

THE NEW YORK PRESS. EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

THE REAL ISSUE BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.—THE FUTURE GOVERNING PARTY OF THE COUNTRY.

In the excitement and confusion of ideas produced by the political and party contests carried on all over the country, the great underlying question is hardly realized or recognized. Men are apt to think that the point on which the election turns is whether the President or Congress is to be sustained, whether the restoration of the seceded States is to be accomplished by Executive will or in accordance with the directions of the national Legislature, and whether the Democratic party is to resume the power which it abused and lost or the Government is to remain in the hands of that party which represents the ideas and policy that prevailed in the terrible contest out of which the nation has so recently emerged.

The real issue, which lies deeper than those of the present contest, and which is to take shape and prominence in the next session of Congress and in the elections of two years hence, is, "What party shall have the governing power in this country for the next half-century or more?" The seemingly and undignified personal squabbles between President Johnson and the members of the present Congress are but disgraced incidents in the politics of the times, and cannot affect, one way or the other, the solution of the great question which we have here indicated.

What, then, is to be the future governing party of the United States? We know what party has governed it, with but few interruptions, for eighty and more years, up to the commencement of the Rebellion; but that party can govern it no more. We know that the ideas of the leading politicians of Eastern Virginia and South Carolina controlled the Government from 1800 to 1860, and that the Government was formed, down to those gloomy days when Buchanan, inspired by them, declared to Congress that there was no power under the Constitution to coerce rebellious States into submission.

With the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860 the death-knell of that power was tolled. The Southern politicians heard it with prophetic ear, and knew too well what it forebode. They resented it as the doom of their old pro-slavery, State-rights ideas, and the growth of a better and stronger and truer system of republican government. Pro-slavery, State-rights democracy, fell in 1860, never to rise again. The next year the Constitution was formed, down to those gloomy days when Buchanan, inspired by them, declared to Congress that there was no power under the Constitution to coerce rebellious States into submission.

To say, therefore, that there is a political contest going on between the Republican and the Democratic parties—as these were known up to the overthrow of the Rebellion—would be a misapplication of words. The living cannot fight with the dead. But there is a great contest going on between the representatives of opposing ideas in Congress and among the people. One side represents the principle of compromise—to the vanquished—in its extremest and most ruthless form, and advocates general confiscation throughout the late Rebel States, the distribution of their lands among the colored population, the enfranchisement of the blacks, and the disfranchisement of all who took part in the Rebellion, meaning all the white citizens of the South.

Its champions are the remorseless Stevens, the conceited Sumner, and the loud-mouthed, bellowing Butler, the mock hero of Bethel and Fort Fisher, and projector of the famous Dutch Gap canal. The other side, supported by the moderate men of all political parties, and finding adherents even among the extreme party, insists on nothing more than those guarantees for the future which the acts of the past seem to render necessary.

These guarantees are embodied in the amendments of the Constitution proposed by Congress at its last session, and submitted to the States for ratification. When those amendments are enacted on the Constitution, as they undoubtedly will be, then will commence the rule of that party which is the governing party of the future and under which the strides of this country to greatness and power will outstrip in the last third of this century its wonderful progress in the first two-thirds of it.

We have seen how the political party which embodied the views of the extreme men of the South has been extinguished. We are now to see how the embodiment of the views of the opposite extreme is to share a like fate. New England ideas of government are no more to prevail in this reconstructed republic than are the ideas of Eastern Virginia and South Carolina. The practical common sense of the American people realizes the truth of the old Latin maxim, *moderata via est optima*—that safety lies in the middle course—in moderation. It is neither to extinguish the political life of Southern communities, nor, on the other hand, to restore them to their former power in the control of the Government, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, put out their strength to crush the Rebellion. The people of those middle States are well aware that it was their armies that won the victory, and that they are equally determined that their political doctrines shall rule the country.

They are as inconvenient and unhealthy as they could well be made. They seem calculated to destroy all instincts of modesty, delicacy, decency, and cleanliness. That portion of our workers who can afford to live five to ten miles from their work may be quite comfortably and cheaply housed, but most of the poor whose vocations confine them to the lower half of this island are lodged abominably. Mr. Stewart's philanthropy has taken an excellent direction, and we trust it may serve as an encouragement to others.

We hope, therefore, that he has not determined (as is reported) that his generous gift shall be expended in building small houses for the accommodation of separate families, which might as rationally buy or hire five hundred stores for the transaction of his dry goods business. The great economies which distinguish our city are achieved in an opposite direction. An edifice covering block 99 by 250 feet, or thereabout, six stories high, with a single entrance from the street, a man and wife keeping the door and supervising everything with lodgings in the second story, various industries, single women only at very moderate rates, and all the modern appliances of gas, hot air, hoists, etc., etc., with a promenade on the roof, a children's playground in the centre, and a reading-room for the inmates, would afford comfortable housing for more people than could be sheltered on a hundred separate city lots at a like cost. While the comforts of the spacious edifice would be immeasurably the greater, we beg Mr. Stewart not to decide this point until he shall have considered plans and estimates (which shall be forthcoming) for an edifice which will afford at once pleasant, commodious housing for the poor, and a reading-room for the inmates, would afford comfortable housing for more people than could be sheltered on a hundred separate city lots at a like cost.

The Amendment and the South. From the Times. Sundry journals and public men in the Southern States are beginning to urge the acceptance of the Constitutional amendment, as expedient and wise. It would scarcely be correct to speak of the movement in this direction as general or influential, but the fact that it has been started at all is not without significance. We think a good many prominent and judicious Southern men are really in favor of it, who are as yet unwilling openly to advocate it.

There is one point the South ought to bear in mind.—The only parts of the amendment open to serious objection are temporary in their operation. By changing the ratio of representation their political power is reduced, but only until they find it wise and safe to apply the same qualifications for suffrage to both blacks and whites. Whenever they can put both races on the same footing, and vote upon the same conditions of education, property, etc., they become entitled to their full representation. In the ordinary course of things, this result must be attained before many years. The same thing is true to still greater extent of the disfranchising clause. It excludes from office certain classes of those who have been active in the Rebellion, but Congress may at any time, by a two-thirds vote, remove this disability. If peace and order again prevail, and matters resume their normal course in the Southern States, but very few years can elapse before Congress will be very glad to remove this disability altogether, and in regard to many Southern men, there is little doubt it would be removed very soon.

The South may very well consider, therefore, whether it would not be wise to accept these temporary inconveniences for the sake of the permanent and substantial advantages to be gained thereby. There is very great danger to the South and to the whole country in keeping this question open for heated and protracted agitation. The condition of every State will become worse and worse with every day of delay. If the contest were closed and the South restored to its proper relations with the Union, the tendency of events would be to pacify and harmonize the country. The living cannot fight with the dead. But there is a great contest going on between the representatives of opposing ideas in Congress and among the people.

Impeachment of the President. From the World. The extract from General Butler's speech which was telegraphed from Cincinnati, and published by the city papers on Monday morning, puts the point made by Wendell Phillips in a recent number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* in the most plausible shape that can be given it by an expert and ingenious lawyer. Phillips contended that an impeachment would amount to nothing unless the President is suspended from office while it is pending. Butler describes method by which this suspension is to be accomplished. The President, says Butler, from the moment the articles of impeachment are presented to the Senate, becomes subject to arrest, and if the Senate so direct, to imprisonment, by their Sergeant-at-Arms. While this in custody, the President is incapable of discharging his duties of office, which becomes temporarily vacant. It would be filled by the Vice-President if there were one, but there being none, by the President *pro tempore* of the Senate.

This ingenious fallacy rests upon an assumption which a little scrutiny will easily explode. The assumption is, that an officer under impeachment stands in the same relation to the tribunal appointed to try him that an ordinary criminal does to an ordinary court. Because a court of justice never tries a criminal unless it has custody of his person, it is inferred that the same rule holds in the trial of an impeached officer by the Senate. The analogy fails in consequence of a total difference in the liability of persons accused of crime. The Constitution declares that "judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than removal from office" and disqualification to hold any future office. It is not necessary for the Senate to have custody of the accused in order to inflict this punishment. But an ordinary criminal, on trial for theft, murder, or other crime, is liable to be punished by positive inflictions on his person. It would be an idle folly to suppose that the Senate, in order to inflict this punishment, is to assume the custody of his person, it is inferred that the same rule holds in the trial of an impeached officer by the Senate. The analogy fails in consequence of a total difference in the liability of persons accused of crime. The Constitution declares that "judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than removal from office" and disqualification to hold any future office. It is not necessary for the Senate to have custody of the accused in order to inflict this punishment. But an ordinary criminal, on trial for theft, murder, or other crime, is liable to be punished by positive inflictions on his person. It would be an idle folly to suppose that the Senate, in order to inflict this punishment, is to assume the custody of his person, it is inferred that the same rule holds in the trial of an impeached officer by the Senate.

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SPECIAL NOTICES. QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF THE REPUBLIC.

Table with financial data including Assets, Liabilities, and Reserves. Total Assets: \$2,000,000.00. Total Liabilities: \$1,500,000.00. Reserves: \$500,000.00.

OFFICE OF THE SHAMOKIN COAL COMPANY, No. 226 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, October 4, 1866. A Special Meeting of the Stockholders of the above-named company will be held at the Office, on TUESDAY, the 25th of October next, at 10 o'clock, to take into consideration the further development of the Company's property.

NEW PERFUME FOR THE HANDKERCHIEF. PHALON'S "Night Blooming Cereus." PHALON'S "Night Blooming Cereus." PHALON'S "Night Blooming Cereus." PHALON'S "Night Blooming Cereus." PHALON'S "Night Blooming Cereus."

FURS OF ALL NATIONS. OPENING ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10. Russian Sable Furs, Hudson Bay Sable Furs, Fine Dark Mink Sables, Royal Ermine and Chinchilla, Real Siberian Squirrel, Dark, Persian Lamb, Astrucan, Etc. Etc.

SPECIAL NOTICES. COLTON DENTAL ASSOCIATION.—The originators of the anesthetic use of Nitrous Oxide Gas. Extract teeth without any pain. More than 100,000 patients treated. The list can be seen at our rooms, at No. 727 WALNUT STREET. Come to headquarters. We never were out.

NEWSPAPER ADVERTISING.—JOY, COLE & CO., N. E. corner of FIFTH and WALNUT STREETS, Philadelphia, and TRIBUNE BUILDINGS, New York, are agents for the "Telegraph" and for the Newspapers of the whole country. COE & CO., 730 Grand.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF STOCKHOLDERS OF THE CALVERT TRIMMING RIBBONS COMPANY will be held at the Office of the Company, No. 215 WALNUT STREET on WEDNESDAY, October 11, 1866, at 12 o'clock M., at which time an Election of Directors will be held. CHARLES M. SIFER, Secretary. Philadelphia, October 6, 1866.

MILLINERY, TRIMMINGS, ETC. MAGAZIN DES MODES PARISIENNES. OPENING DAY, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13.

MOST BEAUTIFUL ESTABLISHMENT ON THIS CONTINENT. No. 904 WALNUT STREET. MADEMOISELLE KEOUGH, MILLINER DE PARIS. Madlle KEOUGH has resided and furnished, in the most elegant manner, her OLD-ESTABLISHED And well-known fashionable place of business, where she pursues offering and keeping constantly, THE VERY LATEST CHOICEST AND RECHERCHE PARIS FASHIONS AND MILLINERY, Received regularly by STEAMERS FROM EUROPE.

THE MOURNING DEPARTMENT. Will contain all the latest styles, where any number required for Funerals can be supplied at a few hours' notice. Fashioning, as she does, with FRENCH ARTISTES, FRENCH GOODS, AND FRENCH MODELS. All her productions are characterized by Elegance, Neatness, and Taste.

BUREAU DE FASHION, No. 904 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA. Select from the LATEST FRENCH MODES, thus giving them a satisfactory choice of becoming Shapes, Colors, and Styles.

BONNET OPENING, Wednesday, October 3, 1866. WOOD & CARY, No. 725 CHESNUT STREET. WEYL & ROSENHEIM, No. 726 CHESNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA. A splendid assortment of Felt and Silk Hats for Ladies and Children.

BONNET OPENING. WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3. E. P. CILL & CO., No. 323 and 331 SOUTH STREET. Has a handsome assortment of MILLINERY, Misses and Infants' Hats and Caps, Silks, Velvets, Crapes, Ribbons, Feathers, Flowers, Frames, etc.

PAPER HANGINGS AND WINDOW SHADES. 40 IN. PLAINS, FINE DECORATIONS, BORDER MOLDINGS, STAMP GILTS, ENGLISH SATINS, BLANKS, ETC.

FOR SALE.—STATE AND COUNTY RIGHTS of Capewell & Co.'s Patent Wind Guard and Air Heater for Coal Oil Lamps. It prevents the Chimneys from breaking. This will be wanted. Also saves one-third the oil. Call and see them. They cost but see card for 250 BACCHUS STREET, Philadelphia. Sample sent on receipt of the oil. Call and see them. They cost but see card for 250 BACCHUS STREET, Philadelphia. Sample sent on receipt of the oil.

CARPETINGS. JAMES H. ORNE & CO., No. 626 CHESNUT STREET, Between Sixth and Seventh Streets.

NEW CARPETINGS, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL. Just Received Per Steamer "Metta" French and English, Axminster, Royal, Wilton 6-4 Velvets, English Brussels, Crossley Tapestry.

NOVELTIES IN FRENCH GOODS. NEW STYLES OF 6-4 Velvets, Axminster, Wiltons and Brussels. Carpets for Halls, with Borders, English Oil Cloths, Ingrain and Venetians.

JAMES H. ORNE & CO., No. 626 CHESNUT STREET, Between Sixth and Seventh Streets. NEW CARPETINGS, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL. FALL IMPORTATIONS, JUST OPENED.

GLEN ECHO MILLS, CERMANTOWN. McCALLUMS, CREASE & SLOAN, MANUFACTURERS AND IMPORTERS OF CARPETINGS.

RETAIL DEPARTMENT. No. 519 CHESNUT STREET, OPPOSITE INDEPENDENCE HALL. REEVE L. KNIGHT & SON, No. 807 CHESNUT STREET, HAVE NOW OPEN A WELL-ASSORTED STOCK OF AMERICAN AND ENGLISH CARPETINGS, OIL CLOTHS, COCOA MATTINGS, DRUGGETS, RUGS, ETC.

LEEDOM & SHAW, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL CARPET WAREHOUSE, No. 910 ARCH STREET, ARE OPENING AN ENTIRE NEW STOCK OF Foreign and Domestic Carpetings, In every style and variety.

VISITING AND WEDDING CARDS. WRITTEN, ENGRAVED, AND PRINTED. The Latest London and Paris Styles. INITIALS, MONOGRAMS, CRESTS, ARMS, ETC., STAMPED ON PAPER AND ENVELOPES, IN COLORS, GRAYS, The Finest English, French and American Paper and Envelopes. MONOGRAMS, ARMS, CRESTS, Designed and Engraved. VISITING DESKS, TRAVELLING CASES, PORTFOLIOS, POCKET-BOOKS, KNIVES, BACKGAMMON BOARDS, AND EVERY ARTS AND CRAFTS. FINE STATIONERY. R. HOSKINS & CO., STATIONERS AND CARD ENGRAVERS, No. 913 ARCH STREET. HEADSTONES, MONUMENTS, ETC. ETC. LARGE COLLECTION. LOW PRICES. BEST MARBLE. TWELFTH STREET, ABOVE HEDGE AVENUE. CHELSEA, ENGLAND.