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

THE MEANING OF THE DEMOCRATIC STRIFE.

From the N. Y. Herald.

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The present struggle in the Democratic party has a meaning which will not appear to a casual observer. We see two factions eagerly warring upon each other, sacrificing the triumphs of party and their principles to personal spite and aggrandizement. The Manhattan Club and the Sixth ward have formed an alliance, at the head of which we see Samuel J. Tilden and Mike Norton, supported by a sensation opera bouffe newspaper and a subsidized organ of the roughs and thieves of this city. Thus far they have done nothing except to prevent the party from carrying out its pledges. The end of the intrigue, as it now seems, will be to destroy the Democracy as an organization, continue Republican ascendancy for twenty years, and secure the re-election of General Grant in 1872.

This proposition may seem to be rather sweeping. But let us consider it. At the last election the Democratic party, mar-shalled by the Tammany chiefs, carried New York against the tremendous popularity of General Grant. The soldier's reputation swept over the country and overthrew every element of Democratic strength. Far off in California there was a little successful opposition from local irritation occasioned by the Chinese immigration. In Kentucky and Maryland and Delaware there was a kind of feudal Middle Ages devotion to slavery and the plantation Democracy which still whipping post and pillory and lottery wheel, which in those States even yet resist the march of reason and religion. Here in New York we had a liberal, progressive Democratic organization, recognizing the lessons of the war and willing to bring itself in line with inevitable events. Upon war issues it made a battle and won it. In the submerging flood which covered the country with radicalism, scarcely leaving a spot large enough for a Democratic dove to rest its feet, the Democracy of New York remained intact, luminous, organized, and triumphant. To New York the country looked for deliverance, and to its Democracy the beginning of the reaction, which would enable it to elect General Hancock, or Judge Chase, or some acceptable leader, in 1872.

On the contrary, what do we see? The triumphant army is dissolving into a mob. What is its earliest duty? Certainly those municipal reforms which even Republicans believe to be necessary for the good government of the city of New York. We have a charter which is a thing of shreds and patches -rag after rag sewed on to the original until nothing remains but an ungainly and unsuitable garment. Plainly the first duty of this triumphant party, pledged as it is to the am-plest measure of reform, and committed over and over again to the destruction of the existing commissions, is to give us a charter which shall be the enactment of the people's will into law, the establishment upon a substantial basis of the true Democratic principle. There can be no easier, no more necessary work. The party is pledged to it-the Democratic party of the country looks for it with anxious eyes. Upon its success will depend the general triumph of the Democracy in the Presidential campaign.

A harmonious Democracy quietly proceeding to the work of reform, and showing, by the energy and vigilance of its legislation, that moderation which is the strength and beauty of victory, would have produced upon the country a profound impression. It would have been as a beacon set upon a hill shedding its light far and near. Its example would have stimulated the enthusiasm of followers, added new recruits, and organized a successful campaign for 1872. All this is sacrificed to a petty and disgraceful struggle for spoils, and to-day the Republican managers virtually dictate the policy of the Democratic party. A few malcontents, allied with the radical politicians, control the They are legislation of the State. cheered on to their work by a couple of newspapers, which profess to be Democratic, but are really Republican in disguise. Under the pretext of reforming the party they are paralyzing it. A great part of the session has passed and nothing is done-nothing is heard but the quarrels of Sweeny and Norton, Tweed and Genet. What does the country care for these men-for their griefs, their ambitions, their aspirations, their sorrows? Is there anything in Mr. Norton and Mr. Genet that the Democracy of the country shall prefer them to Mr. Sweeny or Mr. Tweed, or, at least, so strenuously that all good works and every wise measure of legislation must be arrested? Are their ambitions and quarrels so sacred that the Democratic party must be destroyed at their whim? Here the quarrel is, and it can have but one result. General Grant will be the next Republican candidate for the Presidency, and walk the track as easily as Lincoln did in 1860, when the Democratic party was rent by the ambition of Douglas and Breckinridge. If the party cannot hold together in New York, where its power has stood every assault and triumphed in the darkest hours, where can it stand, of what use is it. and why not say its usefulness is over-cut it down as something that cumbereth the ground? This will be the answer of the country to the unseemly quarrels that now disgrace the Democratic councils at Albany. The wisdom and patience and moderation of General Grant, especially his financial policy, will strengthen the Republican party. The folly of the De-mocracy will make him a representative radi-cal candidate, and the radicals will profit by the weakness and unholy ambition now shown at Albany, to sweep the country with Grant, and re-elect him by even a larger majority than that he received in 1868.

GRANT'S PUP.

Now and then we have had Mormon scandals, but they vanisher before a resolute Federal presence. The "war" that was menaced in Buchanan's time was as much a contractor's war as anything else, and practically ended with the transportation of supplies. The Mormons are practically aliens. They gain nearly all of their proselytes in foreign countries. We rarely hear of a Mor-mon colony in the East. Here and there in the slums sometimes we hear of Mormon missionaries and conversions to the gospel of Smith, but as a faith it has made no impression upon civilization. This result has been attained without law. Reason and reli-gion have done it all. The Mormon felt that he was a moral outlaw, and he sought immunity and growth in a territory of his own. There he has lived, mainly thrifty, industri-There he has lived, matching thrifty, industri-ous, full of enterprise and vigor, under the sway of a rude Cromwell, adding wealth to the republic. In a material way, Mormonism has been a gain to the country. It taught us what could be done in the far deserts. It was the pioneer of immigration and settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains. The Mormon has been useful as a tiller of the soil—a builder of cities and railways, and in reclaiming from the wilderness a garden of surpassing fertility and beauty.

or any existence but that of territorial abey-

ance.

If there has been any moral example to us in the Mormon faith, it has been good. Our people who live decently and lawfully, and eschew heathenism and vain things, have had no better incentive than the Mormon practice. Nearer home we find Communists who believe in interchanging wives, and Shakers, who practise celibacy, and disciples of promiscuous marriage and "affinities." Bad as Mormonism is, the Oneida Community is far worse-nay, it has the element of blasphemy; for while the Mormon sins in the name of a mock apostle and a grotesque faith, the Communist pretends to live in the Gospel of Jesus Christ as taught by him and his followers. And yet we allow Oneida to remain unchallenged and under the protection of our laws. Its leaders do business in New York city, and we hear of no law penalty and no proposed army of extirpation. We have social customs in New York city as bad as Mormonism and Communism, which are not even under the surveillance of the police. We tolerate them, and find consolation by calling them "necessary evils." We see sin at our own door, and should meet it here, if we propose to make any roform. Why go to Utah with any army to conquer a social and reli-gious evil which has a darker counterpart in New York?

So long as Mormonism is a religious and moral fault, we must combat it with religious and moral influences. Christ's Gospel cannot be preached by artillery and riflemen. The moment we war upon a religion we make it a power, give it new life, stimulate its friends, arouse dormant compliance into enthusiastic devotion and sympathy, attract followers and converts, and in the end fail in the effort of aggression. The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church, and the moment we use fire and faggot to tear down, we build up. Already, in the Mormon country, there are abundant evidences of disintegration. Brigham Young, who has ruled his Church and territory with a vigor and genius that remind us of Cromwell -and upon whose brain and will the whole fabric has rested-is now an old man, and must soon pass away. The railway has opened Utah to a stream of penetrating and disenchanting light. Time and progress and good example, and the influence of Christ's Gospel, will conquer Mormonism. The law must let it alone—unless it becomes an element of disorder.

A YEAR OF FREE-TRADE AGITATION. From the N. Y. World.

The growth of free-trade principles during the past year has been in startling contrast to the indifference upon the subject which had prevailed since 1860. The World, and some other public journals, all along bore testimony to the truth that freedom of exchange is the right of every American, and is essential to prosperous national growth. But for weary years it was but too evident that all we could say upon this subject was as "the voice of one crying in the desert," so few were those who seemed to care either for their own interests or the rights of their neighbors in this matter. The most unanswerable proofs of the national folly of "protection" were apparently unheeded; nor was any greater attention seemingly excited by appeals addressed to the sympathies of the benevolent, pointing out the needless burdens imposed upon the poorer classes for the benefit of the protected" monopolists. It is but little over a year since Commissioner Wells was still an avowed protectionist. The language which he then publicly used would now sound equally strange to his friends and to his enemies. It is scarcely a year since Massachusetts was thought to be irreclaimably wedded to protectionist fallacies. To-day the proposed extortions of Mr. Schenck's new tariff bill are denounced by the leading Massachusetts newspapers; and Boston even has done something in the way of an organized movement for tariff reform, thus rendering to the free trade cause assistance which has been all the more appreciated as coming from a quarter whence so little help was expected. But while there has been this marked advance during the year, it is still more instructive to note the change that has taken place within the last few months. One of our leading newspapers, whose pride it is to play the weathercock to popular breezes, said last fall that free trade was a good subject for debating societies, but was a question of no real practical importance. At that time no one, however sanguine, would have thought it possible that, within so brief a period as has since elapsed, such resolutions as those proposed in Congress by Mr. Marshall, of Iilinois, could receive the vote which they did. That the protectionists should only have been able to count a majority of eleven votes against these resolutions-that such a slim majority was the best that could be mustered by the advocates of a monopoly, so lately all powerful-this victory has been felt by them to be equivalent to a moral defeat. We have pointed out a few of the more striking signs of the change which has occurred; but every one of our readers will probably be able to recall other illustrations of it from his own experience. The altered tone of public sentiment is so great that none can have failed to note some of its indications. For this happy revolution in opinion, free-traders are largely indebted to the persistent and most successful labors of the American Free Trade League. Its managers have discharged the trust which they took upon themselves in a way which deserves the thanks of the community. The disinterested public spirit which has induced these leading citizens of New York to devote so much of their time to this work and to give so largely of their means, deserves and should receive not yet presented itself as an aggressive political fact. We have never allowed the Mormon people any voice in our Government,

From the N. Y. World. Somebody who wanted an office sent Grant The animal was transmitted by "pup." express, and it reached the Presidential mansion encumbered with charges and fleas. The President declined to liquidate the former or tolerate the latter, so the beast, with his ac cumulated insects and liabilities, reverted to the express company, whose premises he made uncomfortable by howling at the superintendent and biting the clerks; so he was finally presented to a colored citizen, whose knowledge of pups enabled him to discorn beneath the hungry, discontented exterior of his new acquisition indications of blood and breeding. The animal, in fact, turned out to have a pedigree as long as one of Cotton Mather's sermons, and his identification excited considerable interest in the select dog circles of the capital. The President is said to have repented him of the precipitancy with which he rejected so choice an animal, and to have instructed Dent to open negotiations with his colored possessor. The embassy has thus far turned out a failure. The plebeian rotains the pup, and the Presi-dent, pupless, peaks and pines, and the eager ambassador jingles his rejected ducats, and doubtless laments that a certificate of the brute's genealogical advantages was not pasted upon his inferior regions, so that the recipient might have been made aware of the quality of the animal before he rejected him. The situation at present is rather difficult and complicated, and we can suggest only one method of solution. Butler and the President are friends. Butler has a striking talent for acquiring possession of property which its owners don't want to part with. He is like Antiochus, of whom Lucian tells us:-"Since Antiochus set eves upon Lysimachus' nad No chance of setting eyes on it Lysimachus has

had.' Let him steal the pup and give it to his friend. He needn't be afraid of being bitten. No dog could bite him and live. And the delicate bit of service would draw closer the bonds which unite in loving fraternity the great soldier of Vicksburg and the Wilderness and the greater soldier of Big Bethel and Fort Fisher.

CHINA AND THE EUROPEAN GOVERN-MENTS.

From the London Saturday Review

A courteous exchange of letters between Count Bismark and Mr. Burlingame, the Chinese Ambassador, possesses the smallest possible importance. Like all other powers to which the Chinese Mission was accredited, and with comparatively little interest in the subject-matter of the negotiations, the North German Confederation readily acknowledges the right of the Chinese Government to be treated with justice and with reasonable deference. Mr. Burlingame acknowledges that there is great diversity of opinion on the question whether the Chinese treaties ought, as they were forcibly imposed, to be maintained in efficiency by similar pressure; but his own conclusion that the continuous applieation of force is inadmissible is supported by the declarations of the American Government, of Lord Clarendon, and of the Emperor of the French. The conclusion of a treaty with the United States, while other Governments confined themselves to diplomatic correspondence, is explained by the provisions which were thought necessary for the protection of Chinese immigrants in California. "A treaty," according to Mr. Burlingame, "being the supreme law of the land, overrides the obnoxious local legislation." It may be hoped that the people of California, who impose a special tax on the Chinese in spite of the Federal Constitution, will be impressed with deeper respect for another and newer supreme law of the land. The Secretary of State who assented to the treaty, and the Senate which ratified it, were perhaps not aware that the only object of the arrangement was the protection of Chinese laborers in California. Writers in newspapers who enthusiastically welcomed Mr. Burlingame and his mission said little about the immigrants, and much about the influence which the United States were to acquire by exhibiting to the Chinese Government an amicable and liberal disposition which would contrast favorably with the exacting policy of England. It has since appeared that the English Government is bent on restraining the excessive zeal of its local functionaries, and that it has readily acceded to the general doctrines which Mr. Burlingame was instructed to propound. It has late been doubted whether the Chinese Government, notwithstanding its ratification of the treaty, reposed serious confidence in its American emissary, although there is no question of his perfect good faith. It happens that the Amemerchants resident in China rican utterly distrust the fine sentiments which Mr. Burlingame attributes to his employers; and, as the entire foreign community is accustomed to act in harmony, the benevolent intentions of the various governments are not unlikely to meet with neglect or with passive resistance. It was not the business of the Chancellor of the Northern Confederation to be less explicit then the English or French Ministers in repudiating the contingent employment of force. It is well known that Count Bismark regards with insuperable aversion all resort, either in Europe or in Asia, to any but verbal arguments, and at present the commerce of North Germany with China is not of primary importance; yet if a Prussian naval officer stationed in Chinese waters were to withhold protection from a maltreated countryman he would probably find but an insufficient defense in an appeal to Count Bismark's recorded opinions in favor of peaceable methods. In illustration of the readiness of the Chinese Government to appreciate the liberality of the Western powers, Mr. Burlingame refers to Sir Rutherford Alcock's recent treaty as containing large concessions to foreign trade. It happens, unluckily for his argu-ment, that the committee of London merchants have applied to the English Govern-ment to abstain from ratifying the treaty. In their opinion it is better not to modify the arrangements of Lord Elgin, except for the purpose either of obtaining some considerable advantage, or of relieving the Chinese Government from any unforescen injustice which might be caused by the operation of the treaty. Although their general argument is not convincing, it is evident that those who are most interested in the trade attach little importance to the concessions which Mr. Burlingame excusably exaggerates. It is impos-sible for those who have neither local knowledge nor familiarity with the details of Chinese commerce to form a definite judgment of the value of the new stipulations. It is evident that the bargain which has been struck is not exclusively advantageous to Europeans, and in some instances the Chinese Government seems adroitly to have profited by the vexatious practices which it has promoted or telerated. The claim of transit dues between one province and another had been a constant source of vexation, for the local authorities habitually affected to distrust the documents which proved that imported merchan-

dise had paid the regular dues. Under the new convention the Oustom House receipt is to be conclusive evidence of the payment of all taxes on imported articles; but in consideration of the convenience thus afforded to merchants the duty is raised from five per cent, to seven and a half, and the duty on opium is increased by a separate clause. The alteration in the tariff may perhaps be just and reasonable, but it scarcely justifies Mr. Burlingame's statement that the treaty provides for a reduction of duties. His assertion that two new ports, Wanchow and Chekiang, are opened to foreign trade is correct, but he omits to add that Kiang-chow is removed from the list of treaty ports. A place called Wuhu is also opened to trade, but it does not appear whether it is to rank as a treaty port. The right of foreigners to work coal mines, which is enumerated by Mr. Burlingame among the Chinese concessions, reduces itself in the text of treaty to an engagement that the an Imperial Commissioner shall, by way of experiment, open mines at these specified places. "The question of the employment of foreigners to assist in mines, and of using foreign machinery, will be left to give effect to by the Imperial Commissioners." An experiment in coal mining, conducted by an unwilling Chinese Mandarin without the aid of colliers or of mining engineers, will probably not overwhelm the Imperial Government with superfluous coal. That the Chi nese Government is in no hurry to encourage steam navigation, or to provide fuel for the purpose, is proved by a singular limitation of the right which is conceded to havigating certain inland waters. European merchants must exclusively use boats of the Chinese fashion, impelled by sails or oars, but during certain parts of the course the local authorities are to supply them with a tug. The Imperial Government is pro-bably afraid rather of the mili-tary aptitudes of steam vessels than of their competition with native craft. When the Chinese ambassador speaks without qualification of a right of inland navigation, he unconsciously expresses the differ-ence between his own diplomatic communications and the policy of the Government which he represents. In his American treaty he inserted the odd provision that the United States should furnish the Chinese Government, on requisition, with the professional nid of engineers and other scientific persons. In opening or examining its coalfields China seems to be in no hurry to profit by the right which it has secured.

Although the objections of the London Committee are entitled to due consideration, the English Government will probably support Sir Rutherford Alcock by ratifying the treaty. It cannot be doubted that the English Ambassador has taken counsel with his resident countrymen, and also with the foreign merchants who, under the most favored nation clause, will be entitled to the benefits of the treaty, if their Governments consent to undertake the corresponding obligations. Bystanders may perhaps discern advantage rather than meonvenience in establishing the principle that the treaty of Tientsin is not the final rule of intercourse between China and the outer world. It is not to be supposed that the numerous details of treaty are frivolous or useless, more the especially as they were settled on behalf of the Chinese Government by the able English Superintendent of the Imperial Customs. It may be taken for granted that Mr. Hart is as anxious as Sir Rutherford Alcock to promote foreign commerce, if only because the revenue of his employers will be increased in proportion to the extension of trade. There are few more curious proofs of the rapid diffusion of modern civilization than the undertaking of the Government of Pekin to establish bonded warehouses in which imported goods may be stored free of duty. In 1733 Sir Robert Walpole, teen in the height of his machines in the market. power, was nearly driven from office by the clamor which was raised against his proposed introduction of the system; and between sixty and seventy years afterwards elapsed before it was adopted in England. In sixty years more bonded warehouses have spread as work. far as China; and it is even agreed that the English and Chinese Governments shall in concert frame a commercial code. In the meantime the Chinese Superintendent of beautiful family machine, at a Reduced Price. Customs is to have a seat on the judicial This machine does all that is done on the Combinabench, and a voice whenever an English subtion except the Overseaming and Button-hole work. ject is charged with a brench of customs' regulations; and conversely the English consul is to take part in all proceedings for confiscation of goods belonging to English merchants. It is a further recommendation of the treaty S. W. Corner Eleventh and Chesnut, that it is the first agreement with the Chinese Government which has not been extorted by force, for the United States and the minor powers only followed in the wake of the English and French armies. HER MAJESTY



THE MORMON QUESTION. From the N. Y. Times.

We can never legislate virtue against vice. and any attempt to achieve purely moral results by enactments of Congress will certainly fail. The moral law carries with it its own penalty. We cannot make men good by declaring that all men must be good. That declaration was made on Sinai, and mere men cannot amend or strengthen it. We are taught to do good-by moral example-by education-by a knowledge of the blessing and comfort and honor that come from a careful distinction between what is good and what is evil. Law fulfills its mission when it protects society from the effects of evil men and evil deeds. Religion and education must do the rest.

This is the main reason for our dislike to General Callom's Mormon bill, The measure proposes to do by force what can only be done by reason. The Mormon question has

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