SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS PPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED EVERT DAY FOR THE EVENING THISGRAPH.

Old Virginia. From the N. Y. Tribune.

We trust that the result just achieved in the election of Grant and Colfax incures the speedy return of Virginia to self-government and her proper place in the councils of the republic, from which she has too long been estranged. As she went out in a frenzy of madness produced by falsehood, it was well that she should take ample time for her return; but that time has now been exceeded. She ought to have returned simultaneously with the Carolinas; but it was not her choice to do so. Her ancient aristogracy would wait and see whether they could not come in with flying colors, tramping on the necks of their late bondmen, by virtue of the triumph of Seymour and Biair. That hope being now blasted, we are confident that she will accept her new and truly democratic constitution and present herself at the doors of the Capitol impersonated in a loyal delegation, and that she will be welcomed to the place she once honored, and should never have abandoned. Then let all distranchisements be speedily removed, and let her people forget their past aberrations in a new and lasting devotion to that Union which was their strength and shield until "vilely cast away."

A subject now fully commanding much attention in "the Old Dominion" and her promising young daughter, West Virginia, is the opening of direct railway communication between the Ohio river and Chesapeake Bay. A good portion of the distance was long since traversed by the Virginia Central, while much grading has been done, but (we believe) no rails laid, on the Covington and Ohio Railroad, in West Virginia. Acts have passed the Legislatures of both Virginia and West Virginia providing for a consolidation of the existing corporations and completion of a through line on the route up the Kanawha and down the James, which, since the day of George Washington, has been regarded by Virginians as not only the shortest and most direct but the easiest and most natural channel of artificial communication between the Atlantic and the Great Valley.

Negotiations looking to the legal consolidation of the existing companies into one which shall be charged with the completion and operation of "the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad" are now in progress, and some divergences of views or of interests have been developed. One party proposes to out the knot by the sword. General Stoneman, commanding the military department which includes Virginia, is solicited to issue an edict, deciding that the required consolidation shall be effected in a certain way and under certain auspices, and not otherwise. We presume him incapable of such an abuse of authority, but we shall nevertheless record our protest against it. Civil authority was rightfully conferred by Congress on the military arm for no such purpose as that here contemplated, but for the protection of personal rights and the preservation of order and peace. We trust all necessity for such authority will soon cease: meantime, let it not be discredited by glaring abuse. We understand that Northern capital stands ready to supply the missing links in the proposed and much needed chain so soon as the differences now existing shall be finally adjusted. Leave business arrangements to business men, and let the military power be satisfied with doing its whole duty in protecting personal rights and preserving the public peace.

Honor Duly Paid.

Desirous as we are of doing even and exact justice to every body, we cheerfully admit the extreme modesty with which Mr. Blair has conducted his share of the late canvass. He has substantially said everywhere: "The Vice-Presidency is of no importance; the incumbent of that place is powerless for good or evil; and such being the character of the office, why am I not as fit for it as any man?" He has even goue so far as to compare the Vice-Presidency to the fifth wheel of a coach. Mr. Seymour also has not been sparing of similar remarks respecting the higher seat to which he has been aspiring. He has called at-tention to the fact that even if he should be elected to the Presidency, he would, with a Republican Congress against him, be a sort of titled nobody, a mere pivot for the revolving government, a political abstraction and a simple ornament. Both these gentlemen seem to have been gasping for an election as for a mere personal compliment, and have claimed to be trusted because, in the event of their elevation, very little would be confided to them. After their inauguration, they predicted for themselves that both would merely wooden images-would the people have the heart to deny them honors so trifling? Might not the one be a grand and the other a little Lama, without danger to the

It is painful to find humiliation like this so completely fruitiess. When the cat has taken so much trouble to roll herself in meal, it is both provoking and uncivit for the rats to find her out. It was very kind, of course, for both the "Democratio" candidates to dwell so persistently upon the safeguard of a Republican Congress, but the result of Taesday last shows that the people prefer that the Executive and Legislative branches should be in a condition of tolerable accord. They are sick of the disjointed condition of affairs which has been so long prevailing in Washington. They have had vetoes enough to satisfy their appetite for that article for a century. They know well enough that however contemptuously Mr. Seymour may speak of the Presidential, however flippsully Mr. Blair may speak of the Vice-Presidential office, that both President and Vice-President may, if so minded, do a vast deal of mischief. Tuey have said to both the "Democratio" candidates, "You are not the men for these places, powerless as you consider them to be."

Unhappy gentlemen! It is at once a pain and a pleasure to think of them as politically defunct forever. We will speak kindly of them, for they have done the State the service of demonstrating that honesty is the best policy after all, in American politics as in everything else. Being dead, they yet make speeches to us. As they have lost in their defeat the reverence and respect of their own followers, they are doubly entitled to the sympathy of Republicans, and they really have "Let us," said Mr. Seymour, at Wilkesbarre, Pa., "at this election try to see how best we may serve our country." The people have decided that "they also serve who stand and wait." It is not probable that Mr. Seymour or that Mr. Blair will ever stand again; and they will thus be able to wait, as we hope, with philosophical patience.

The Next President.

From the Boston Post.
The election of Tuesday constitutionally makes General Grant the next President of be United States for four years. He was ught up by the dominant party in Congress save them from the popular condemnations

prestige interposed between them and rain, that they willingly took him as a candidate without a policy, and practically conducted the whole canvass on their side without connecting his name with a single prominent issue. Whenever he was alluded to, it was not in connectien with the discussion either of principles or pelicy. No caudidate for office was ever more completely dissociated by his supporters from both. His name came in only as we catch the flourish of trumpets in the progress of a play, to divert the public attention from too searching an inquiry into the actual

situation. If he proves to be a man with small regard for the lasting opinions of his countrymen, hwill oppose no views or purposes of his own to their predetermined plans. But if a high sense of self respect and a profounder sense of public responsibility rule his character, we have proclamation made in advance by couriers of the party that there will be trouble. As he professes to be a patriot, and as he will have solemnly sworn to "protect and defend" the Constitution of his country, he cannot abandon that safe ground to follow after the movements of dreamers, dogmatists, and revolutionary experimenters. Policy or no policy, the time will surely come when General Grant must take his position, and maintain it, either within the limits of the Constitu-tion or without them. We know too well where the Radical leaders are; time alone will fix the place of the President elect. If the Tenure-of-office restriction is continued, it will practically matter little who is the Executive; and it may come to that, under radical rule, by and by, when it will be of little importance whether we have any Executive at all. And if, on the other hand, Congress unties the Presidential hands, it will by that act convict itself of gross partisanship in its previous conduct, and thus a second time commit an open outrage on the sense of the country by the concession. But whichever course that body may elect to pursue, the people will expect General Grant, made President by their own votes, to administer the Government within the fall limits of his constitutional authority, and to execute their will as it is embodied in the organic law.

When a citizen of one of this sisterhood of States becomes the President of the Federal republic, he is theoretically lifted above the platform of all parties, and from that hour represents the majesty of the united people. What a man would do as the Executive of a State he might be utterly opposed to doing as Executive of the nation. That is the theory on this matter which has become the established one. Therefore for ourselves we propore to apply to the policy and conduct of the next President those rules of political criticism which are consonant both with his high position and with eur changed relations to its occupant. He becomes from a private citizen, from a General of the armies, the President of the United States. His administration is yet to be opened. A place is preparing in history for it when completed. Whatever he shall do in conformity, first, to the spirit and meaning of the supreme law, that we shall never hesitate to approve and support; and whatever he may do to contravene that law, to overlook it, override it, or undermine it, we shall not omit to combat and condemn. That law shall be our standard of judgment still. It is the very bulwark and defense of our republican liberties, and no man speaks even slightingly of it who knows genuine freedom well enough to recognize the barriers, and strongholds, and intrepchments. The more devoted a President is to the Constitution, the more devoted we promise to be to him.

The temptations of the dominant party to continued excesses are likely to be multiplied by their present success. Hence the greater need of the very restraints which are constitutionally appointed. General Grant cannot be more than human; and, allowing that Congress consents to give him the full enjoyment of his office, he will do no more than the most illustrious in the line of Presidents have done before him, in submitting nureservedly to the distinct terms on which he becomes the highest officer of the Government. And in doing that, he will by the same act demand that Congress shall keep to the legislative province alone, encroa hing neither on the Executive nor the Judiciary, and performing no more than the offices of its original creation. On every side are to be found limitations. The people had full power on Tu-sday; that day they gave away again only that part which they have themselves deemed necessary to promote their highest interests. If the President elect, as he approaches the place of power, shall show that he accepts this simple and primal principle of our republican government, he will not fail to satisfy the full expectations of the American people.

We have now a right to expect peace, reunion, equal rights, equalized taxes, a sound currency, the revival of industry, the diminution of the public debt, a lightening of taxation, the steady rise in the public securities, the resurrection of commerce, and the return of general prosperity, on the strength of the reiterated professions and promises of the still dominant party. Their journals claim to have met these very issues in the recent cauvass, and satisfactorily. Then they are to be held to their word. All that they have undertaken they must religiously perform, more especially as they have freely denied to their political opponents the capacity for successfully handling such matters in practice. In the political administration of the Government we shall wait willingly for such public acts as we can consistently approve. shall be glad to give the new President a fair opportunity to establish a fame, as a civil ruler, far above anything he has hitherto achieved as a military commander. In his prospective career he will receive our free approval on the same grounds with our criticism. We shall judge his administration on its merits alone, looking, in common with the people of the country, for the inauguration of public measures to uphold the rule of law, and to again build up the general presperity.

A Blunder.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. In war, it is said, a blunder is worse than a crime; and the blunders of the Tammany conspirators on Tuesday night threaten to be more damaging to their reputation, and more dangerous to their success, than even the enormous crimes they had committed in forging

votes during the day.

The reports from the State received at Tammany Hall by William M. Tweed, immediately after the election, seem to have been, like those received by others, very favorable to the Republicans. He doubtless had, at 8 o'clock, in answer to the secret circular to which the signature of Samuel J. Tilden was forged, substantially the same returns which reached the public about 11 o'clock, and which satisfied the best judges that the State had gone for Grant and Griswold by a small majority, in spite of the enormous majority of 50,000 then supposed to have been cast for

the Democrats in this city. But the returns from most of the city wards were still held back. In ten or twelve wards the vote could not be obtained by the police officers until there had been ample time to

at the polls; and such was the eagerness to I spectors to stuff the ballot-boxes with the remake sure of the shield which his military | quired number of tickets, and afterwards to count them in full.

The secret circular discloses a plot laid by the Democratic Tammany Committee to cheat the people out of their decision, if they should dec de against Hoffman. The actual holding back of the returns on election night shows to a moral certainty that the plot was carried out. But the absolute demonstration in figures might have been impossible, but for the stupidity either of Tammany in demanding, or of its tools at the ballot-boxes in attempting, more than was needed.

The conspirators had provided "ample room and verge enough" for their frauds by registering forty thousand more names than there are legal voters in the city. Of this excess, some thirty thousand, at least, were in districts which they coutrolled without check. They had but to keep a careful account of the number of false names registered in each voting district, and the conspirators at Tammany might send to each district directions how many of the false votes should be credited to Hoffman. The only precaution required was that no district should report a total vote in excess of its registry.

In the haste and confusion of the conspirators on Tuesday, this precaution was negleeted. Their tools have, in many instances, either been carelessly instructed, or have exceeded their instructions. For example, we find in the World, which attempts to turn the whole subject of fraudulent voting into a oke, that the Twenty first district of the Righteenth ward returns a majority of 440 for Hoffman, in a vote of 500, the total registry of the district being 322; and that the Twentieth district of the Nineteenth ward, out of a registry of 320, returns 433 votes for Hoffman and 138 for Griswold.

The Sun has taken the trouble to make a table of the districts in which the Tammany conspirators have thus blundered, and fluis no less than twenty-two of them, returning an aggregate majority of 4385 for Hoffman and of 3765 for Seymour; probably much more than half the total majority to be returned for the

latter in the State. These twenty-two districts, being fraudulent on their face, can form no part of the returns accepted by the State canvassers. They must be thrown out first of all. But they suggest

another inquiry.

If the conspirators have blundered in 22 out of 328 districts, so as to expose them-selves upon the face of the returns, in how many others have they succeeded in keeping within the limits of fraud they had previously prepared? They are not men of less than common shrewdness; but it is assuming them to be rather unusually foolish in their choice of tools to suppose that they have blundered as badly as this in one case out of five.

If they have been shrewd enough to get the plot carried out according to its design in fourfifths of the districts, then the whole number of districts instructed to stuff the ballot-boxes on Tuesday night must have been one hundred and ten. At the reasonable average of two hundred, which is much less than the actual average of Hoffman's reported majority in the districts of the First, Fourth, Sixth, Seventh, and many other wards, here is a deduction of 22,000 to be made from his pretended majority in this city, on the single ground of fraudulent counting, or "ballot-box stuffing" alone, apart from the fraudulent votes actually cast during

On the whole, Mr. Hoffman's case looks very badly. He appears to have very much the same right to be Governor that the receiver of stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, has to the property for which he pays one fourth of its value in money and the balance in reputation.

The Presidential Election and the Party Press. From the N. Y. Herald.

in the several organs that rejoice over the Republican victory or try to put a good face on the Democratic defeat. It is astonishing to see how the heavy radical organ glorifies and struts in the triumph of Grant-that same Grant whem it so bitterly opposed so long as it gave utterance to its own opinion, and whose nomination to the Presidency it scouted from the commencement as the last of all possible party crimes. Fancy such an organ pluming itself on the triumph of such a caudidate. Auother radical organ draws the abstract teaching that "in American politics it is radicalism that always triomphs," as if it fancied that Grant might be a radical; and the least positive of all our Republican sheets looks to the fact that now "the reconstruction measures will have a fair trial," as if there was nothing in Grant's success but the possible salvation of those bad laws. These organs are still in the dust of the struggle, have received no party cue for the future, and thus are without ideas.

The Copperhead sheet comforts Seymour with the suggestion that he will be spared all the bother of office, and expresses a definite opinion that he did right in accepting the nomination when he did, but that his real mistake was in declining it so repeatedly before. How ingeniously this disagrees with the conviction of the people of twenty-six States, who have decided that it was just the other way-that he was right in declining from the first, and wrong in accepting when he did! This organ has decided that the Chase idea was a great harm to the party. There is no doubt of that. The mention o Chase's name as the Democratic candidate raised popular hope that the Damocracy in-tended to do a great act. Expectation was at a generous height, and this was thrown down terribly when the name of Seymour was posted on the walls of that grand policy shop in Fourteenth street. No question but that disappointment was a severe thing for Seymour with the people. The organ of the red-hot Democracy studies New York as a base of operations for the Democratic fature, and gives the alternative of reduced "taxation or repudiation," advising Congress to "tax the bonds this winter or call out troops to defend the revenue collectors next winter." considering the provocation, is rather tame, and we must assume that defeat has a cooling and depressing effect upon even Brick

There is one hint of repentance for misbebavior. The Copperhead organ regrets that Seymour, who was disposed to "pitch the canvass in a moderate key," was not more successful in giving the tone to discussion. Perhaps, then, that sheet is ashamed of itself, ashamed of its disgraceful epithets and of its scavengerlike conduct towards the great leader of the American people. From the violent organ of the other side there is no evidence of compunction on this score; but as the great incentive to violent speech is now over, it is probable that every man will not be a "liar" for three or four years to come.

Blessings in Disguise. From the N. Y. Times.

Our Democratic contemporaries try hard to be cheerful. They are cultivating a philosophical piety, and from defeat contrive to pluck holy consolation. They see in Tuss-day's decision the finger of Providence, and in the overthrow of their party trace blessings 'n disguise. 'Is it not as well as it is?" saked one meekly; and the answer of all is in the affirmative. Success, they tell us, "would ch were about to culminate in their defeat | send instructions from Tammany to the In- | have been a positive evil to the Democratic |

party." "The possession of the Executive Department," the same wise heads assert, "as other things will stand, would have been demoralizing in its effects." In short, the newspapers of the defeated party are mounting their sweetest smiles, and chirping with a degree of obserfulness that is positively de-

Far be it from us to question the sincerity of these expressions. Of course the Democratic journalists always mean exactly what they say. They are always what they profess to be. If they are exultant now, it is because they are satisfied. If they are grateful for defeat, it is because they know that Democratic success would have been a bad thing for the country. If they are contented and happy, it is because the country has realized their hopes and fulfilled their highest expectations. All this must be assumed or this parade of pleasate becomes arrant by poerisy.

But really there are a few points on which explanation would be satisfactory. For months past the same presses have poured forth lamentations ever the condition of the country, and the necessity of Demogratic success as a means of averting abiolute rule. They declared that everything is in a bad way, and that the election of Seymour was required to put things right. They asserted that Democratic defeat on the 31 of November would be equivalent to national disaster. To avert so great a calamity they have fought with the energy of desperation in every State in the Union. They have sanctioned riot and assassination, perjury and fraud, simply and solely because they were auxious to make Seymour President. A long record of crimes perpetrated in his behalf forbids the supposition that the Democrats did not desire his election. The only demoralization they then dreaded was the demoralization incident to

Whence, then, the new light that 'affords the consolation to which Democratic readers are treated by their reputed instructors? What has opened the eyes of the blud, and given conscience to the patrons of perjury and the friends of murder and fraud? Wnst process of reasoning brings them to the conclusion that all their talk about the danger of electing Grant has been sheer humbug, and that the Seymour they sustained so noisily was after all a pretender? Will somebody explain?

The Party of Fraud.

From the N. Y. World, Horace Greeley's "blockheads" were to have held a jury of inquest on the dead body of New York radicalism Thursday night at the Union League. Whether they were to do this out o a genuine desire to a certain "who killed Cock Robin" in spite of his monitor mail of brass, or merely as an excuse for eating a certain number of small birds and imbibling a reasonable quantity of champagne, we know not, neither do we greatly care. But if they "meant business," we hope they paid proper attention to the Tribune of Thursday. In that veracious journal it stands recorded that on Tuesday last "one W. H. B."-possibly a member of the great chronometrical family of Blunt-came "at one of the polls" upon "a gang of about twenty roughs." These "roughs" W. H. B. saw vote, aud, as he says, "immediately proceeded to the next polling district and voted again!" Obviously, a strict construction of this statement would require us to understand that W. H. B., supp sing the "roughs" to be Democrats, and anxious to neutralize their

self "in the next polling district." But W. H. B. is probably an importation from one of those rural and radical districts in which the school teachers are as destitute of grammar as the school-houses are of the most ordinary conveniences for securing decency. There is a grand exhibition of human nature | He, doubtless, does not mean that he vote twice himself, and is only trying, in his clumsy, ignorant way, to make us understand that he saw the "twenty roughs" aforesaid vote twice. If his time had allowed, he adds he has no doubt he could have seen them vote

votes, went off, broke the law, and voted him-

again and again. We have no doubt of it, for, as W. H. B. goes on to show, these "roughs" were an organized gang of radical "repeaters," who had a perfectly good understanding with the radiosl inspectors and the radical police. When W. H. B. "asked a police officer" if he could be assisted in "challenging" these "roughs," the complacent minion of Kennedy and Acton replied, "You'll run a chance of having your

head broke." And so W. H. B., valuing his head more than liberty and the rights of man and the purity of the ballot, and all the rest of it, ignobly went his way. The radical "roughs" voted all day, very possibly electing by their votes the one radical Assemblyman, Mr. Richmond, who has slipped into the city delegation, and offsetting one knows not how many honest votes of honest Democratic citizens.

Will the 'blockheads' look into this busi ness? If they do not, we trust the Demoeratic authorities will do so. Let W. H. B. be put into one of General Meade's "sweatingboxes" until he exudes the truth and shames Horace Greeley.

The Growl of the Gamblers.

From the N. F. World, It appears that Mr. Joshua A. Griswold, who has been fairly beaten as a caudi late on false pretense for the high office of Governor of the State of New York, is not yet satisfied that "honesty is the best policy." One of the journals, at least, which have been loudest in trumpeting Mr. Griswold's "false pretenses" of service to his country in the matter of the menitor which he fatled to build in time, thereby causing the loss to the naval service of two noble ships, and of many noble lives of seamen, announces that Mr. Griswold, in conjunction with that pure body of patriots the "Union League Club," dreams that he can still get possession of Mr. Fenton's Gubernatorial mattress at Albany by putting forward the "false pretense" that he has not been rejected by the vote of the people of New York. it is not possible to imagine a more flagrant insult to the intelligence and the character of the Empire State.

Who are these people that dare to impute fraud to the recognized and authentic majority of their fellow-citizens? Their leading organ is the New York Evening Post, a journal whose publisher, Mr. Henderson, is still under indictment for the crime of malversation of the public funds while filling a responsible office in this port under the Secretary of the Navy They speak for a political organization of which it is well known that not once nor twice, but thrice, like the old woman who sought to sell the sibylline oracles to the King of Rome, they came to the chairman of the legislative Committee on Cities and Villages, himself a conspicuous but an honorable Republican, asking him to give them new provisions in the registry law such as might assure them the necessary means for breaking down the Democratic majority in this city and in Brooklyn. All that they asked in the way of preventive and of obstructive legislation they secured. Now, with it all, they are beaten, swamped, drowned out of sight by the overwhelming popular wave. And in their despair they turn around upon the community which repudiates them and ask that

it be indicted for fraud ! Uttering themselves through such an organ,



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are these men themselves? What minner of men they are it is not difficult to divine. When we see the party of moral ideas in Massachusetts represented by such persons as Banjamin F. Butler, whom the first man on the radical electoral ticket in New York denonness as "dishonest" and as a political "adventurer," but whom the radicals, suffering his denouncer to be beaten in New York, send triumphantly back to Congress from Massachusetts; when we see this same party in the State of New York represented in the State Peniteutisry by a high official, Mr. Theophilus C. Callicott, incarcerated for official thievery; when we see this same party throughout the country employing as its favorite advocates such social parishs as the Sickleses and the Kilpatricks, can we be surprised to flad that its most active members in this great city are a knot of gamblers on elections, who, having found their pockets turned inside out by the crushing defeat of their candidates at the polls on Tuesday, turn around on Wednesday and shriek out charges alike senseless and insulting sgainst their fellow-citizens?

These men are known. Their names, their motives, and their actions are known. Whatever inquest might make them better known it is earnestly to be desired may speedily be held.

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