SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals
Upon Current Topics Compiled Every
Day for the Evening Telegraph.

THE "ARMED PEACE" OF EUROPE-APPROACHING ISSUES. From the N. Y. Heraid.

In this day of modern ideas, progress, and Dhristianity, we have presented us in the Old World the sad spectacle of an "armed peace," which for the interests of civilization is nearly, if not quite, as disastrons as pro-tracted war. European statesmen, who have ever regarded our republic as but an experiment at best, must have been impressed with the peculiar freedom and elasticity of institutions which, after undergoing the fierce ordeal of civil war, so soon parmitted the disbanding of martial hosts and the resumption of those things which make for peace and the proper development of the material interests of the nation. We are a young people, but we have nothing to learn in the art of governing from the effete monarchies of the Old World; we envy not their political status, when, to use the language of one of their organs. "in the middle of the nineteenth century, when modern civilization is at its highest point, the effective of the 'armed peace' of Europe consists of nearly three millions of men, and the war budgets present a total of about four hundred millions of

Austria maintains a permanent army of two hundred and eighty thousand men, at a cost of forty-five millions of dollars; Spain spends over twenty millions for her army, numbering some time ago about two hundred and forty thousand men; Italy takes from her by no means plethoric treasury twenty-six millions for an army of two hundred and twenty thousand men; the peace footing in Germany is in the neighborhood of three hundred thousand troops, and costs well nigh forty millions; France keeps over four hundred thousand men under arms, and pays seventy millions; the immense Russian army takes eighty millions from the State's resources; and Great Britain's regular troops, militia and volunteers, cost the Government over seventy millions of dollars. Thus seven States alone expend about three hundred and fifty millions of dollars annually in maintaining "peace footings" and preserving doubtful safeguards to rather shaky European equilibriums.

To those soi-disant philanthropists who have been harping upon universal disarma-ment as alike practicable and the best and surest means of doing away with wars and inaugurating a millennium of durable peace an ample field for operations is here offered. Who would not wish them "God speed" in their labors and assure them the "thanks of millions yet to be," could they satisfy the world that their efforts would eventually effect the disbanding of armies, put an end to the terrible scenes of the battle-field, and teach nations to settle their differences without resorting to the dread arbitrament of the sword? European potentates, however, entertain far different notions, and seem to be acting upon the principle that the best means for preserving peace consist in maintaining large standing armies, ready at any time to take the field at their master's bidding.

Napoleon, when he declared some time ago to the Legislative Chamber that "the influence of a nation depends upon the number of mer it can put under arms, might have gone further and added that the safety of his Government required a standing army of four hundred thousand men to protect it when threatened by enemies abroad or imperilled by dissensions at home. General disarmament, under existing governments in the Old World, is farther, perhaps, than ever from realization. The figures already given show to what extent mutual apprehension of attack and want of confidence in the people has led European powers, and how impossible anything like disarmament must be so long as this feeling continues. It has existed for centuries and will exist forever in the history of monarchical govern-ments. Great wars and great slaughter are the natural consequences of great and rival armies. When there are superfluous soldiers occupation will be found for them; and it is folly to talk of durable peace when nations are armed to the teeth, and jealous of each other's power and progress. Apart from the burdens of taxation and oppression arising from these extensive armaments, other and prolific sources of discontent are springing up and rendering the situation more critical. The people, long patient, are beginning to appreciate the condition, and talk of reform and revolution. A crisis is approaching, and the future is dark with doubt and uncertainty. Public confidence is paralyzed, and commerce suffering in awaiting a solution which shall dissipate the manifold sources of

Since the uprisings of 1848 popular discontent has not been so general in Europe. The people, becoming educated to the ideas of modern progress and reform, are aspiring to popular government; they are growing rest-less under oppression, and, emboldened by partial triumps, are clamorous for disenthralment, for enlarged liberties, for the cessation of that disastrous "armed peace," and, above all, for liberal, generous legislation. While nothing like a general outbreak in resistance to existing government seems imminent or probable, there is an undercurrent of revoluzion, a decided opposition to continued tyranmy, which is not to be trifled with, and will in due time redound to the greater liberties of the people. The time has passed when popular sentiment or the aspirations of a people can be stifled at will by monarchs and their minions. Even the army—the sole reliance of continental despots—cannot always be de-pended on. The French soldiery have before fraternized with the people in opposition to yranny, and there sprung from this union, phemeral though it proved, "The French republic, liberty, equality, fraternity."
The revolution now anticipated it is hoped

will be accomplished without war or bloodshed. The gradual march of modern ideas, tending to liberal and constitutional government, is being felt on the European Continent in a way which promises "a new era less in the interest of absolutism and more in favor of popular rights." Great Britain, under the pressure of popular demand, is conceding reforms. France is following, and we find Napoleon not only parleying with the champions of extreme republican ideas, but according the ministerial decapitation of some of the staunchest friends of imperialism. An era of reform is fairly inaugurated in monarchical Europe. The people are having a foretaste of liberty, and, with the powerful convincing example of free government, as developed in the United States, and the concessions already as already obtained as a compromise to liberal aspirations, they will find encou-ragement to go forward and onward to new victories in the interest of freedom and hu-

In France, particularly, events are shaping themselves to the satisfaction of the reformers. Napoleon, whether from compulsion or an earnest desire to "crown the editice," is

who are now determined to have something | "RECONSTRUCTION" IN MISSISSIPPI. to say in the management of governmental | From the N. Y. World. affairs. This is the first vigorous move of a party now powerful in France, and becoming o in other portions of Europe, which, if followed up with prudence and patience, and at the same time with determination, will ere long work changes which will startle more than one of "those who govern in the mood potentia', and make them tremble for dynastic successions when confronted by the champions of equal rights and the apostles of that faith which teaches that all men are free and equal.

It remains to be seen whether the current of revolution now prevalent in Europe will be directed with moderation in the smooth channel of peace, or, by ill-advised zeal, be compelled to find vent in the ragged one of war. France is the main field of action just now, and much depends upon the result of the initiatory contest now in progress. A popular uprising in defiance of imperialism could accomplish nothing so long as Napoleon is sustained by his army; and this fact is doubtless too well appreciated by the leaders of the opposition for them to act with undue haste n precipitating the crisis or provoking a con-The future, at all events, whether for peace or war, is fraught with momentous issues for the peoples of Europe, and we can only hope when the fight does come, if come it must, that those immense standing armies, now a curse to modern civilization, will be used for monarchs against monarchs, instead of by monarchs against their people.

THE NEW CABLE LAID.

From the N. Y. World. Another mighty marvel is accomplished, and that, too, almost "without observation. The Great Eastern, esteemed for a time the most uscless, has once more vindicated her claim to be regarded as the most useful of ships. As easily and quietly as the ordinary steam-packets of commerce transfer their freight of human lives and human works from wharf to wharf, this gigantic vessel has once more linked the thoughts, feelings, wishes, fears, interests of the East with those of the West. Another Atlantic cable has been laid; another mystic submarine nerve stretching from the heart of the Old World to the heart of the New, abolishing the stormy interdict of the unquiet sea, making Paris and London and New York but wards, as it were, of one grand cosmopolite capital.

At it was but natural to expect would be the case, the French cable has been laid even more rapidly and with less risk and difficulty than its predecessors. Science deals now with the bed of the Atlantic, unseen and forever to be unseen of human eyes, as calmly, with as much assurance and as precise a forecast, as if it were the well-trodden highway of countless generations. We accept the achievement as the merest matter of course; and few of us will pause from our daily engrossments, perplexities, and hopes long enough to bestow even a second thought upon a tale which is yet striking and wonderful enough, were it but fully appreciated and pondered on, to hold children from their sport

and old men from the chimney-corner. But this is not all. It is a melancholy truth that the chief difficulties with which the bold projectors who are now the successful performers of this new wonder have been called to contend, have been not the abysses of the deep to be sounded and spanned, nor its wild waves to be traversed, nor its tempests to be foiled, but the selfishness, the blind greed, the smallness of men. From the inception of this enterprise to the present moment which sees its greatest natural problems happily only way out of the dilemma which has yet solved, it has been watched, assailed, undermined by the jealousy—the short-sighted, but therefore only the more implacable, jealousy -of the proprietors and managers of the cable previously laid from Europe to America. With this enemy it has heretofore been forced to contend in season and out of season. Had the success of the second cable involved the destruction of the first, it could hardly have been more vehemently, more persistently fought against. And the great public, which can hear of such squabbles over such a subject only with indignation and contempt, must not be surprised to learn that the actual connection of this new cable with the telegraphic lines of our own continent is still threatened by the same influences which have so fruitlessly been brought to bear against its progress up to the present hour. The first American terminus of the French cable is the French island of St. Pierre, off the coast of Newfoundland. There it was landed. Another reach of easily submerged wires is now to be made to bring it to our shores at Duxbury, in Massachusetts. It is as plain as the sun in heaven that this comsummation of the under-taking must inure directly and largely to the advantage of the whole American people; and we are quite sure that, only ten short years ago, the idea of holding this consummation in doubt even for a moment-we will not say upon any probable, but upon possible hostile action of the American Government-would have seemed to every sane person in the Union the merest midsummer madness. But within these ten short years both the theory and the practice of government in America have undergone many serious, and, for the most part, decidedly lamentable modifications. Not the least striking proof of the extent of these perversions is the fact that persons interested in the monopoly heretofore enjoyed by the British cable company have not hesitated, of late, to put about all manner of stories to the effect that "the Government" would interfere, at the last moment, to prevent the people of the United States from enjoying the benefits of a new and enlarged telegraphic intercourse with the rest of mankind. Such an interference, it is true, is as improbable as it is obviously unjustifiable. No law of the United States exists, laying an embargo on telegraphic or any other intercourse between the American people and Europe. Doubtless Congress, in the plenitude of its unwisdom, might pass such a law; but doubtless, also, Congress has not passed such a law; and in the absence of such a law, it is hard to see inwhat way, otherwise than by a shameless use of sheer physical force, unwarranted and un-sustained by law, the Government either of the United States or of any other State could possibly interfere to prevent people who have brought us the good gift of a new telegraphic cable all the way from Europe from conferring that good gift upon us. It is hardly to be believed that the administration even of President Grant will care to saddle itself with the

paralyze a rival, or at least concurrent, enter-prise of infinite public moment.

The real standal is that any considerable number of people should have been brought to entertain the possibility of such a thing. It is another heavy count in the nation's growing indictment against its Radical misrulers that their habitual lawlessness and their open corruptibility should have given color of plausibility, even for a time, to a yielding to the wishes of the French people, free, enlightened, and civilized people. scandal so damaging to our good name as a

odium, at home and abroad, of pandering in

this way, by violence, to the schemes and in-

terests of a private corporation in order to

The proclamation of General Grant fixing the time for the election in Mississippi, and designating the parts of the new constitution to be submitted to a sepa rate vote, does not challenge special remark, except in relation to the time. There is no necessity, and no good reason, for deferring the election until the 30th of November. The motive for selecting so distant a day is easily understood, and is discreditable to General Grant and his advisors.

There is no such difference in the circum stances of the three States of Virginia, Misdesippi, and Toxas, that their several elections should be separated by wide intervals of time. The people of Mississippi, and the people of Texas, were just as well quali-tied, and as fully prepared, to pronounce their judgments on their respective constitutions in the early part of July, as were the people of Virginia. But the object of the administration is not to get a fair and honest expression in the state of the st sion of the will of the people, but to carry each election, if possible, in favor of the Re-publican party. Two United States Senators are to be elected by each of the new Legislatures, and six conservative Senators will not be tolerated if, by any kind of political trick, their election can be prevented. If the Wells party had triumphed in Virginia, the elections in Mississippi and Texas would have been ordered almost immediately; but the Republican disappointment in Virginia makes the party afraid, and so General Grant postpones action in Mississippi as long as he can, and leaves Texas to await the result of the Mississippi election.

The pretense that the election is put off until the end of autumn to suit the convenience of the cotton-planters is an impudent absurdity. Their wishes have not been consulted or considered. It is notorious that they desire earlier action. What is the loss of a single day in attending to the cotton crop in comparison with the release of the State from military rule? Out-door industry will be suspended dozens of times by rain-storms; and an election, even in the busiest season, would have no more effect than one addi tional rainy day. It is put off until the last day of November for no other reason than to enable the Republicans to organize a campaign to defeat the will of the people. Radical wire-pullers and stump-orators dare not venture into Mississippi during the hot months; and General Grant has appointed the election with a view to give them the advantage of a busy caffivass during the cool autumn months. The Republicans hope to bring such influences to bear upon the Mississippi negroes as will enable them to control the whole negro vote; and President Grant is their subservient tool.

The result in Virginia was such a disappointment to the radicals that it "gives them pause." They hoped to carry the State by an affectation of liberality in consenting to throw out disfranchisement and the test oath. Having committed themselves to this policy. they cannot very well back out of it; but finding that their mock magnanimity does not profit them, they are at a stand as to the course they will pursue in the other States. They wish to solve the Virginia problem, and see what can be done to circumvent the declared will of the people there, before running the risk of getting other cases of the kind upon their hands. It would be awkward and embarrassing for Congress to reject the new Virginia Government: and, on the other hand, it would go against the grain to admit two conservative Senators from that State. The occurred to the radical leaders, is the application of the "iron-clad" test-oath to the mem-bers of the new Government. So long as the radicals were confident of carrying the State that test-oath was kept quite out of sight. But when, as the election approached, they lost heart at the premonitions of defeat, they incited General Canby to declare his intention to enforce the oath. General Grant's recorded opinion, and General Canby's own recorded opinion, should have bound them to a different course; but what Republican cares for consistency when the success of his party is at stake? General Canby's present argument is, that the new Virginia Government will be merely provisional until Congress shall have sanctioned it; and that the original reconstruction acts require all the members of provisional State governments to take the iron-clad oath. This requirement had reference only to the State governments organized under the suspices of President Johnson, and was not meant to apply to the reconstructed governments. At least, so General Grant de-cided, and so General Canby himself decided, in previous cases. But the radicals do not mean to stand by this view if they can help it: and General Grant, in spite of his strongly expressed decision last year, has referred the question to Attorney-General Hoar for an official decision. If General Canby's present view is upheld, it will practically nulfify the result of the recent Virginia election, inasmuch as Canby permitted it to be supposed, until long after the conservative candidates were nominated, that the oath would not be required, and a great many have been elected who cannot take it. The radi cals calculate that the oath will fling out a sufficient number of the conservative merabers of the Legislature to leave the radicals a majority, when they can proceed to elect two radicals to the Senate of the United States; and, this result secured, Congress will make a sure thing of it by admitting the State. If this dishonest and detestable manœuvre succeeds in Virginia, the radicals will have more confidence in the resources of their duplicity and fraud for circumventing the people of Mississippi and Texas.

HOW THE VIRGINIA ELECTION IS IN-

TERPRETED. From the N. Y. Times. By the Republican press generally the result of the Virginia contest is interpreted fairly and practically. There is no disposition to claim it as a mere partisan triumph, and none to concede the pretensions with which in the first instance Northern Democrats attempted to invest it. Mr. Forney's two papers continue their carping criticism, and the sheet which echoes the mortification of Mr. Wells at Richmond labors hard to misrepresent both the causes and consequences of his defeat. These exceptional grumblers only render more emphatic the congratula tions of Republican journals elsewhere, and more significant the meaning they attach to the ratification of the Constitution and the election of Mr. Walker.

The all-pervading feeling is one of satisfac tion and hope. Without pausing to analyze the motives of all who supported the Walker ticket, our Republican contemporaries see in its success the gain of the administration and of the reconstruction policy with which it is identified. They recognize in the union of influences by which success was achieved the annihilation of the prejudices and passions which have separated white and black, and the strongest assurance of political equality in the future. They are satisfied with the constitution as adopted, and with the

rejection of provisions which would have perpetuated peril and strife. They are convinced that the election was fairly conducted, and that the result expresses the settled desires and purposes of a great majority of the people. Thus applauding both the result and the means by which it was attained, it is not surprising that the mischievous suggestions of those who do not like to confess themselves defeate 1 meet with little favor. it is felt that they who would foster divisions among the supporters of reconstruction in Virginia are as culpable and foolish as the Democrats who pretended to discern a party advantage in an event involving the repudiation of every distinctive principle by which that party is known in the North or West.

This confident estimate of the situation in Virginia has been greatly strengthened by the course of the Governor elect, and the temperate and just tone of the local press. At Richmond, at Washington, and in New York -before his constituents amid the excitement of victory, in his interviews with the President and with friends of the administration-Mr. Walker has held the same language. He regards his own election, on the platform he occupied, as in effect a triumph for the Grant administration. He asserts his determination to stand aloof from every influence, personal and political, which may tend adversely to the development of the policy incident to reconstruction. He is resolved to uphold the black man in the exercise of his rights, and to promote harmony and good feeling between the races. The Virginia journals that were most effective in the canvass assume substantially the same position. They insist that old partisan issues shall be discarded, and that the promises implied in the election of Mr. Walker and the ratification of the Constitution shall be fulfilled by the people. Nowhere do we trace a sign of bad faith, or of any feeling or purpose which the friends of reconstruction should not hail as satisfactory. Everywhere, on the contrary, may be discerned evidence of the complete revolution that has been wrought in the sentiments and temper of Virginians, and of their title to the confidence of the President and Congress.

THE INDIAN COMMISSIONS. From the N. Y. Times

Mr. Vincent Colyer views our Indian prospects, we fear, somewhat over-happily, since to him everything looks couleur de rose. There is certainly a wide difference between his cheery assurance that "by patient efforts all the tribes can be civilized," and that "in less than two years we shall have heard the last of 'Indian outrages,' " and the dictum of the London Times that annihilation is probably the only sort of civilization the Indians can hope for. However, there is this to be said for the former opinion, that Mr. Colyer has just come from visiting thirty-one tribes, more or less hostile, while the *Times* has only observed the sham Indians and sham wigwams

they have in London. The present year in Indian affairs may be called a tentative or experimental one-the testing of the peace policy which the Quaker Commission is especially aiming to enforce, and which is supported so cheerfully by the administration. Congress, next winter, will have such an amount and variety of information regarding the actual condition of Indian tribes laid before it, as it has never yet enjoyed. The appointment of the Quakers as Superintendents and Agents in so many instances was the cause of rousing a general interest in the Indians among that denomination of Christians. Again, the Indian country has been divided into three grand regions, and each of them will be visited very soon by those members of the Indian Commission, who will examine very closely the actual con dition of the red men. Mr. Colyer found everything too'delightful-school-teachers and farming tools in abundance, and "no drunkenness, no violence, no blasphemous word." But what we shall be likely to know from the very great attention given to the Indian problem this summer, is the exact status of the Indian and exactly what can be done with

From what has been discovered thus far we, should say that it is likely that the reservation policy will be recommended more strongly than ever, as the basis of all Indian legislation and action; that the whole treaty system will be abolished, root and branch that we shall never henceforth make diplo matic negotiations with Indians, as if they were foreign nations; and that certain attempts may be made, whether in connection with territorial organization or otherwise, to connect them more directly with our republican system of government.

NEW ENGLAND GETTING ALARMED.

From the N. Y. Herald. The immense emigration to the West and the rapidly augmenting populations of the States of the Pacific from the importation of Chinese, together with the significant movements in the South looking to the introduc-tion of Chinese or coolie labor in that section, n large numbers, have awakened considerable alarm among New England politicians in regard to the tenure of their hold upon the supremacy of the National Government. The papers are beginning to publish statistics showing how the New England States are losing ground in the matter of the apportionment for members of Congress, and how their strength is gradually receding while that of the West is rapidly increasing. It is even proposed to cut Massachusetts in twain and erect a new State out of the western counties. It is also proposed to make two new States out of Maine. This will give New England six additional members in the United States Senate, and a number of members of the lower house. It is probable other Eastern States that can be gerrymandered to advantage will also be carved up into convenient State communities handy to handle and small enough to clap into the breeches pocket of any pigmy politician New England may desire to inject into the councils of the nation. We do not learn that the mighty domain of the great State of Rhode Island-which, it has been said, is not broad enough in some parts to afford the requisite space of twelve paces on which to fight a duel according to the code will come under the carving-knife of the radical politicians of her larger cities. But while Little khody may be suffered to remain intact, there is no mistaking the fact that the New England politicians are becoming seriously alarmed at the prospect of losing their preponderating influence in the Government. Some of the Western papers have taken up the idea and are pointing to it with exultation, as showing that, indeed, westward "the star of empire is taking its way, with the view in prospect of the national capital being established in St. Louis—a point recommended even by her rival sister city, Chicago, Hence the present perturbation among the dry bones of the New England political stagers is but natural. In a few years these New England philosophers, with their narrow and bigoted notions, their holy exclusiveness, their arched eyebrows and elevated noses, will be politically submerged as if by a political deluge, and "after the STOCK AND EXCHANGE BROKERS, deluge-what?"

CLOSING UP THE WORK. From the N. Y. Tribune.

The President, as we stated recently, has decided that Mississippi shall vote on her new Constitution and elect new State officers on the fourth Tuesday in November; and the same day has been designated for the kindred election in Texas. It is well not to be too precipitate in so grave a matter, whereof the result is "not for a day, but for all time; yet we could have wished it expedient that each of these States should be fully reconstructed before the 1st of Decemher; so that the President might announce the gratifying fact in his annual message, and urge Congress to do promptly its part to-wards perfecting once more the circle of an unbroken Union. Let us have no haste likely to mar the perfection of the work; but, that secured, the earliest day on which military rule can be replaced by republican self-government in the States still under the dominion of the sword, is the best day for the States and for the Union.

The delay that has thus far been found necessary has proved a source of healing. The unprecedented majority by which Virginia votes to resume her place in the Union under a Constitution which guarantees all rights to all, bids fair to be paralleled in Mississippi and in Texas. The latter has framed a Constitution so generous and comprehensive that the ex-Rebels will nearly all vote to ratify it; and everything we hear thence leads us to anticipate the election of General A. J. Hamilton (whom they warmly support) as Governor by a large majority. Mississippi will doubtless be allowed like opportunities with Virginia, and will vote to strike from her proposed Consti-tution all proscriptive and disfranchising provisions by a large majority. The people of both States are more than satisfied with the action of General Grant in the premises; and are quite ready to settle all outstanding differences on the broad basis of universal amnesty with impartial suffrage. We shall be disappointed if we are doomed to wait till Washington's next birthday to congratulate our country on her perfect restoration to peace and loyalty on the comprehensive basis of all rights for all.

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DR. KINKELIN CAN BE CONSULTED O No. 25 S. KLEVENTH Street. Office hours,