SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURARNT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERY DAY POR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Value of Southern Declarations.

From the N. Y. Nation. Two hundred "influential citizens" of Charleston, S. C., have held a meeting and issued an address to the white people of the district, informing them, in substance, that the blacks have come to the conclusion that true happiness for the negro can only be found in "the most degrading vassalage of the white citizens of the State," and are "fired with a sentiment of hostility to the white population of the city and State," and prophesying that, unless "timely averted, the purposes of wicked men will be accomplished in deadly strife, and in the streets of the city scenes will be enacted which all good men will deplore." The dooument is written in what, considering the season at which it appears, may perhaps be called campaign English, and it is therefore impossible to say what its value is, either as an expression of feeling or as a description of a state of things actually existing. The account it gives of the sufferings of the whites and of the bad conduct of the blacks may have some truth in it, but the reader is furnished with so little means of guessing how much truth that he is almost driven into refusing it all credence whatever as the only safe course. What adds to his difficulty is that the picture the paper draws of white sufferings makes the advice to the whites to be "patient" and do nothing violent, with which it winds up, sound very like the famous admonition to the mob, on no account to nail the ears of the sheriff's officer to the pump.

No matter to what Southern source one turns for information as to the real condition, moral as well as physical, of the South, one finds one's self plunged in the same perplexity. It is not simply that the language of Southern speeches and articles is inflated, but the propositions they contain are in such direct opposition to familiar facts of Southern history that one could not believe them, even if the language in which they are stated were never so simple and direct. For instance, we find in the report of General Rosecrans' interviews with General Lee at the White Sulphur Springs, published by the Richmond Whig, that "as to Southern animosity to the negro, nothing could be further from the fact, and why should there be? Said he, there is no rivalry between the races, but a reciprocal interest, growing out of the fact that each is dependent on the other to a great extent," etc. etc. Now, whether General Lee actually said this or no makes little difference for the purpose of our argument. Southern men of his class are constantly saying it, and the newspapers keep repeating it, and it is such a clear evasion of the real question that, hearing it so often, one is almost driven to the conclusion that discussion with Southern men is useless, and that wild abuse of them, such as the Hunnicuts and Underwoods indulge in, is as good a way of dealing with them as any.

true, provided the negro accepts their theory of his rightful condition. But looking at enmity in this way, it may be said with equal truth that nobody has any enemies. All any man has to do, in order to put an end to all hostility to him, is to accept the conclusions of those who do not like him as to the place he ought to occupy in society. A proud man, for instance, is disliked because he thinks he is superior to his neighbors, and lets it be known that he thinks it; but if he became very humble in his manner, and acted every day as if he was the inferior of everybody he met, his former enemies would soon get love him, or at least cease to hate him. close rich man is disliked, because people think he has acquired his wealth in an improper manner, and that the generous and kind-hearted would have his money if justice were done; so all he has to do to make everybody his friend is to divide his possessions amongst his neighbors, and leave himself poor and mean, as people think he deserves

They are not enemies of the negro, it is

This same difficulty is at the bottom of most national antipathies. If Americans would frankly accept the English view of the American character, and of the part which Americans ought to play in the world, the English would like the Americans very much; or if the English could be got to see themselves as the Americans see them, warmer triends than the two nations could not be found on earth. So, also, the long-standing hatred between France and England has been due simply to the resolute refusal of each nation to adopt the other's view of its character, capacity and rights. Cases of hatred, flowing from pure devilishness of disposition, are almost unknown in civilized life. So that when the Southerner tells us that he is the friend of the black man, he simply means that he is the friend of the black man as long as the black man remains in what he considers his proper place—that of the member of an inferior race, who is, for the benefit of his superiors, to be restrained and prevented from exerting all his faculties. In other words, the assertion is a mere quibble, and does not forward the discussion in the least. The war arose out of the fact that the

North and South held two widely different theories of society and government, and the existing strife and confusion is kept up by the fact that the South refuses to accept and apply the Northern theory as to the result of its defeat in the field; and yet in nearly everything the Southern press and orators say about their aims and intentions this fact is kept out of sight. The North finding, at the close of the war, that the South was unwilling to accept its social theory, applied the screw in the shape of negro enfranchisement and partial white disfranchisement. Now, this might be called, as the Southerners do call it, "reducing the Southern whites to 'vassalage,' '' if it were done deliberately for the purpose of permanently degrading the whites; but it is done for precisely the same reason that cannon was used against the Southern armies in the war-to make them submit to the will of the stronger. To call it "vassalage," under these circumstances, is simply

What we want from Southern orators and and intentions in language used in the same sense as that in which we use it. For instance, we want to know, from General Lee and others, not whether they are friends of the negro seen from their point of view, but are they his friends seen from our point of view? Are they willing to take him not as a black, but as an ignorant man of mercurial temperament, and lay aside, for the purposes of legislation, all theirold theories as to his origin and destiny? To these questions no Southerner of prominence has, to our knowledge, ever given definite answer. No Southern paper ever touches them in discussion. We are left to find

t which theory most Southerners entertain, entally, by watching their conduct negro, and listening to their talk themselves about him. Everything in this way makes it all but certain as of the Southern people have not amonge will not, if they can help it, 'hern theory of society; and we learn that the ma adopted-and

dopt-the Nor.

that their fair talk to us is due simply to it took his ballot from him by force, as he ap-their practice of using words in a sense proached the ballot-box, and prevented his their practice of using words in a sense of their own, differing from ours. Now if they will say frankly, "Your social and political theory we will never adopt," they would not only do a manly thing, but would do much to clear the public mind on both sides of the line. Instead of this, they pretend to

adopt it by a kind of equivocation.

What we know of the nature of the Southern view of the negro's place in society we learn not from the speeches of the Lees, and Stephenses, and Beauregards, but from the practice of the mass of the community, and the State papers of the Governors and other public men; from the black codes of many of the States after the war; and from the actual legislation of Kentucky, which, not having been touched by the reconstruction process, gives us an idea of what would be done all over the South were it not for radical intermeddling. There the negro is literally an outlaw, is dependent for life and limb on the humanity of any ruffian whom he chances to meet-his evidence against white men not being received in the courts, or at all events, counting for nothing if it is received. Evidence of this kind, not being prepared, is worth volumes of addresses and conversations with distinguished Southern statesmen. There are, of course, the same things to be said against negro suffrage that are to be said against all voting on the part of ignorant men; but when you have said this you have not finished the argument. You have still to show how it would fare with the ignorant man if he were deprived of the right of voting. In highly civilized and highly organized communities like New and Old England, or France and Germany, where respect for life and pro perty has become a habit of the popular mind, and where the law is executed with certainty and despatch, a nonelector may, and does enjoy security and comfort. He does not impress his opinions or

wishes on the policy of the State, but he is sure of justice in the courts, and of the aid of the police against his enemies. He is not asked to rely on the pity, or even on the kindly feeling, of his neighbors for protection. Now, no honest Southern man will pretend that the negro at the South will and the same justice and the same protection if left enterely in the hands of the Southern people that poor white men do. There is a prejudice against him at the South; there is contempt for him; and there is also a habit of showing prejudice and contempt by acts of violence which the courts are not ready to punish. On these points we do not need General Lee's opinion. We have the facts before us every day in the newspapers; and what we want to know of General Lee is not whether he loves the negro and wants peace, but whether he is willing to submit to the conditions imposed by the conquering party in the late war-one of which is the acceptance and embodiment in the law and practice of the land of the Northern theory of society and government.

The Meditated Francs in Our Coming Election. From the N. Y. Tribune.

The World thus deals with our exposure of the conspiracy to corrupt our ballot-boxes and falsify the verdict of our State at the approaching election:-

"The Tribune boldiy charges the Democratic party in this city with delicerately intending to corrupt the hallot-boxes in November. It charges the Democratic party with intending to elect its cannot be for the Governorship by fixed. These charges are made against a party which outnumbers the radical party two to one in a city where, without the intervention of the legislation of radicals from the radial districts, and without the radical commissions which such legislation has fixed and upon the tax payers of the city, not a radical on Man attan island could be elected to so small an office as the doorkeepership of a police station, if such offices were elective. In the face of such facts, the Tribune presents that the Democratic party, which usually gives in the city a majority hearly equal to the entire radical vote, heeds to resort to frand to elect its capul-"The Tribune boldly charges the Democratic heeds to resort to fraud to elect its caudidates! The Tribune knows better, and knows that its readers are not deceived by such palpable gammon. What, then, is the Tribune's object in slandering two-thirds of the honest voters of this city by charging them with the intent to deliberately defraud the remaining one-third at the ballot-boxes in November? It is this:—The Tribune hopes, by making an infimous charge, to cover and excuse the fact that our police, who are employed as our hird ser. our police, who are employed as our hired ser-vants to protect our lives and property, and paid for such services by the tax-payers in this paid for such services by the tax-payers in this overwhelmingly Democratic city, are used by the radicals for their own private purposes. Every policeman is now engaged as a censustaker, not for the city, not for the tax-payers whose servant he is, but for the radical party, which is an insignificant minority in the city, and for radical purposes, which are of no account except to this insignificant minority. This is a thing to take of as 'fraui.' It is a swindle upon the people who employ these public servants for legitimate purposes, and pay them good round wages therefor. It is time that the police, from Policeman Kennedy down to Policeman Smith or Jones, understood that they liceman Smith or Jones, understood that they are the servants of the city, not the runners and lackeys of a party. They are nired to work for the people who pay their wages, not for the party which swindles the employers by improperly using the servants. The place for a policeman is on his best, to the street, not at area or man is on his beat, in the street, not at area o hall-doors, or as a bell-boy and waiter at a poli-tical club. And at whatever door these inquisi-tive policemen apply for the sake of propounding party conundrums, they should be plainly told to go about their business—the business for which they are specially employed and

Comments by the Tribune.

I. The city of New York will give a considerable majority for Seymour and Blair; the State, outside of the city, if none but legal votes are polled, will give a still larger ma-jority for Grant and Colfax. The game of certain magnates and wire-pullers of the Democratic party is to swell by fraud the city majority for Seymour, so that it shall overbalance the country majority for Grant. In furtherance of this conspiracy, Brooklyn was most unjustly deprived of her Police Commissioner by our late Democratic Legislature. In farther furtherance of it, our city and county tax levies were swelled by millions of dollars, which the managers of the Democratic party are using to promote illegal naturalizations, and hire "repeaters" to swindle the electors out of their rights by voting from poll to poll. The World's language given above proves it in guilty conspiracy with the swindlers.

II. What is charged upon the Police Superintendent as a misdemeanor is simply an effort prevent illegal voting-nothing less, nothing more. He is not even accused of asking or seeking to know how any man will vote, but simply how many, in a given locality, have a right to vote at all. It is matter of record that over 100 voted last year from a house where no ten men lived-that the vote of our city was swelled by monstrous, wholesale frauds. The Democratic vote here for President in '64 was 73,709; last fall, with neither President, Governor, nor even Congress to choose, it was swelled to 85,764; and there was not so many legal votes for Nelson in '68 as there were for McClellan in '64, when there was quite cheating enough. We firmly believe that the Fourth, Sixth, Eighth, and Fourteenth Wards each returned a Democratic majority exceeding the whole number of legal voters therein of all parties who went to the poll. We propose to put a stop to this whole-sale villainy. Let the wounded pigeons flutter if they must!

III. The use of a police is to expose, resist, and prevent crime. And what is crime if robbing the electors of their right of suffrage is not? An illegal vote destroys the legal voter's right of suffrage as completely as though

polling it. What is the function of a police, if it is to stand idly by and see the whole body of legal voters robbed of their rights, and the popular verdict falsified in a crisis like this?

IV. The police mean to detect and expose the wholesale crime which is meditated-a crime which strikes at the very foundationstone of popular liberty. They have nothing to do with party or politics; it is their duty to prevent fraud and crime. Every illegal vote polled is a orime committed -a gigantic, atrocious crime. The World virtually confesses that to prevent illegal voting is to reduce the Democratic majority. Every intelligent politician knows that this is so; that if 20,000 illegal votes are polled in this city, the Democratic majority will thereby be swelled at least 19,000. That is no business of the police, but the prevention of crime is. Og behalf of all legal voters, who wish neither themselves to cheat, nor to profit by others' cheating, we entreat the Superintendent to do his whole duty.

Can't Make a Balance Sheet.

From the N. Y. World. Is it not time that the Republican papers made the amend honorable to Governor Seymour for the outery they raised against his intimation, in his letter of acceptance, that it is impossible to learn the real state of the national finances? The correctness of that intimation is fully demonstrated by the very papers that raised the outery. What, for example, is the amount of the public debt? On the 8th of August, the Tribune stated it at \$2,500,528,820. On the 18th of August, the same Tribune stated it at \$2,510,000,000. Before the month of August ended the same Tribune again stated it at \$2,491,324,477. And all three of these contradictory statements, be it noted, professed to be the amount of the public debt, less the money in the Treasury at the same identical date-the first of August. This is a pretty jumble of contradictions for a paper that howled at Governor Seymour for intimating that it is not easy to get at the

truth respecting the national finances. Not only does the Tribune thus contradict itself, but all the other authorities contradict it and each other. Commissioner Wells stated in his recent report that there was an excess of income over expenditures within the last year of \$34,749,777; which, if true, would have diminished the public debt by just that amount. But Secretary McCulloch states that the debt has been increased within the year \$12,228,054, making an enormous dis-crepancy of \$46,977,831. The Tribune, teased and bewildered by irreconcilable contradictions, was driven to confess, yesterday, that it knows not the truth on this subject and is without the means to get at it. It ought, then, to apologize to Governor Seymour for its unmerited abuse.

The Tribune has several times contended that \$32,000,000 which appear in the debt statement of Mr. McCulloch does not strictly belong there. We are clearly of opinion that it does, with the advantage having the Secretary on our side. But we will not argue the point now, because, even if we were to concede the claim of the Tribune, there would still be a discrepancy of \$15,000,000 which that journal cannot account for; whereas with a system of honest and well-kept accounts, the people should know to a dollar what use had been made of their money. The Evening Post takes up the subject which the Tribune seems to abandon in despair, and thinks it can account for the discrepancy of \$15,000,000. We copy the Fost's fancied elucidation:-"There remains, in round numbers, a balance

of fifteen million dollars paid for some purpose which the T. ibune and its correspondent cannot discover. Where is it?

"The answer is contained in the debt statement itself; which shows that the amount of the correspondent companyed interest notes with."

drawn by funding or payment during the year was 200,000,000. These notes appeared in the statements of a year ago as capital at six per cent, interest; but in fact they bere the accumulated interest of from two to three years upon them. This interest has been paid or truded during the funded during the year, and has thus ap-peared in the statement of the debt. It was as really due a year ago as it is now, and its appearance is but a nominal, not a real, in-"Had these notes all matured before pay-

ment, the interest thus made principal would have amounted to nearly eighteen millions of dollars; but as some of them were received in payment for five-twenties before maturity, it is but fair to suppose that they are about enough to account for the fifteen millions of dollars in question.'

This will not do. In the first place, it is purely conjectural and supported by no figures. In the next place, it is in fatal collision with the statement of Commissioner Wells, who included, in his account of expenditures the interest on the compound notes. He said that there was a surplus of nearly thirty-five millions over and above all expenditure for interest as a means of reconciling the contradic-tion. The part of the debt which draws interest is only about \$2,100,000, which, if it were all at six per cent. (some of it is only at three) would make the annual interest account only \$126,000,000. But Mr. Wells makes the interest paid last year \$141,625,551—an excess in the interest account of nearly \$16,000,000. This excess can be explained only by the payment of the accrued interest on the compound notes. The Post's explanation therefore falls to the ground, and the confusing contradictions remain.

The Georgia Legislature and Its Colored Members.

From the N. Y. Times. The action of the Georgia House of Representatives, in declaring colored members ineligible, cannot fail to excite intense feeling throughout the South, and to aggravate the quarrel which the Southern Democracy appears resolved to provoke. It is a step in the direction of that war of races which Northern supporters of Seymour declare imminent; and the negro, it will be remembered, is the sufferer, not the aggressor.

The pretence on which the House has pro ceeded, is that the State Constitution does not specifically affirm the title of colored citizens to seats in the Legislature. The Atlanta Constitution appeals to the proceedings of the late Convention to show that it refused to affirm the title in question; in proof of which it cites the expunging, by a vote of 126 to 12, of a section which, as originally reported, provided that "all qualified electors, and none others, shall be eligible to any office in this State, unless disqualified by the Constitution of this State or by the Constitution of the United States." The rejection of this clause, the Macon Telegraph contends, considered in connection with the re-enactment of the previous Code of Georgia, "re-establishes all the old legislation of the State not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and of Georgia, and concluded the business, so far as negro office-holding in Georgia under that Constitution was concerned." Aside from this, the advocates of exclusion in the Legislature insisted that notwithstanding emancipation, this is still a white man's government and that the negro has no political rights in common with white citizens, unless conferred by the State, which, they allege, has not been done in Georgia.

This ground, however, cannot be sustained. So much of the old legislation of the State as affirmed the superior status of white men, and confirmed upon them exclusive privileges, is clearly abrogated by the new Constitution as

well as by the Fourteenth Amendment, to the ratification of which Georgia was a party. The declaration of fundamental principles composing the first article of the new Constitution provides (section 2) that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and resident in this State, are hereby declared citizens of this State, and no law shall be made or enforced which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States or of this State." The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment lays down the same principle in the same words.

States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, etc."

The citizenship of the colored man is thus made as valid as that of the white man, and the two stand on an equality, in the light both of the Federal and State Constitutions, in respect of political privileges. Exclusion from the Legislature, or from office, because of color, is beyond doubt an abridgment of the privileges or immunities of the colored people, and is therefore in conflict with the organic law. So much of the old legislation as denied the citizenship or the eligibility to office of colored persons, is as effectually abrogated by the new Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment as though it were in terms indi-

The omission of all reference to color in the Constitution proves nothing. The distinction is throughout ignored. The franchise, like the citizenship, is conferced without mention of color, simply because color has ceased to be a basis of difference in the reconstructed States. If the old law may act as a barrier to the acquisition of office by colored men, it may also operate for their disfranchisement. The plea would be as valid in the one case as in the other.

defines who are ineligible to seats in the Legislature, and color is not included in the enumeration. If there were no other reason, therefore, we should conclude, on the general principle of strict construction, that negroes, not being, as a race, ruled out of seats, are as eligible as others, subject to qualifications applicable to all. But their right is not a matter of inference, still less of hair-splitting. It rests on the fundamental law, and all special pleading derived from the old Slave Code is inapplicable and worthless. The adoption of it by the Georgia House of Representatives as a ground of expulsion, is as unconstitutional as it is irritating and unjust. It is especially outrageous because shared by members elected by colored votes, in a State where the freedmen have used their newly-acquired power with fairness and moderation.

But the end is not yet. The colored Repregraceful.

It is possible that a consideration suggested by the Augusta (Ga.) Republican may bring the majority of the Legislature to their senses. Here it is:-

"If these colored men had not been admitted to seats guaranteed to them by the Government, the Constitutional Amendment could not have been adopted; and if that amendment had not been adopted, our representatives would not have been admitted nor the troops withdrawn. It follows too, if these members are not now entitled to seats, they were not then; if they were not then, the fourteenth then; if they were not then, the fourteenth article has not been legally ratified."

And if Georgia has not legally ratified the Constitutional amendment, Georgia is not legally entitled to representation in Congress, and will not be entitled to participation in the Presidential election. On this supposition the session of the Legislature amounts to nothing, and the State may be required to resume its place under military government. These are matters, however, which Congress will probably decide. In conjunction with the proceeding which gives them prominence, they may turn the balance in the Congressional mind in favor of an early reassembling at Washington.

The Radical Reproach of Democracy, its Crowning Honor.

From the Washington National Intelligencer. gentleman can stoop than the effort to make party capital against the Democracy out of the fact that "Rebels" took part in the proceed object, of course, is plain. It is to make out those who sought to overthrow the Government, and that, therefore, they are unworthy of the public confidence. A few may be deluded by the shallow device, but sensible people are aware that the true method of pacificating a country which has been rent by the strifes of war is to bring the belligerents into harmonious co-operation. If the Democracy sacrifice nothing of principle or patriotism by bringing the opponents of the Govern-ment into fellowship with them, it is to their everlasting honor that they have wrought the magic change which converts quondam enemies into lasting friends. It could only be a cause of reproach that Wade Hampton and General Forrest sat side by side in the New York Convention with the Northern leaders, if the latter had abandoned their life-long devotion to the Constitution and the laws, and given countenance to the spirit of hostility which arrayed the former against the Federal Government. But what is the fact? It is not the Democracy which has changed front, but the Confederate leaders, who have laid down their arms, accepted the results of the war, and gladly now clasp hands with those who are willing to accord them all their rights under the Constitution. It is not, therefore, cause of reproach, but of boasting, that the great Democratic party of the country is willing, when arms are laid one side, to forget the bitterness and hostility of war, and ex-tend the hand of fraternal kindness to the men with whom they have been engaged in a deadly struggle. Republican orators reproach us for not

midst of Christian institutions. They arraign the Democratic party for not practising the vengeance familiar to the dark ages, amid the blaze of the nineteenth century. They clamor for the "fruits of victory," while seeking to kindle passions above which even an Athenian populace and a Roman Senate so often rose. They proclaim the baseness of their natures by professing their unwillingness to trust their own countrymen. They soil the glory of the American name by their slanderous imputations upon the honor of our Southern brethren; for they are our brethren-brethren by the ties of blood and by a community of interests; brethren by the rich association of a common language and the glorious memo-

"A:I persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof

Beside, the new Constitution of the State

sentatives have been expelled, but the real difficulties incident to expulsion remain to be encountered. The question raised by Turner, one of the colored members, demands an answer. "Am 'I a man?" is the inquiry which, though for a time stifled in the Legislature, will be raised throughout the State, wherever colored voters are found. And they will have sympathizers and supporters wherever the policy of Congress is honestly upheld. The fitness of colored people for office is one thing; their exclusion from office, because of color, in defiance of constitutional guarantees, is another and much more serious thing, and one that carnot be endured without a surrender which to Republicans would be dis-

There is no meaner subterfuge to which a ings of the Convention of New York. The that the Demogracy are hand in glove with evincing the spirit of barbarous hate in the

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ries of a common renown; brethren by years of dangers shared, and of a prosperity without a parallel in human history; and though the storm of battle has rent us asunder, and thousands have fallen in a fratricidal strife, yet we share alike the glories of a common valor, and forgetting the sad tragedies of a war which never should have been, will cleave together as children of the same mother in the enjoyment of a common Constitution, which guaranties to all alike the precious heritage of free institutions. Palsied be the tongue and blistered the throat of the recreant American who would make it a matter of reproach to a compatriot that he seeks to bring his estranged countrymen together in the bonds of a heartfelt Union; that he seeks to reconcile differences, soothe exasperated feelings, harmonize clashing interests, and awaken the inspirations of a common patriotism. "Blessed are the peace-makers," says the Divine Word. On the other hand, he who would protract strife, who would for any cause keep alive the animosities and the bitterness engendered by war, when the roar of battle is no longer heard, is

The Republican party has fulfilled its mission. It carried on the war for the Union blunderingly and with enormous expense; but it has spent four years in trying in vain to restore peace. Its legislation reeks of the spirit of war. It deals in military domination and drum-head court martials. It substitutes the order of the camp for the decree of the court. It deals in vindictive disfranchisements and senseless disabilities. After years of warlike struggle, followed by domination over one-half the republic, its leaders seem so far incapable of a peaceful solution of the national troubles that they reproached the Democracy for affiliating with the men whom it should be the object of wise legislation to make contented citizens. Such leaders may make good frontiersmen or Apache chiefs, but they are utterly unfit to control the councils of a Christian

accursed of God, and should be despised by

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