

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Public Printing.

The House of Representatives, on Monday, motion of Mr. Grinnell of Iowa,

Resolved, That the Committee on Printing be requested to report to this House what forms, if any, are needed in the purchase of paper, the ordering of books, documents, bills, and other matters printed at the expense of the Government.

—We do not believe there is any need of sending for persons or papers, nor of making any elaborate inquiry. Mr. DeForest, who superintends the public printing, is honest, capable, and faithful; and there is, in short, nobody to blame but Congress itself.

Suppose Congress should buy up one-twelfth of all the presses in the country, and proceed to transform it into a boot and shoe factory, and distribute those boots and shoes gratis among their constituents at the public cost, who would not realize that this was a gross wrong, first to the people, whose money was lavished in making gratuities to a small portion of their number; next, to all who are engaged in the boot and shoe business, which would be thus deranged and debauched?

—This is exactly what Congress persistently does to our business, delaying our protests and mocking our complaints. We gave our best years to learning how to supply the public need of useful information. All our living and our savings have been gained by it. The business suits us, and we are not asked to pay for it. We can do well by it if Congress will only let us. But Congress will not let us. It persists in raising the price of paper on us by buying up with public money one-twelfth of all paper made in the country, printing it at the public cost, and then sending it all over the country by a still further pull at the treasury.

—One of our specialties is furnishing agricultural knowledge to farmers; and we can beat at it all the Government paper-suckers in the country; but when we have to compete in the business with rivals who are not only subsidized from the Treasury, but have their paper, printing, mailing, and transportation paid for out of the Treasury also—our product being taxed to help pay the cost of supplying the competing articles for nothing we can help saying we don't like it. Is that too harsh?

—What Congress should do is to stop the whole business of printing matter for public information. Let it print what is required for its own information, and then supply at cost all who want extra copies. We are willing to furnish a fair price for a copy of every document printed by Congress, and pay the regular postage on its transmission to us; and we are quite willing that every one else who chooses should be supplied on the same terms; but against the printing of documents for gratuitous diffusion we most earnestly protest, now and evermore.

Our Southern Next Door Neighbor—The Duty of the United States.

The Secretary of State on Tuesday evening last, as it appears, gave a handsome entertainment to Madame Juarez, the wife of President Juarez, of the republic of Mexico. It further appears that "all the representatives of the Spanish-American republics were present, as was also the Russian Minister, and that the party was one of the most brilliant of the season."

It was a delicate official notification to the diplomatic corps at Washington that our Government still recognizes no other government in Mexico than the Republic of Mexico, and the head of our State Department is pleased to welcome Madame Juarez to the hospitalities of his house, not as an exile without a country, but as the honored wife of the worthy President of a republic which exists here, and which we are bound to prevent being dissolved by European ambition. This is the diplomatic interpretation of Mr. Seward's brilliant social entertainment to Madame Juarez. It will be so received by Louis Napoleon, and the presence of the Russian Minister among the guests will also be understood at the Tuileries as a matter of the gravest political import in reference to the future policy of Russia in both hemispheres.

From the correspondence of last year between Mr. Seward and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the Mexican ultimatum of President Johnson was broadly intimated to be, not the withdrawal of the French troops, but the withdrawal of the French expedition. To this ultimatum, it is evident, President Johnson still adheres, and we have not the remotest idea that he contemplates any other settlement. Louis Napoleon may think that within a short time Juarez will be driven from his last retreat on Mexicana soil, and that then, as Maximilian, he will only Government having a foothold in that country, he must be recognized by the United States. But Napoleon, by turning back to his illustrious predecessor in the government of France, Louis the Fourteenth, will find that the English supported James the Second as the rightful King of England, even after his expulsion by the will and action of the English people themselves. Much more justly, then, even if driven into the United States, may we still adhere to the government of Juarez against a foreign usurpation as offensive to the people of the country most concerned as was the attempted subjugation of the Netherlands by Spain, and almost as offensive to the people of the United States.

It is certain that Juarez or no Juarez, Maximilian can have no peace in Mexico without a recognition from the United States, and it is equally certain that this recognition is out of the question. What then? The inquiries recur to Napoleon. Is this Mexican enterprise any longer worth the candle? Will it not be cheaper and wiser to re-establish the Mexican Republic upon the basis of some equivalent to France's aid? At the close of the war between the United States and Mexico, General Scott, while still in occupation of the Mexican capital, had an offer made him involving the transfer of all that country to his Government. He declined it, for the reason, as he said, that he did not like the mixing of those mongrels with the American people. We think he was too fastidious, and lost a fine opportunity for the permanent pacification of Mexico and our Southern States besides. But as events have since transpired, the people of the United States have no longer any desire for the absorption of Mexico. They only desire that our next-door neighbor shall be a friend and brother, and not a stranger, a usurper, and an enemy.

Good or bad, the merits of the Government of Maximilian are not the question. How and why he came into Mexico, and why he remains there, a protégé of France, are the issues to be settled. But Government has defined its position and its ultimatum, and can wait a little longer. It is apparent that neither the President nor Congress desire to provoke a rupture with France. As will England on the question of the north-western territory, so France is desirous of Mexico's peaceful, fair, and liberal adjustment; but in both cases, meantime, the chapter of accidents may precipitate a different solution. What the American press, or that of the other, here and there, may venture to hint in the way of influence to Maximilian does not touch the position of the Administration or the public sentiment of this country.

—The National safety in the future depends upon the withdrawal from Mexico, and as the current expenses of his imperial establishment there are his, and not ours, we inter that our Government is satisfied that the quiet policy of "strictly neutrality" will settle the problem. The duty of the United States is to recognize Mexico as the Monroe doctrine. This has been declared by Congress and by President Johnson. Louis Napoleon is aware of all this; but he still seems to depend, like a child, upon the chances of something turning up to his advantage, when every succeeding day only adds to the cost of this Mexican entanglement, and to the difficulties of an extrication satisfactory to France.

A Strong Minority Greatly Needed.

The minority in Congress becomes alarmingly small. The opponents of the President are welcome to make all out of the admission they please. In times of panic, in the crisis of revolution, in the hour when men are clutching—not for party triumph or permanent party ascendancy—but for national existence, overwhelming majorities supply the only hope for national unity.

But after passion has subsided, and national become confounded with party victories, there arises a serious and important crisis which men devoted to freedom of speech and freedom of political action most dread. We Americans may be found a freer system on this continent than other nations have ever known. But the thing is not proven. Neither thinking men among ourselves, nor well-disposed strangers of the higher order abroad, will accept our mere assertion as a philosophic maxim. There is danger of the party of "good moral ideas" becoming the party of abnominable ideas, and the greater danger that our people are more religious in their habits, more observant of the strict services of public worship, and more intolerant of "non-professors" than any people in the world.

—The great political problem seems to be gradually resolving into this—Whether minorities in a republic ought to have any rights. The President has been quietly cherishing the idea that they do not. He is certain that the President's will cannot be right, if the majority are also right. Thus it is that those who desire to see this republic strong, not only in its central authority—strong, not alone in the material power which is wielded by the national Government—but strong also—and doubly strong—in the affections of the whole people, are eager to see an end to this sectional strife. It cannot be maintained long—hide it from ourselves as we may, without inviting foreign notice—mayhap foreign invasion. Where are we to-day, unless this last proclamation of Andrew Johnson is truth, and sold truth? Answer us: If the idiotic seers of the coolie are true, if Andrew Johnson has proclaimed Union where there is only mutual malice, envy, and all uncharitableness, what is this republic worth in this year of grace? Tell us: If this solemn declaration of the Executive is affirmed to be true, how much stronger, in view of possible complications with foreign powers, is this country to-day than it was two years ago? No one doubts the possibility of making such a clean sweep of the opposition benches in Congress, as would make legislation a mere matter for partisan committees. But many—very many—do doubt the expediency or the wisdom of creating a directory whose decrees shall permanently override alike the constitutional veto of the Executive and the solemn decisions of the Supreme Court.

In such a crisis as this there is nothing that concerns thoughtful men so deeply, so intensely, as the rights of the minority in and out of Congress. But that high tribunal will have solution in an appeal to arms. Great political lines have now to be drawn anew. We cannot maintain issues which are no longer presentable. And those who win, for the moment, by mere partisan effort, will most assuredly be losers in the end.

The Test Oath Appeals.

Our conservative mode of thought impresses us with the highest respect for the Supreme Court of the United States. We pay that body the homage due to a faithful guardian of the law. It is, therefore, in a spirit of carping, but on the contrary, in discharge of an obligation by no means agreeable, that we take exception to its course on the subject of the test oath.

The Supreme Court ought, of course, to be zealous in the guardianship of its own dignity. We should regret deeply to see it expose itself in any sense unnecessarily to the passions of party. But that high tribunal will have abdicated one of its most important functions whenever it shrinks from its duties of a position making it virtually the arbiter of parties. Indeed, one of the most beneficent ends of the authority attaching to the Supreme Court consists in the acceptance by that eminent body of every proper occasion for the exercise of that authority within the limits of constitutional law.

The decision of the Supreme Bench in the case of the Indiana "conspirators" has been tendered to an extent sufficient to save any unnecessary delay of justice. The wrong that has been done in that case has been, as far as possible, set right. But that high tribunal will have abdicated one of its most important functions whenever it shrinks from its duties of a position making it virtually the arbiter of parties. Indeed, one of the most beneficent ends of the authority attaching to the Supreme Court consists in the acceptance by that eminent body of every proper occasion for the exercise of that authority within the limits of constitutional law.

The test oath presents an instance in which the Supreme Bench has not only proved wanting to political repose, but also to civil justice. In the political duty which that eminent body learned in the latest of its decisions the right to practise in the Supreme Court by a lawless edict; and instead of refusing to lose an hour in righting that wrong done under its eyes, it has permitted the same wrong to be perpetrated as a compromise between the two parties. The Supreme Court closed the pleadings without a decision. The wrong done by that course to gentlemen practising in the court is not the only one that has been done. A particular instance of "tender mercies" to party, a broad decision on the subject of the test oath rendered at once, in the appeal made by Messrs. Garland and Mann, would have exercised the most beneficial results in the interests of the Union, the Constitution, and political repose. With great regret, therefore, we are bound to declare that in withholding its judgment when called so fairly into exercise in the case of the Indiana appeal and of the test oath, the Supreme Court

has failed to employ two opportunities for the discharge of its moral duties as an arbiter of parties, and this failure is all the more painful because it has taken place at a time when political differences do not betide us to take a ground that involves neither more nor less than resolution.

The Proposed Impeachment of President Johnson.

From the World. We recently reprinted columns of matter from the Chicago Tribune, advocating, in a vehement and acrimonious strain, the impeachment of President Johnson, and his removal from office. This divination of the secret intentions of the Radicals is a little earlier and bolder than we expected; but we have for some time been convinced that, as soon as the Radicals had two-thirds of the Senate, they would immediately institute proceedings for an impeachment. We expressed this conviction in our new article on the veto of the Civil Rights bill, and were accordingly taken to task therefor by the Radical Evening Post, which, having till quite lately pretended to support the President, had not been trusted with the secret plans of the Radical leadership.

The Chicago Tribune, which leads the way in advocating impeachment, is the most important Republican paper in the West—the longest established, the largest in circulation, the most potent in influence. It gives the cue, to nearly all the local Republican papers west of Lake Michigan. It has been so true and constant to the radical cause that its editors are in the confidence of the radical leaders of the national capital. A political journal holding such exalted relations seldom takes bold ground from mere fitfulness or caprice. The sense of responsibility which attaches to such a position, and the fact that a representative journal owes its importance to the confidence of the public, are strong reasons for its display of the mere idiosyncrasies of its editors on subjects of the first magnitude.

As a point of party tactics, it would have been more prudent to conceal this design, until after the election of the pending majority. It is maintained, it is idle to talk of impeachment; for it requires the same majority of two-thirds to convict on impeachment that it does to pass a bill over the veto. There may be some Senators who will vote against the veto, who will shrink from carrying the bill, and who will shrink from an impeachment. As a point of tactics, it might have been more discreet to have kept the main design veiled until after the veto is overcome. The fact that the mark is so prematurely thrown off, evinces the impetuosity and earnestness of the President's enemies. Two or three days ago, immediately after the rejection of Senator Stockton, the radicals were very confident they were too strong for the veto; and it was probably this delusive confidence that emboldened the Chicago Tribune to disclose the ultimate design of its party coadjutors.

We deem it unnecessary to go, at present, into any elaborate refutation of the arguments against the President. The Hitch in the New Jersey Legislature, and the unexpected return of Senator Wright to Washington, disconcerts the plans and disappoints the hopes of the Radicals. To resist in "any way" the veto will be sustained; and if so, further talk of impeachment is futile, and will be foreborne. But it is well that the President and the country should understand the violence of his enemies.

There is a superficial smartness in the argument by which it is attempted to be proved that the President is guilty of treason, as one ground of impeachment. Treason is made, by the Constitution, to consist in "levying war against the United States, or giving aid and comfort to their enemies." It is argued that the South are still enemies; and that the President's attempt to introduce them into Congress to participate in the legislation of the country, is giving aid and comfort. This argument has enough of plausibility to prove that the President has not been premature in proclaiming the end of the Rebellion. The Supreme Court decided in an early stage of the war, grounded its decision on President Lincoln's proclamations—that a territorial war existed between the United States and the insurgents; that, in consequence of those proclamations, and the inhabitants of the States and parts of States therein designated were public enemies; and, by logical inference, they would continue such until those proclamations were, in some way, revoked or annulled. The character of the war, as declared by the Southern people was purely technical, and the Supreme Court has this winter disregarded it, by resuming the consideration of suits brought from the Southern States. Still, the President, as is justly accused by the Chicago Tribune, has recognized the continuance of the state of war, by the continued suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and other acts whose only justification is the existence of Rebellion. The safe proclamation declaring the end of the Rebellion, taken from this argument whatever sting it may have previously had. But it does a great deal more. For, if the continued suspension of the habeas corpus had no other justification than the continued existence of the Rebellion, it is equally undeniable that the exclusion of the Southern representatives could also have no other justification. The Chicago Tribune virtually admits this, in the whole texture of its argument.

The gist of the argument is, that the Southern representatives cannot be admitted, because the Southern States are still in rebellion. The Rebellion being the only valid ground of exclusion, the converse of the proposition should hold equally true, that the Rebellion having been legally terminated, there no longer remains any colorable excuse for refusing to examine the credentials of the Southern members of Congress.

The other arguments used by the Chicago Tribune we cannot descend to discuss. They display no semblance of ingenuity, but only scurrility.

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REMOVED.—S. & JAMES M. FLANNAGAN have removed from No. 304 to No. 420 S. DELAWARE AVENUE.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

CAMDEN AND AMBOY RAILROAD AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY'S OFFICE. NOTICE.—The Annual Meeting of the Stockholders of the CAMDEN AND AMBOY RAILROAD AND TRANSPORTATION COMPANY will be held at the company's office in HOBOKEN, N. J., on SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1866, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the election of seven Directors, to serve for the ensuing year. J. S. 14 28. ANULL J. BAYARD, Secretary.

NEW LONDON COPPER MINING COMPANY. The Annual Meeting of Stockholders or Election of Directors to serve the ensuing year, will be held at the Office of the President, No. 417 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA, on FRIDAY, APRIL 11, 1866, at 10 o'clock, A. M. SIMON POPE, Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE PHILADELPHIA AND CHESTNUT RIVER PETROLEUM COMPANY. No. 24 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA. The Directors have this day declared a second dividend on the Early 1865 Stock, amounting to one cent per share, to be paid on the 15th inst. The transfer books will close April 15th, and open on the 16th. G. W. WAREFIELD, Secretary.

A PHYSIOLOGICAL VIEW OF MARRIAGE.—Containing nearly 300 pages, 18 illustrations and Engravings of the Anatomy of the Human Organs in a State of Health and Disease, with a Treatise on the Early Periods of Conception, the Development of the Fetus and Body, with the Author's Plan of Treatment—the only rational and successful mode of cure, as shown by the history of cases treated. A truthful answer to the married and those contemplating marriage, who entertain doubts of their physical condition, sent free of postage to any address, on receipt of 30 cents in stamps or postal currency, by addressing Dr. L. A. CROIX, No. 113 ALEX. LANE, Albany, N. Y. The author may be consulted upon any of the diseases on which this book treats either personally or by mail, and medicines sent to any part of the world. 115 60.

JUST PUBLISHED.—By the Physicians of the NEW YORK MUSEUM, the Nineteenth Edition of FOLEY'S LECTURES, entitled—PHILOSOPHY OF MARRIAGE. To be had free, for four stamps, by addressing Secretary New York Museum of Anatomy, No. 618 BROADWAY, New York.

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DINING-ROOM.—F. LAKEMAYER, 400 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA. GARTER'S ALEX. would respectfully inform the public generally that he has let his dining-room to make this place comfortable in every respect, for the accommodation of guests. He has opened a large and comfortable dining-room in the second story, 400 ARCH STREET, is furnished with BRANDIES, WINES, WHISKY, &c., &c., of SUPERIOR BRANDS. 115

FINANCIAL.

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