

SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

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

INDEPENDENT WHITE-SATIN JOURNALISM.

From the N. Y. Sun.

Last December the Independent was twenty-one years old. It celebrated its arrival at this halting-place on the road of cant and neighborly malignity by printing an extra edition in vile colored inks, as unpleasant to the eye as the contents of the paper often are to the mind.

What made this extra issue especially disagreeable was the prominence in it of two dreadful woodcuts. One of these represented the editor of that journal disguised as the Angel of Truth, and almost unrecognizable in that unaccustomed dress, blowing a twisted and ugly ram's horn at a building labeled "Ecumenical Council," and intended, without doubt, to represent the Roman Catholic Church. In the foreground were the ruins of the structures that had already fallen before this windy angel, and on the stones were printed the names of the abuses they represented. Among them were "slavery," "sectarianism," and "bigotry."

In due time this "extra issue in colored inks" passed, as every one supposed, into the waste basket, and we had hoped that the incident had come to an end. But unhappily this is not so. The Rev. Theodore Tilton has fallen in love with his own picture. The pair of sweet angelic wings, cropping out from his shoulders, which the engraving gives him, have proved too much for his modesty; and he, or rather his publisher, has concluded to send it to various emperors and kings, that it may be known in the different "court circles."

The publisher has accordingly favored us with a circular to say that he has the honor to inform us that he has had ten copies of this issue of the Independent printed on fine white satin, and elegantly bound, which copies are to be sent to nine illustrious personages as follows:

- Her Majesty Victoria I, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.
His Imperial Majesty Napoleon III, Emperor of the French.
His Imperial Majesty Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.
His Majesty William I, King of Prussia.
His Imperial Majesty Alexander II, Emperor of Russia.
His Imperial Majesty Abdul-Aziz, Sultan of Turkey.
His Imperial Majesty Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil.
His Imperial Majesty Ki-tsang, Emperor of China.

And, last of all, tagged on to the tail end of this imperial and royal procession, one to "His Excellency U. S. Grant, President of the United States."

There are several points about this proposed gift that are especially curious. The first is the silly snobbishness of the affair. This disclaimer against monarchies, like many other demagogues, seizes the first opportunity to fling himself at the feet of royalty with his white satin offering. In the next place, he is so anxious to put himself in some sort of communication with the kings, that he does not stop to consider whether his gift is not rather more of an insult than a compliment. His picture represents, as we have said, the angel Tilton blowing fierce trumpet blasts against slavery and the Roman Catholic Church; and he has the exquisite good taste to send the paper as a present to two monarchs who are slaveholders and three who are devoted members of the Roman Catholic Church!

What will the Emperor of Japan say when he hears that the Emperor of China has got a copy of this sumptuous gift and that there is none for him? He will be tempted to put his Postmaster-General to death and commit harakari on himself. What will Victor Emmanuel, King of free Italy, say when he hears that the Emperor of Austria has been offered to him? Then, there's none for the Pope and none for the King of the Sandwich Islands, and Sweden and Norway have been frightened and Denmark left out in the cold.

There will certainly be trouble among the crowned heads when this business comes to be known. Perhaps the gifted editor expects some acknowledgment—graceful autograph letters from the several potentates, that can be published in the Independent, signed "Pedro Imperator," or "Victoria Regina," accompanied with elegant gold snuff-boxes with the Tiltonic initials set in blazing diamonds. Or perhaps the editor and publisher aspire to higher things, and expect titles in return. We may, for aught we know, soon have a paper published in this city by the Chevalier Bowen, and edited by the Count Teodoro Tiltono. Let the Count Joannes look out for rivals. Meantime let us see what other absurd things the conductors of this Puritan-Republican sheet will be at. This certainly is the furthest possible flight of the snobbish imagination as yet attained, and the most ridiculous thing of which American journalism has thus far been guilty.

THE LABOR PROBLEM AT THE SOUTH.

From the N. Y. Times.

We regard it as a sign of industrial convalescence that the people of almost every Southern State are earnestly discussing the questions of production, of emigration, of manufacture, and of labor generally, with reference to the speedy material recuperation of that section. They seem to have reached a full, albeit a tardy, realization of the folly of their policy previous to the war, and to evince a disposition to avail themselves of the opportunity for a fuller development which has just been presented to them by emancipation. They are evidently beginning to appreciate the true reason why the North has so steadily outstripped the South in the race for material prosperity, as well as of physical power, during the last three-quarters of a century. With infinitely greater attractions in climate, soil, and profitable production, the South has steadily fallen behind in the struggle for supremacy of population, territorial development and wealth. The explanation of this is to be found in the social aristocracy, the spirit of stagnation and the degradation of labor, which were the inevitable results of slavery. There is no question that but for these obstacles

the South would have absorbed a large share of the emigration and enterprise which poured into the Western States, and which not only made that section the garden of the world, but has given it the political control of the whole country.

Emancipation suddenly changed the policy as well as the requirements of Southern civilization, and notwithstanding it has taken five years of severe and painful discipline to effect a realization of the fact, the delay has been salutary, and the transition more healthy and permanent by reason of the delay. The people have had an opportunity to study out the solution of the problem for themselves. They have been made to appreciate the true dignity and mission of labor, and to get rid of the false notions which they previously entertained. They see that the presence among them of four millions of people suddenly transformed from slaves to freedmen, required a corresponding change of social ideas. If not profitably employed, the blacks would surely become a dangerous social element, but if they were so employed and speedily, they could readily be made a means of development and wealth even greater than they were before the war. Two things were necessary to effect this. The blacks were to be encouraged to adopt proprietary labor, and it was essential that they should be subjected to sharp competitions in order to prevent them from combining to control. The first necessity involved the leasing or sale of land to the negro in small parcels, and the second the encouragement of white immigration.

Both necessities were resisted for a long time after peace was declared, and chiefly from prejudice. But recently we note a very decided change in that respect. The Southern press generally invites emigration from the North, as well as from Europe. Agents have been sent from most of the States to organize European migration, and quite a large number of communities have already arrived. A convention is to be held at Charleston the 3d of May to aid the movement to South Carolina; several large colonies of Germans have recently settled in Alabama, and a colony of New Yorkers are also on their way there. Fifty-three thousand immigrants, black and white, have passed through Memphis within the last five months, destined for the Southwest, of whom fifteen thousand were newly arrived foreigners. North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky have each organized bureaus of immigration which are actively at work, and similar efforts are being made—and with great success—to turn the tide towards Alabama and Mississippi.

All this is but the beginning of the end. It is destined to go on increasing until the South shall be filled up with a new element of population, which will introduce new ideas, bring its vast extent of unoccupied lands under tillage, and ultimately build up a homogeneous civilization upon the ruins of that false and pernicious system which has hitherto been an incubus upon the South, socially, politically, and materially. The result will be that the sectional animosity which has so long prevailed will be gradually obliterated, and that when the present generation shall have passed away it will have disappeared altogether.

THE POSITION OF GEORGIA.

From the St. Louis Democrat.

Senator Carpenter deserves credit for his suggestion in regard to Georgia. The situation, our readers remember, was this:—The State has been three times reorganized, and yet Governor Bullock and his friends maintain that there is no possibility of preserving order there unless they are permitted to hold offices for two years beyond the term for which they were elected. Thereupon Mr. Drake proposed to admit the State, but to provide for quartering troops upon any county or town in which disorders should occur. Senator Carpenter and others replied, in effect, "either Georgia is fit for civil government, or not. If she is fit, we have no business to put absolute power into the hands of any man to establish there at pleasure a military despotism. If she is not fit for civil government, pray let us not admit her as a State, but keep her under military rule. The logic is unanswerable. The Senate, it appears, has voted, 22 to 22, to postpone action a while, and it is possible that the course indicated by the Senator from Wisconsin may be adopted. We do not think it the right course to pursue, but he deserves credit nevertheless for forcing to its logical result the position taken by the majority of Republicans.

Either Georgia can be trusted to govern herself, or cannot be trusted. There is no middle ground. All the devices for tying up the State, and giving it the name without the reality of self-government, are shabby makeshifts, unworthy of the Republican party and of Congress. If Georgia can be trusted at all, it is both a duty and sound policy to trust the State unreservedly and without delay. But if Georgia cannot be so trusted, we are in duty bound not to relax military control. In the former case, the policy advocated by Senator Schurz should be adopted. In the latter, the policy advocated by Senator Carpenter. But in either case, the policy of the Butler bill or of Senator Drake's proposed amendment seems to us to have neither logic, justice, nor practical good sense.

Whether the State shall be fully trusted or kept under complete military subjection depends upon a question of fact: Is it impossible to maintain a reasonable degree of order there by the methods of peace and self-government? We do not think Congress ought to decide that question in the negative without fair trial. Thus far there has been no trial; the people have not chosen their own rulers, and been permitted, under those rulers, to show just what sort of government they mean to maintain. We say this, not in censure of the course pursued by Congress, for that course has seemed necessary to the best men of the Republican party, but as a naked statement of the fact. Now we believe that Congress ought to leave the people of Georgia free to show just what they are and what they want to do. If they break out into general misconduct, vent their spite upon loyal men, and refuse to enforce the law for the protection of all citizens, then Congress will have power at any time to declare the State in insurrection, and the people will sustain it in doing so. But whether the people will sustain Congress in maintaining military rule simply, because some men fear that the people will misbehave is very doubtful indeed. The impression has gone abroad that Governor Bullock and his adherents are much more anxious to retain political power than to give peace to the State. If they cannot have power without military rule, they want military rule whether there is any necessity for it or not. The people of the Northern States, to whom the Republicans of Congress must render an account before the year closes, are not prepared, we honestly believe, to justify Congress in keeping Georgia under military rule because Governor Bullock says the Rebels will abuse the power of self-government if given to them. It may be true, but the people who will vote next fall would be much

more likely to believe it, and to sustain Congress, if it were proved to be true by actual experiment, than if it were merely asserted by a set of men who want to retain office.

Republicans of Congress do not make a mistake in this matter. Because the people sustained you in other cases, do not be sure that they will sustain you in refusing to Georgia a place in the Union, or in prolonging by arbitrary act the power of the Republican officials there. The good name of the Republican party is too precious to be sullied by defeat, or by any act that will weaken the confidence of the people in its integrity. If the party has lived long enough, and you want to destroy it or undermine its strength, perhaps you can find no surer way to do so than spin out this re-construction after the final adoption of the fifteenth amendment.

AWFUL VIRTUE.

From the N. Y. World.

For a time the women of Wyoming kept mum at their dose of jury, but the bitterness of this has worn off, and now, like the child who forgets the taste of the medicine, they are hot foot after the sweets—the sweets of office—again. This time it is higher game than a mere Wyoming justiceship, which there is reason to suppose even that estimable person in a black dotted gown and red ribbon in her back hair who once grasped it eagerly now despises, and not to let the reader burst in ignorance, nothing will now do but the entire reduction of the Territory under woman's control. With an intuitive insight into politics characteristic of their bright perceptions, the sisters early foresaw in this matter that the first step towards getting the outs in was to get the ins out, and accordingly a cunning plot, not unattended at this writing with success, has been devised against the Federal functionaries of that blessed land. One has already fallen, and the manner of his fall was this:—He was the Secretary of State of Wyoming, and for a time behaved well, but, what with female suffrage and she-judges and bi-sexual juries, fell into drink. The changes brought about in the Territory were too many for him. As his official pen put them upon the record his brain reeled, and finally, by dint of the great labor brought upon him by female prolixity in the matter of pleas, protests, petitions, and so forth, which surged in upon him like the waves of the sea in multitude and the teachings of the moral law in length, exhausted nature craved such frequent stimulant that the occasional use of "suthin'" which had marked his earlier days now in these times of trial hardened into hourly habit. Drink brought with it, as is charged, immorality, and on these scores the office-seeking females of Wyoming preferred a petition for his removal to Grant. That excellent person failed to find any special support for the immorality charge—and indeed this was a little weak, none of the sisters caring to say precisely how she knew of the licentiousness of the doomed Secretary—but a man's eyes, his nose, his breath, his walk, and conversation effuse rum, and the charge here was sustained with a particularity that left Mr. Grant, who cannot bear the sight of liquor, no option but forthwith to behold this vinous one. Being beheaded, it was the fond imagination of the sisters that some one of their number would be nominated in his place, but so far the tyranny of man has prevailed to retain a vacancy.

Nothing daunted, our votersesses have begun the subversion of the Marshal, and, on the pleas of rum and ruin, which ousted the Secretary, it is evident the Marshal, too, must fall. With this will be a second chance for office, and if this fail no doubt a third effort will be made, and so on until success attend.

Now, such being the procedure of the women voters of Wyoming, it rises into a question whether, if female suffrage become general, we will not have a new amendment to the Constitution, to the effect that drink and debauchery shall disfranchise. Fancy a Congress of many women, with power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of that article! Picture a bureau of compulsory breath-smelling, and a huge increase in the number of Government detectives to follow the office-holders of dark nights. The old song says:—
"A man may drink, and not be drunk;
A man may fight, and not be slain;
A man may kiss a pretty girl,
And yet be welcome back again."

With the full establishment of the Wyoming rule, there will be no application in this district. There will be no more cakes and ale. Solomon's Song will be under ban, and Luther's doctrine but heresy, that—
"Is who loves not women, wine, and song
Is but a fool his whole life long."

THE CONSCRIPTION IN SPAIN.

From the N. Y. Herald.

Among the grand reforms which were promised by the revolutionary leaders two years ago, when they were secretly agitating the overthrow of the Bourbon government in the Iberian Peninsula, chief and foremost was the abolition of the detested quinta or military conscription. This "lottery of blood," this title of human flesh, had wrought such woe in nearly every province of the realm that, to get rid of it alone, the people were ready to follow any one whom they thought strong enough to deliver them from so abhorred a burden. This was the string upon which Primen played the most loudly and persistently in his insurrectionary proclamations of 1866 and 1867, and it vibrated fiercely through the popular heart. Again, when the revolutionary Junta of Cadiz subsequently called the people to arms and started the movement which Queen Isabella fled from her throne and over the border. "Abajo las quintas!"—"Down with the conscription!"—was their most effective rallying cry. Every club, coterie, and committee of the "patriots" placed this demand at the head of their programme, and the result, as all may remember, was magical. The revolution swept over Spain by a well-nigh unanimous outburst of enthusiasm. The old system went down like a castle of frost work, and with it true men fondly hoped the bitter abuses which had so long chilled the blood and stagnated the enterprise of a historic race fell to rise no more. Last year, however, the resumption of the quinta was imperiously called for by the revolutionary ministry, on the plea that public safety absolutely required it, and the majority voted for its re-establishment. The result was the assurance that it was to be but temporary, for the last time. Even then, when the period for the drawing by lots arrived, there was some resistance in the provinces; but the voice of the nation consented to the law as to a supreme and final sacrifice. Some feared French invasion, and all recognized the necessity of replacing the strength drawn away from the home forces by the despatch of forty thousand men to Cuba.

But this was not all. Military ambition debanded much more. The conscription of 1869 was greatly alleviated by general volunteering, and the towns and communes bought off all the real conscripts by willing and weighty bounties and contributions. The volunteer system, however, was but a thorn in the side of those generals who were dream-

ing of military dictatorships and prolonged power. "Non talli auctio, nec defensoribus istis!" was their secret watchword. The conscription must be made permanent, and thus we have seen the project to prolong it shamelessly presented to the Cortes. In the meantime the one year volunteers are going out of service, and the municipalities utterly exhausted of funds, can no longer offer bounties for substitutes. The revival of the hated law is resisted by an enraged Barcelona in Madrid, Malaga, Seville, and Barcelona—in the latter city the more fiercely because Catalonia was long exempted from the "blood tax" and feels it most. "Abajo las quintas!" rings again from one end of Spain to the other, and there is sad prospect that the present government will disappear in slaughter and anarchy, to be followed by the miseries of invasion, unless the true patriots of the Peninsula can rise to the height of the exigency, compel their plotting leaders to abandon their unholy lust for power, and give their country that peace which is best founded upon liberty and safety at the fireside.

AND THE COLORED TROOPS FOUGHT NOBLY.

From the Chicago Post.

The celebration at Chicago yesterday, by the colored people, of the ratification of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, was an event worthy of note on many accounts. It is certainly true that the procession during the day was a marked success. The thousands who witnessed it will agree that there have been few more imposing displays in Chicago. Everything that ought to have been done was done, so far as the public could perceive. Nothing seemed to be lacking. The civic display and the military display were exceedingly well got up, and appropriate to the occasion. If those forming the procession had been white men, they could not have done better than was done; and white men have frequently, on like jubilant occasions, done a great deal worse.

Of the proceedings at the hall we need not speak at length. They were creditable throughout. The negroes did their part with great and acknowledged success, and even *ecclat*. The meeting last evening was a great deal more interesting, instructive, and orderly than any Democratic meeting of the past fifteen years which we can now recall to mind.

But the particular point in this celebration by the negroes to which we desire to call the special attention of the public is the fact that good order and perfect sobriety characterized the day, so far as those engaged in the celebration were concerned. There was no more drunkenness in Chicago on the negroes' fourth of July than on any other day. If men will recall the last "great day" the Chicago Democracy have had—the day of Horatio Seymour's speech in 1868—and compare this with that, they will form a very favorable opinion of the good conduct of the newly enfranchised citizens. If there ever was an occasion—when there never was—when men would be justifiable for bilious and extravagant behavior resulting from the drinking of healths, it was this when the negroes celebrated their exodus from the land of political bondage, and their safe arrival in a sphere so much better and brighter that they might seem to have taken on a new nature, with renewed capacity for progress, influence, and happiness. If there was any intoxication, it was very different indeed from that of drunkenness—as far removed from it as the inspirations of the poet from the hallucinations of a lunatic. Seeing what others do on such occasions, the sobriety and orderly, dignified behavior of the colored people on the occasion of a celebration so justly joyous to them, must be set down as greatly to their credit. They behaved nobly.

It is a matter in which the intelligent public may well and heartily rejoice, that the negroes held this celebration of their practical emancipation from injustice and oppression. It was an opportunity for the public to judge of the men whom the public had long condemned, and the result of the good and creditable conduct of the negroes is that they have won the respect of thousands who never respected them before. There are thousands in Chicago, hundreds of thousands in the country, who have witnessed similar celebrations, who at last firmly believe that the blacks have rights which white men are bound to respect, and who now, if never before, stoutly affirm that the colored troops fought nobly.

That they will continue to fight nobly in the discharge of the duties of citizenship in this great republic, they alone can doubt who doubt the beneficence of freedom and the goodness and wisdom of Him who hath made of one blood all nations of men.

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