they only reply-"wait and hear us tell of our exploits in the late war''-or, "don't ask about such things while the Democrats are trying to expel us from power." Such pleas are all in vain. They are not relevant. They do not touch the issue, unless they may be taken as a confession of guilt. An agent, in accounting to his principal, would make pretty work of it, if he fell to puffing himself instead of talking business. When a political party comes before the people and asks for a renewal of its lease of power, it is bound first to show that its lapsed trust has not been abused, but rather has been improved. We hold radicalism to answer on this point and no other. Let it stand up and face its own record.

A Record of Legislative Incompetency. From the Washington National Intelligencer.

The project of holding a September session of Congress is strongly urged by the radicals of the South, though it meets with but comparatively little favor in the North. The former want more legislation. They are not satisfied with measure which disfrauchise many of the ablest and most qualified men of the South, which have subjected that unhappy people to the terrors of military domination, and have created governments in which carpet-baggers and negroes divide the spoils of office; but they are hankering for more abso-

lute control, through the devices of Congressional trickery. It is difficult for even a professional journalist, whose duty it is to keep posted on current events, to keep the run of Congressional legislation on the subject of reconstruction. Instead of pursuing a broad, liberal, and steadfast policy, Congress has resorted to makeshifts and temporary expedients. Its legislation has been a succession of patchwork such as is without parallel in our legislative history. First we had the Constitutional amendment. That was represented as the finality, the crowning piece of Republican liberality, and the irrevocable basis of the restoration of the Union. But the elections of 1866 were hardly over before it was represented that life and property were unsafe in the South, and a more rigorous policy was demanded-a "more loyal" basis of settlement was required. After weeks of agitation and bullying of the more conservative Republicans by these aggressive leaders, the act was passed of the 2d of March, 1867, which created the five military districts, and provided for the reorganization of the Southern States. This was the second legislative step. That, too, was represented as all-sufficient for the restoration of the Union, but had hardly become a law before the supplemental bill, which contained the test oath and the provisions for registration, was enacted, and became a law on the 23d of March, in defiance of the Presidential veto. This was the third legislative step. One cannot help thinking that after months of consideration of what was the true policy to pursue towards the South, statesmen, after three legislative efforts, would have succeeded in devising a satisfactory policy. But no; at the July session these congressional tinkerers try their hands again. Not content with divesting the Executive of his functions as Commander-in-Chief by the insertion of that infamous clause in the appropriation bill passed on the 2d of March, which gave the General of the army a virtual veto on all the military acts of the President, and, in fact, made him the superior of his chief, Congress again supplemented its reconstruction measures by the act of July 19th, which made General Grant the absolute dictator of the South. This was the fourth effort made by Congress to enact a basis for the restoration of the Union. But then legislative tinkerers did not complete their ill-advised labors, even with this fourth attempt; for on the 11th of March, 1868, they revoke one of the provisions which they had most elaborately discussed and adopted, and declared that a majority of the votes cast, and not of the registered voters,

should be sufficient to adopt the new consti-

act admitting the State of Arkansas, passed June 22, 1868, and the act admitting North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, contain fundamental conditions of admission, and, in fact, another and sixth attempt at a reconstruction

But the men who were to be specially aided by this patchwork policy and piecemeal legis-lation are far from satisfied. They inform heir Northern allies that they cannot hold heir ground unless Congress again comes to the rescue. The effort which Congress has in vain labored at, of making a pyramid stand on its apex, instead of its base-of clothing Northern adventurers, self-seeking secessionists, and uneducated negroes with the political power of the South, to the exclusion of many of its ablest and most experienced sons -will prove futile, unless more supplemental reconstruction measures are enacted, and the will of the people of the South is disregarded at the demand of its renegades, of the carpetbaggers, and of their pliant tools.

For ourselves, we have little doubt that another assembling of Congress will only make its impotence to deal with this great problem of reconstruction the more manifest; and while on some accounts we might regret the proposed September session, we are confident that its further paltering with this solemn responsibility will redound to their political disadvantage. A great party may fail once, twice, or even the third time to adapt its measures wisely to the solution of a momentons question, but when it makes six successive enactments designed to provide against the blundering of the preceding, it demonstrates the utter incapacity and untrustworthiness of its leaders. Neither in our own nor in English history can so signal an exhibition of weakness and want of statesmanship

The people are dissatisfied. They want men in our legislative halls who understand the requirements of the public service, and who are able to adapt their measures to them in wisely-conceived, statesmanlike enactments, which do not need to be amended every few months, much less entirely remodeled. The same folly was perpetrated in the financial policy and in the tax bills of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses, and no mad-dog cry of "rebels" and "disloyalty" will prevent the American people from bringing their incompetent servants to a just accountability, and hurling from their places those "who have been weighed in the balances and been found

The Course and Destination of Commerce-The Future of the United States.

From the N. Y. Herald. All the developments and signs of the times show that the United States are destined to be the great centre of the commerce of the world, and a greater commercial power than ever existed before. In contemplating this subject of the growth and course of commerce it is curious to notice its uniform direction from east to west. The earliest records we have of commerce—and these are often exaggerated and not very reliable-are from Asia. The great cities of Babylon, Nineveb, and Palmyra, in Central Asia, as well as Thebes and other cities of Egypt, for example, had an interior commerce carried on chiefly by caravarsaries or on the backs of camels. It does not app-ar from history that even the great rivers of Asia and Africa-the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nite-were used for this purpose, or, at most, to any extent. The early nations living on or bordering them did not understand even river navigation. We have no knowledge that the interior seas, as those of the Euxine, the Casoian or the Sea of Aral, were navigated for ommerce in the earliest historical times, though it is not improbable that the inhabitants on these, as well as on the great rivers, might have used canoes, or something like them, to a limited extent, as the natives of the South Sea islands do at this day. As to the early cities of the interior of that part of Asia known as Palestine or Asia Minor, such as Sodom and Gomorrab, the cities of the plains, and Jerusalem, they had but a limited trade, and that only carried by beasts of burden. China, India and the rest of extreme Eastern Asia were unknown, and, therefore, nothing can be said of the commerce there.

The earliest accounts of commerce by naviestion or of the use of vessels for war in sacred and pagan history are those mentioning the ships of Tarshish, which brought treasures and materials to Solomon at the time of building the Temple, and those of Homer about the fleets of Greece, which besieged Troy. Then we come to Tyre and Sidon, on the Asiatic coast of the Mediterranean. These were real commercial cities in the modern sense of that term. Their trading vessels went to the different ports of Greece, to Italy, and to other ports of the Mediterraneau. Carthage then rose as a great commercial emporium on the coast of Africa, and afterwards Alexandria in Egypt. Commerce at that time was centered and spread along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The Carthagenians or Phonicians carried their commerce through the Straits of Gibraltar, and formed colonies on the coast of Spain and penetrated as far as Britain, where they opened the tin mines of Cornwall. This was the commencement of a more extensive and outside commerce-an ocean commerce-far to the westward and northward. It may be said, indeed, that when the Carthagenians passed the columns of Hercules they laid the foundation of modern commerce. With the ascendancy and dominion of the Roman empire the commercial supremacy of the coasts of Africa and Asia declined and was transferred to the western shores of the Mediterranean. But during that long period of the decline of the Roman empire commerce was nearly extinguished. Internal and external wars and wars of conquest occupied the attention of the Romans almost exclusively.

But a more important commercial era commenced with the rise of Venice, in the twelfth century, and the other great marts of commerce in Italy. Venice for centuries was the first maritime and commercial power of the world, and she monopolized the trade with India by the way of Egypt. But the Venitians lost this when the route by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered. Farther west still the seat of commercial empire tended, when Spain, Portugal, and Holland eclipsed the maritime cities and republics of Italy. The ships of those nations traversed every sea and their colonies were established in both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. They fill a glorious page in the commercial history of the world. But soon a more western and greater people still arose and overshadowed them and all previous commercial nations. The British then became the first maritime power. That grand old fillibuster, Admiral Blake, in the time of Queen Elizabeth , did a great deal towards giving England the maritime and commercial supremacy which the British have held ever since. But westward the star of commerce continues to wend its way. This mighty republic, the colonial offspring of Great Britain, is destined to eclipse the glory of its parent and all former commercial nations. The United States occupy the most central position on the globe. With Europe on one hand and Asia on the other we shall be

tation, making thus a fifth attempt at a set | By the improvements in steam navigation the | tled policy of reconstruction. Nor is this all. I Atlantic and Pacific oceans have become only like lakes. The Pacific railroads, stretch ing across the Continent from one ocean the other and connecting with the steamships on both, will concentrate the trade of the world here, and New York and San Francisco must become the greatest cities on the globe. The magnetic telegraph, which has put us in instant communication with Europe, and which in a few years will do the same with Asia, will have a greater effect still in centralizing the power, the commerce and the intellectual influence of the American republic. With a territory embracing a vast continent, with boundless resources, with every variety of productions, and with forty millions of the most active and enterprising population, what are we not capable of accomplishing? What must we become when in less than half a century the republic will count more than a hundred millions of people The course of commercial and national greatness will culminate here in America, at its most Western limit, after having made the circuit of Asia and Europe.

> Thanks to Vermont! From the N. Y. Tribune. There was never, of course, any doubt that Vermont would cast her vote for Grant and Colfax by a very large majority; and yet her State election just held was regarded with deep, general, and rational interest. The barometer incites no storms and averts none; but it is, nevertheless, watched intently by those whose fortunes are staked on the calm or tempest of the next day or two. The set of the popular current may be indicated as c'early, decisively, by the vote of a certain as by that of a doubtful State. Nobody expected Kentucky to vote otherwise in 1868 than as she did in 1864; yet the fact that her Democratic vote and majority were last month swelled by the full strength of her returned Rebel soldiery, operated as a signal encouragement and aid to the partisans of Seymour and Blair throughout the Union. And so the splendid majority just rolled up by Vermont is worth much more to the Republican cause than the five electoral votes which she is certain to cast for Grant and Colfax. Not that it settles the question as to Vermont-there was no such question to settle-but that it shows beyond cavil that those who supported Lincoln's re-election are rallying with unbroken ranks to elect Grant and Colfax. There are very few individual defections, overbalanced by conversions to the Republican side; but the very few deserters and stragglers affect neither the solidity nor the momentum of the mighty column that is moving to reiterate and confirm the past tri

> mont election The scattered and peeled champions of The Lost Cause among the Green Mountains have for months insisted that they were receiving vast accessions to their ranks in sympathy with the "Great Reaction" boasted of in other States. They had young John Quincy Adams at their capital last winter, to receive a grand ovation from those who inherited a belief that his grandfather achieved the Presidency by a shameful bargain, and that his more illustrious great-grand ather was a monarchist, a British tool, and an implacable fee of popular rights. They boasted then of their great gains from the Republican ranks and the vast increase on their former votes that would be shown at the next election. They deceived their allies outside of their own limits; but they did not decrive nor mislead the yeomanry of Vermont.

umphs of freedom and the Union over Rebel-

lion at the South and sympathizing disloyalty

at the North. Such is the moral of the Ver

To that yeomanry, we tender the fervent gratitude of at least two-thirds of the American-born voters of the United States. They have struck a gallant and timely blow, for which we all fervently thank them. They have shown that we have but to beat the long roll and the men who saved the country from blood-thirsty treason will save it from those who, throughout our long agony, constantly predicted the triumph of that treason, and did their best to fulfil their own doleful prophecies. They have shown that of the half million voters throughout the country who are hardest and last to be brought to the polls, at least four hundred thousand will vote for Grant and Colfax if they can only be induced to vote at all. They have done this by effort -for the Vermonters are widely scattered on their farms and in the glens of their mountains, and must often trovel miles to reach the polls, which the indolent excuse themselves from doing on the plea that it is of no use-the majority will be large enough without them. Honor and praise, cheers and blessings for the stout-hearted, free-souled yeomanry of unflinching Vermont.

Is a War of Races Imminent? From the N. Y. Times.

The World professes to be "profoundly impressed with the conviction that a war of races, initiated by the radicals for political effect, is imminent in the South." North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas are specified as States in which strong ground for apprehension exists. The responsibility is, of course, charged upon the Republicans and the freedmen.

That there is danger of very serious trouble in various parts of the South, none who has carefully watched the progress and tendency of events in that section can deny. We have published evidence from several States which leaves no room for reasonable doubt on the subject. And it is at least probable that the courrence of conflict between whites and blacks in some of the States would not long be limited to a few localities. In this way a war of races is possible, if not imminent.

When, however, the Wirld attributes the peril to Republican policy and effort, and predicts its initiation for political effect, it exchanges the region of fact for that of partisan invention. The truth is in the opposite direction. Whatever danger exists is Demoeratic in its origin, and if it culminate in strife, the Democratic party will be mainly, if not wholly responsible.

The most striking proof of this is the moderation with which the power organized under the R-construction acts has been exercised by its possessors. The new Constitutions are, as a rule, singularly free from offensive provisions. There is rather more oath-taking in some of them than we deem just or politic; but, generally speaking, they are characterised by an avoidance of proscription which, in the circumstances, is somewhat remarkable. There is no sweeping disfrauchisement, and no flagrant abuse of authority in any shape. The political equality of the races is affirmed, and ample provision is made for popular education, regardless of color; but these are not changes which justify the violent resentment shown by the representatives of the old slave system.

So again, in regard to subsequent local legis Alabama has witnessed the removal of all disfranchisement; and the composition of the Georgia Legislature illustrates the partisan forbearance of the colored voters. The legislation under the new Governments has not been uniformly wise. Want of experience is apparent in some instances, more partieularly in South Carolina, and in others the *presence of reckless leaders may be traced. the centre and medium of commerce for both. Still we nowhere find an invasion of white by reconstructed votes to the extent

men's rights. Nowhere have the blacks used their opportunities to create exclusive privileges, or to impose special burdent on the other race. The most that can be said is, that they have carried out the principle of equality affirmed by the new Constitutions.

The opponents of reconstruction have certainly not acted in the *same spirit. They have neither acknowledged the moderation of the Republicans as locally organized, nor been content to carry on the contest with fair and friendly weapons. In Alabama, the removal of disabilities has been made the occasion of threats and insult; and in Georgia, where freedmen were cheated into the support of Democrats, the latter evince their gratitudby proposing to declare colored men fueligible to seats in the Legislature. Everywhere thoughout the South the same party make war upon colored suffrage, and proclaim a purpose to restore the doctrine of "white men's Governments." They suggest no modification of the present system. They propose no compromise between the advocates of universal and the advocates of qualified suilrage. They demand the disfranchisement of the race, because of its color, and threaten resistance to any result arising from colored votes. Moreover, they have schemes in operation for coercing freedmen into the support of the Democratic ticket; continued employment being the declared price of votes. The freedmen are called upon to surrender their privilege, with starvation as the alternative.

It were bad enough if the Democratic struggle for supremacy ended here. But it does not We have enumerated some of their more peaceful methods. There are others more lawess and aggressive, in the use of which the Democracy of Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas are conspicuous. Intimidation and outrage are rife in these States. Armed Rebel organizations are at work, which defy civil authority, and in some districts render the lives and property of Union men insecure. In Tennessee these organizations contemplate the fercible nullification of the suffrage law at the November election, and the same element has made parts of Texas a perfect pandemonium.

The immediate effect of these exhibitions of Democratic temper and design has doubtless been, in some localities, the organization of counter movements-not to assail the enemies of reconstruction, but to resist any overt attempt which they may make to overthrow the law. We should wonder if it were otherwise. An assault upon rights necessitates measures for their defense. And armed and secret societies in the interest of Democracy are quite likely to provoke the formation of other s ties in the interest of Republicanism. We do not know that the example has been extensively followed; but we are sure that where the Republicans, white or black, are organized, it is in self-defense, and as a consequence of rebel plots and menaces.

If, then, a war of races is, as the World alleges, imminent, we can have no difficulty in tracing the responsibility to its source. Whatever the trouble, it proceeds from the disposition of the Southern Democrats to override the law, frighten freedmen from the polls, and forcibly regain control of the local governments. The Southern Republicans ask only to be let alone. They ask that the law shall take its course, and that privileges created under the law shall be freely exercised. The Democrats, on the contrary, propose an aggressive policy, at the expense of Republican rights. They aim at the mastery, and no means are too foul for their hands. If trouble occur, whether it grow to the proportions of a war of races or not, its beginning will be in this circumstance. All that is grave in the situation proceeds from the animosity of the Democrats towards reconstruction and their desperate resolve to control the elections. We do not suppose them mad enough to precipitate a conflict before the election, but we consider difficulty at and after the election not improbable, unless the President do his duty in providing for the maintenance of order. His known alliance with the party which is at the bottom of the mischief aids to its complications, and awakens anxieties which it is impossible wholly to repress. Nothing can insure us safety but the election of a President whose convictions are in harmony with the policy of Congress, and the weight of whose office will be on the side of the law.

The Negro Vote.

From the N. Y. World.

It is evident that if the Southern people can about equally divide the negro vote, that vote will cease to be of any appreciable importance in the decision of the approaching Presidential election. Thus there are now about 750,000 negro voters-voters, of course, only so far as the Reconstruction laws are valid-in the South, and if 375,000 of these can be induced to vote for Seymour and Blair, while the rest go for Grant, the one vote will neutralize the other, and the white vote alone will decide the day. Feeling this, the Southern people, with that peculiar alertness in political matters that seems to distinguish them, have gone boldly to work to make the negro vote neutralize itself, and so far as indications now go, with very great success. Being a most impressible creature, the poor negro is ever ready to listen to any one who will promise him anything, and just as the carpet-bag men availed themselves of this trait in the reconstruction elections the Southern people are doing now. To get him to vote for a convention or to ratify the constitution framed by it, the carpet-bag man promised the negro "a mule and forty acres," and in fond hopes of this munificence, he did as he was bid. Now, the conventions being over and the constitutions ratified, it strikes him that the mule and land have not been fornished bim, and, in the natural anger evoked by this circumstance, he is very ready to listen to the voice of his old master when telling him that the carpet-bag man meant to cheat him from the start. Fortunately for this master, the idea of a white man cheating a negro was, in the old slave times, the abomination of desolation in the South, and, starting from this point d'appui an almost irresistible appeal is made to the disappointed black. I, is about the address of his quondam master to him, I never cheated you. If I had promised you a mule you know you would have gotten it, and as to land you know you always had as much about your cabin as you cared to cultivate. Now, I can't give you much, because I'm poor, but still I can give you something, and if you choose to be my friend and vote with me, I will give you employment and you may live on my land. Think about this and let me know what you mean to do, and, in nine cases out of ten, while the negro is thinking, the white man gets him to a barbecue, gives him a drink, makes him a speech and, with a vergeful recollection of that missing mule, the reconstructed voter becomes a furious supporter of Seymour and Of course there are some of the recon-

structed, chiefly those about the towns, who can resist this treatment; but as for the great mass of the negro population, a tangible barbecue, meaning Seymour, has a far greater political significance than an invisible mule, meaning Grant. To vote, in the negro mind, is to get something, and, acting on this understanding of the ballot, the Mississippi whites, with a negro majority of 20,000 against them, defeated the reconstructed Constitution

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of a majority equal to one-fourth of the entire registration. To accomplish the same results in the other Southern States there needs no very great change in the negro vote. In Alabama, one negro in every five; in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, one in every four brought over would so far make the negro vote neutralize itself that the white vote would stand forth in solid mass as the vote of the

With the negroes once over, there is no fear of the carpet-bag men—that is, of those carpet-bag who are in office under the reconstructed State Governments—it being of the essence of arpet-bagism to first get into office by the negro vote and then to stay there by the white

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