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## MORE THAN SIXTY REASONS FOR ATTENDING PUBLIC WORSHIP.

1. Reader, do you attend on the public worship of God, upon the Sabbath? Do you do this habitually; at some one place; and as a matter of principle and conscience? If a parent, do you take your family with you? Do you promote church-going habits among your neighbors?—If not, will you candidly and seriously consider a few reasons for your so doing?
2. God, your Creator, Preserver and Benefactor, is worthy of your habitual worship; especially on his holy day.
3. God's word enjoins it on you: "Bring an offering and come into his courts; Oh! worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness, Ps. 133, 8 and 9. Not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is." Heb. 10, 25.
4. God has appointed, through the preaching of the gospel, "to save them that believe;" you should therefore attend upon this means of grace.
5. If you are a parent, it is your solemn duty to your children to train them up in this habit, both by example and precept.
6. Are you in early life? you owe it to God as your Governor, to yourself as an immortal being, and to those of your own age, to form this habit.
7. God's command, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," includes this, as a part of proper keeping of the Sabbath.
8. It is a service necessary to your own good, as a sinner; to be prepared here, to glorify God hereafter.
9. You ought to exert, in this practice, the influence of a good example upon all around you.
10. Self respect, and regard for your own character in the estimation of all virtuous and christian men should lead you to this practice of this duty.
11. No man keeps the Sabbath properly, i. e. according to the Bible, who neglects public worship on that day.
12. The sanctuary is the place, and the Sabbath the time, peculiarly, to make progress in religious knowledge.
13. You may reasonably hope that God will meet you, in public worship, for the bestowment of his Holy Spirit.
14. Consider the condescension of God, in that he will receive the worship of a sinful man like yourself, and take heed how you requite it.
15. Public worship is not only a duty but a privilege, which, if you are a considerate and conscientious person, you will not be willing to lose.
16. Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, the friends of God generally, of Bible times, and good men of all ages, have set you the example of this practice.
17. Jesus Christ has purchased for you the privileges of public worship, at an infinite sacrifice—the shedding of his own precious blood.
18. By your habitual and serious attendance on the worship of God, you will encourage the ministers of the gospel in their labors.
19. The more you attend on public worship, with a proper spirit, the more you will love to do it.
20. Habits of church going are a strong bond of salutary influence on civil society.
21. They humanize and refine men, by the very neatness, cleanliness and frugality they promote.
22. They promote good order, decency and respectableness of deportment and morals, comfort, and correct sentiments, on all subjects, social and civil, as well as moral and religious.
23. The preaching of the gospel of Christ, the sacred music, and the prayers of Christ's house, tend to subdue the ruder feelings, awaken humane and tender associations, suppress or expel the violent passions, and promote in a man's character, "whatsoever is lovely and of good report."
24. Public worship is the grand means for sustaining christianity in this world.
25. God has put high honor upon it in all ages of the world, consequently
26. To neglect and undervalue it, is a high offence against Him.
27. God has in this appointment displayed infinite wisdom; and your disregard of it practically denies the wisdom of God in the appointment.
28. The prevalence of habits of attendance on public worship among all the people of this country, would be one of the most promising features in our national character, and one of the surest guarantees for our national safety and prosperity.—Therefore,
29. Whatever your station; private citizen or ruler, constituent or legislator; honor God, and seek the public good, by maintaining and promoting this practice.
30. And consider this, that if you do neglect and undervalue this means of public benefit, you do, as an unwholesome member of the body politic, contribute your example and influence towards the injury of the moral character and interests of this country.
31. Attendance on public worship will promote in you tenderness of conscience in regard to vice, of every kind.
32. It will withdraw you from temptations to violate the Sabbath by worldly business, or reading, or thought, or by frequenting places of idle and vicious resort.
33. It will promote in youth that reverence for God which will be salutary in its influence upon your whole character.
34. Since there is such a thing as RELIGION, if you expect ever to have experience of it in your soul, surely the promotion of it and the promotion of its influence in your character must be expected through the public services of the Sabbath.
35. By indifference to this means of good, you shew yourself to be far from God, holiness and hope of heaven.

35. You will in all probability, violate the Sabbath in other ways, by idleness, visiting, hunting, fishing, vicious company, drinking, or by labor, travelling, &c.

36. Also you will cut yourself loose from many salutary restraints; lay yourself open to the temptations of the devil and your own sinful hearts to stray from God and to destruction. Also

37. You will in all probability neglect the Bible, prayer, serious meditation, preparation for death and for eternity. Also

38. You will have no taste for the society of the truly virtuous and christian, but on the contrary will be inclined to shun them.

39. You will grieve the hearts of the friends of virtue and of God.

40. The more you neglect public worship, the more you will be disinclined and averse to attend upon it.

41. You will try to disbelieve in and neglect all religion.

42. You will shut out the Holy Spirit from your soul as a Renewer and Sanctifier.

43. Your neglect of the public worship of God, living in a christian land, makes you a more absurd character than the heathen themselves; for they profess to worship some God, or Gods; but you worship no God, true or false.

44. And of course you forfeit your claim to be considered even a nominal, much less a real christian.

45. You keep yourself aloof from two of the most powerful means of salutary influence on your conscience and manner of life,—prayer and preaching.

46. It is not probable that you will long lead even a decently moral life.

47. Your family, if you have one, is not likely to be long a moral family.

48. Those neighborhoods in which public worship is neglected, are, generally speaking, immoral neighborhoods.

49. Neglecting public worship, you place yourself among those who live most thoughtless of God, and fearless respecting the things before them in eternity.

50. You help to dishonor God, promote practical atheism, and curse the world.

51. You make yourself a discouragement and a grief to those who preach the gospel.

52. You contribute your example and influence towards heathenizing your family, neighborhood, town, county, State and the world.

53. You show yourself capable of the most base ingratitude towards a merciful God, in return for one of his kindest and best provisions for your eternal good.

54. You undervalue and throw away privileges, for the lack of which millions are perishing; and for your doing which they will "rise up in the judgment and condemn you."

55. Remember, that for neglect of this solemn duty and precious privilege, "God will bring thee into judgment." And

56. That you will mourn and weep in eternity, at the recollection of Sabbath and sanctuary privileges, here slighted, and despised, and thrown away for "the pleasures of sin."

But we find some who, when we ask after their habits of attendance on public worship, answer, "we attend at such or such a place, when we attend any where." They try to pacify conscience by occasional attendances, "few and far between." And we add for the consideration of such,

57. If the gospel is worth hearing one Sabbath, it is worth hearing every Sabbath.

58. If God is worthy of worship one Sabbath, He is worthy of it every Sabbath.

59. An unsteady and infrequent attendance on public worship is little better than none; for there is no regular recurrence of the influence of religious ordinances to keep up a steady counteraction of the temptations and unholy influences which surround you in this world. You lose ground, in all moral and spiritual respects, faster than you gain it.

60. And another difficulty in this unsteady and infrequent attendance on public worship; you lay yourself open to the mortification, when you do attend, as its being a new and strange thing, for you. Far better have it so much your habit to attend, that your absence, instead of your presence, shall be esteemed the new and strange thing. Have you certain wise reasons or excuses which you have been in the habit of giving, perhaps for years, for not attending public worship? We have not time nor room to answer them. All we say is,

61. Put to yourself one question—enough to sweep them all away, viz: will they answer my purpose, "before the judgement seat of Christ," "at the last Day?"

And 62. Be aware of this, that a righteous God will not give you long time to spend in reasoning against so plain a duty, and in inventing vain excuses for neglect of Sabbath and sanctuary privileges: they will very soon be beyond thy reach forever. "What thou doest do quickly."

More reasons we might give you, reader: but here are more than sixty; are not these enough? Will you require us to show you every possible reason, before you will be persuaded? Again we ask, will you candidly and seriously consider these? Will you establish for yourself the practice of regular and conscientious attendance on the worship of God? WILL YOU BEGIN NEXT SABBATH?

Our prayer shall be, that God will incline your heart to do it; bless you in it; and prepare you by his grace, for the services of the Sabbath which is everlasting, for the worship of the sanctuary "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

## PRESENTIMENT.—W. C. Bryant.

Oh, father! let us hence—far, hark!  
A fearful merriment shakes the air;  
The clouds are coming swift and dark—  
What herald shapes they wear!  
A winged spirit sails the sky;  
Oh, father—father, let us fly!

'Hush, child!—but as the father spoke,  
Downward the livid firebolt came;  
Close to his ear the thunder broke—  
And, hasted by the flame,  
The child lay dead! while dark and still  
Swept the swift cloud along the hill.

## AFRICAN, OR, AS MORE APPROPRIATE, AMERICAN SLAVERY.

For the Watchman and Journal.

Among the numerous suggestions which our molasses subject presents, for further consideration, nothing strikes us as more appropriate, in the course of its discussion, than an inquiry into the nature and definition of human happiness, and how, and to what extent, it may be effected by the political indulgence or restraint of conscientious volition.

Despite the many elaborate definitions with which lexicography and metaphysics have clothed it, happiness must be a knowledge to consist simply in an agreeable consciousness, or in a pleasant performance of the animal, moral & intellectual functions; its ratio, meanwhile, being, directly, as the number of functions has employed. He, therefore, who aspires to the maximum of attainable happiness, should, not only cultivate successfully his physical health, but should promote a luxuriance of intellectual vigor, competent to the investigation of all useful truth, and to the entire subjection of his animal and moral propensities, to objects of rational utility. The above definition, is, perhaps, as incontrovertibly consonant with the natural law of man as it is consonant with the principles and practice of human slavery. While the animal propensities of the slave, from the habitual negation of motive to intellectual enterprise, must be predominantly developed, they are, alone, from the nature of his restraints, successfully cultivated; so that he, who should stand forth in the pride of conscious manhood, contemplating nature with the blissful enthusiasm of grateful admiration, and its author, with a soul consecrated to piety and heaven—gathering gladness from his multiplied associations, and a full harvest of the delights of reciprocal sympathy, sits, a melancholy, atheistical misanthrope, brooding contempt of life and hatred of mankind. Beasily are his pleasures, yet human are his griefs. Does an individual, thus situated, subsolve the highest interests of human destiny? Do his contributions, to the common stock of human happiness, demand a grateful recognition—and is his warmest vocal benediction but a lisping response of the ecstasy of participation?

While the freeman is exhilarated with the inspiring consciousness that he may enter upon this high vocation unprospered, and complete, for happiness, with the world, in the achievement of the dignity, and in wielding the attributes, of exalted humanity, the slave must yield to an unnatural exertion, which annihilates his manhood, and merges his sympathies in the profanity of deepest imprecation.

Nature having recognized reciprocity of indulgence and restraint—of duties and obligations—as indispensable to successful civil polity, the incompatibility of slavery, as well as distinction of caste, with its permanent prosperity, is legitimately and unavoidably deduced. Every attempt, therefore, to show the right of one individual to hold his fellow in a state of involuntary bondage, under the present constitution of man, should be rejected as a perversion of logic, and an insult to the common understanding; and a political compact, which recognizes the right of one individual to enslave another, is an outrage against the injunctions of nature, and the true policy of civil institutions; and is, therefore, abrogated by its own deformity. Nothing can preserve a constitution, thus defective, but brutal stupidity, arbitrary physical force, or the most imminent expediency—nor will its injustice fail to recoil upon its perpetrators, in the character of heaven's heaviest and most righteous retribution. Human slavery, whether of blacks or whites, being consonant with the moral constitution of man—generated in his worst propensities, and continued for their diabolical gratification, must be, forever, equally incompatible with his happiness and safety: under any construction, of which it is susceptible, slavery, as a political or civil recognition, is not only paradoxical and nugatory, but, incontrovertibly, a palpable breach of the moral law. It is subversive of every principle of ethical philosophy, and a heresy against nature's impartiality.

Education, of some sort, has been, almost universally, and from time immemorial, admitted as essential to human happiness, and yet so imperfectly has its character been investigated, and its utility understood, that reason, which is the product of judicious cultivation—the highest characteristic of our species, and that, only, which renders man worthy of immortality—has been, hitherto, incompetent to prevail in a contest for superiority against selfishness and superstition.

All history, civil, political, sacred and profane, bears concurrent testimony to man's arrogance, ostentation and love of power, while his disgraceful servility, to the influence of wealth, has rendered him, proverbially contemptible, with the votary of science, and the inheritor of common sense. Nor have the sober admonitions of prophetic wisdom, nor the caustic raileries of the sharpest satire, succeeded in disengaging him from an ignominious reverence of the name of gold, nor from an impious sacrifice, of his better faculties, upon mammon's unholy altar: Yet, with all his delinquencies, he should escape the charge of polytheism—his unqualified devotion to

the god of wealth, presenting indubitable evidence of his entire forgetfulness of the God that made him.

Such is the self-styled demigod, who prelates, upon his crime blanched complexion, an affinity to his maker which he denies to those of a deeper shade, and arrogates dominion over his fellow men; luxuriating in rotten magnificence, upon the miseries and lacerations of these, less worthless than himself. Nor is history less clamorous upon the consequences of this sacrilegious worship, than upon its legitimate progeny, human slavery. Love of wealth & its inordinate possessions have begotten, throughout the semibarbarous and misnamed civilized communities of the world, the avengers of their own guilt. The who's catalogue of moral and civil delinquencies may claim filial consanguinity with those progenitors of evil; nor will they fail to demolish those engines which sustain dominion, until imbecility yields to that superiority which necessity will have engendered in the slave, in spite of the trammels which tyranny may have imposed upon him. And yet, he who is thus renovated to the character and political functions of a man, from an adoption of the vices by which he was liberated, will be, sooner or later, infallibly involved in the same catastrophe with his late oppressor. The finger of fatality has thus inscribed, upon the map of human history, a political circle, in which the apostate, from reason and nature, must revolve, in perpetual contest, for the unenviable notoriety of becoming the most conspicuously contemptible; for such should be the character of him, who would prostitute his resources and enslave his fellow man, in subserviency to either his parsimony, or love of ostentation.

It has been already suggested that man is to be distinguished, from other animals, much less by his general anatomical structure than by superiority of intellect; hence, the more or less perfect development of reason, its highest functionary, cannot be indifferent to human happiness, which is the ultimate object of all voluntary effort.

Reason, highly developed, and happily associated with a due degree of reverence for the proper attributes of Divinity, constitutes that provident wisdom which clearly apprehends the adequate means of happiness, not in the beneficence sacrificed by procrastination: But, when not thus associated, with high respect for moral virtue, it degenerates to an undignified, impotent, or mischievous cunning, demoralizing or criminal suggestions, and in annoying the delicacy of more exalted sentiment—almost unlooked perversion of man's highest attribute.

If human happiness is augmented by an expansion and judicious application of intellect, as all must acknowledge who admit the truth of spiritual immortality, (since the mind, alone, is worthy of an infinite provision,) the common stock of happiness should be augmented, by the universal and appropriate exercise of individual resources. Every human being, therefore, who possesses a capacity, for intellectual improvement, and is arbitrarily prohibited its voluntary exercise, may justly charge its unhappy consequences upon the injustice of usurpation: and unless the African, who is held to involuntary servitude, is incapable of mental improvement, which is a question yet at issue, he, who has assumed the responsibility of master, must have accumulated a debt, of fearful aggregate, to settle with his conscience and his God.

To be continued.

## LETTERS TO CATHERINE E. BEECHER.

Brookline, Mass., 6 month, 17th, 1857.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

In this letter, I would call thy attention to my explanation of what abolitionists mean by immediate emancipation. I say thy explanation, for I never saw such a perverted one from any of thy pens, and I am very certain thou didst not get it out of my appeal. I never heard any abolitionist say that slaveholders were physically unable to emancipate their slaves, and of course are not bound to do it, because in some States there are laws which forbid emancipation. This is truly what our opponents affirm, but we say that all the laws which have been made to sustain the horrible system of slavery are unjust, cruel and oppressive—that they are contrary to the fundamental principles of morality, and, therefore, are null and void, and not binding upon any slaveholder, under any circumstances whatever. Suppose the Texans were to legalize land-stealing or highway robbery, would such laws be binding? certainly not—ask any lawyer if they would be, and he will tell thee no! Why? because such laws are violations of fundamental morality. Can a State, then, rightfully legalize man-stealing? Certainly not, and that for the same reason. Certainly, not, and that for the same reason. This principle of freedom is embedded in our very nature as moral beings—it is the voice of God in our souls, and man must become deeply depraved before he can deny this right to any human being. He has become so in this hypocritical nation, or no professor of religion, at any rate, would doubt for one moment the duty of the slaveholder to "let the oppressed go free," notwithstanding the man-made laws which slaveholders have themselves enacted to bind their own hands and ease their own conscience.

But there is another light in which abolitionists view the subject. We contend, that all the slaveholding laws are not only contrary to fundamental morality, but are direct violations of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States. In the preamble of that far-famed instrument, I find

that the great objects for which it was framed were "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to us and to our posterity." The slave laws are flagrant violations of these fundamental principles. Slavery destroys justice, promotes the welfare of a few to the manifest injury of the poor defenceless slaves, and robs many of the posterity of our forefathers of the blessings of liberty. This cannot be denied, for Paxton says in his work on slavery, "the best blood in Virginia flows in the veins of slaves!" Yes, even the blood of a Jefferson. And every southerner knows, that it is a common thing for the posterity of our forefathers to be sold on the vendue tables of the South. The posterity of our forefathers are advertised in American papers as runaway slaves. Such advertisements often contain expressions like these, "has sometimes passed himself off as a white man," "has been mistaken for a white man, &c."

Now, thou wilt perceive, that, so far from thinking that a slaveholder is bound by the immoral and unconstitutional laws of the Southern States, we hold that he is solemnly bound as a man, as an American, to break them, and that immediately and openly, as much so, as Daniel was to pray, or Peter and John to preach. We promulgate no such man-stealing doctrine as that set forth by thee—when we talk of immediate emancipation, we speak that we do mean, and the slaveholders understand us, if thou dost not.

Here, then, is another point in which we are entirely at variance, though the principles of abolitionists are "generally adopted by our opposers." What shall I say to these things, but that I am glad thou hast afforded me an opportunity of explaining to thee what our principles really are, for I apprehend what thou hast not sufficiently informed in regard to the feelings and opinions of abolitionists, even as to the A B C of their christian doctrines.

It matters not to me what Dictionaries or standard authorities mean by immediate emancipation. My Dictionary is the Bible, my standard authors, prophets and apostles.—When Jehovah commanded Pharaoh to "let the people go," he meant that they should be immediately emancipated; he did not mean that the monarch must first make out a legal instrument and issue his royal proclamation, and then set them at liberty. I read his meaning in the tremendous judgments which followed in rapid succession Pharaoh's repeated and obstinate refusal to "let the people go." I read it in the universal emancipation of near 300,000 of Israelites in one awful night. When the prophet Isaiah commanded the Jews "to loose the bands of wick doers, to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke," he meant to teach no gradual or partial emancipation, but immediate, universal emancipation. When Jeremiah said, "Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor," I apprehend that he meant his commands to be obeyed immediately. And so also with Paul when he exhorted masters to render unto their servants that which is just and equal. Obedience to the command would immediately overturn the whole system of American Slavery, for liberty is justly due to every American citizen, according to the laws of God and the Constitution of our country, and a fair recompense for his labor is what every man is entitled to.—Slaveholders know this just as well as we do; hence the following assertion in a speech, delivered by John C. Calhoun in Congress, 1833. "He who earns the money—who digs it out of the earth with the sweat of his brow, has a just title to it against the Universe. No one has a right to touch it without his consent, except his government, and it only to the extent of its legitimate wants; to take more is robbery."

Our fundamental principle is right, that no man can rightfully hold his fellow men as property, then it follows, of course, that he is bound immediately to cease holding him as such, and that in violation of the immoral and unconstitutional laws which have been named for the express purpose of "turning aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of the people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless." Every slaveholder is bound to cease to do evil, to emancipate his slaves now.

But it may perhaps be asked, what I mean by emancipation. I will endeavor to explain myself in a few words. 1. It is "to reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man." 2. To pay the laborer his hire, for he is worthy of it. 3. No longer to deny him the right of marriage, but to "let every man have his own wife," as saith the apostle. 4. To let parents have their own children, for they are the gift of the Lord to them, and no one else has any right to them. 5. No longer to withhold the advantages of education and the privilege of reading the Bible. 6. To put the slave under the protection of law, instead of throwing him beyond its salutary influence.

Now I would ask, why all this may not be done immediately—and which of these things is to be done next year, and which the year after, and so on. Ought they not to be done now, without any reference to human laws? If so, then our immediate emancipation means, doing justice and loving mercy to-day, and this is what we call upon every slaveholder, in the name of the Lord, to do, though like the prophet of old, we may have to exclaim in the bitterness of our souls, "Who hath believed our report, and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?"

I have seen too much of slavery to be a gradualist. I dare not, in view of such a system, tell the slaveholder, that "he is physically unable to emancipate his slaves." I say he is able to let the oppressed go free, and that such heaven-daring atrocities ought to cease now, henceforth and forever. Thou wilt excuse my earnestness on this point, because my very soul is grieved to find a northern woman thus sewing pillows under all arm holes, framing and fitting soft excuses for the slaveholder's conscience, whilst with the same pen she is professing to regard slavery as a sin. An open enemy is better than such a secret friend.

Hoping thou mayest soon be emancipated from such inconsistency, I remain until then,

Thine out of the bonds of christian abolitionism.

A. E. GRIMKE.

A Boston editor denominates Texas the great valley of rascals.

It is better not to quarrel—but if you quarrel or dispute, deep your temper. The cold hammer fashions the hot iron into any shape you will.

## Congress.

### DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

On the bill to postpone the payment of the Fourth Instalment of the Deposits to the States.

Tuesday, Sept. 14, 1857.

Mr. Webster rose, and said that the importance of the present crisis, and the urgency of this occasion was such as to lead him earnestly to desire that some measures of adequate relief might come from the quarter which alone had the power to effect any thing, by the majority it commanded. Much as I differ from them, (said Mr. W.) I would be glad to accept any measure of substantial relief which they might bring forward. I think, sir, I see such a necessity for relief as never before, within my recollection, has existed in this country, and I regret to be obliged to say that the measures proposed by the President, in his message to Congress, and reiterated by the Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to the same body, only regard one object, and are, in their tendency, only directed to one branch of partial relief. "The evils, however, under which the community now suffer, (said Mr. W.) though related, and of the same family, are yet capable of distinct consideration. In the first place, there are the wants of the Treasury, arising from the stoppage of payments and the falling off of the revenue. This is an exigency requiring the consideration of Congress; it is an evil threatening to suspend the functions of at least one Department of the Government, unless it be remedied. Another, and a greater evil is, the prostration of credit, the interruption brought upon all business transactions, arising from the suspension of all the local banks throughout the country, with some few and trifling exceptions.—Hence has proceeded a prostration of the local currency, and a serious obstruction and difficulty thrown in the way of buying and selling. A third want is, the want of an accredited paper medium, equal to specie, having equal credit over all parts of the country, capable of serving for the payment of debts and carrying on the internal business of the country throughout and between the different and distant sections of this great Union. These three evils, though they are co-existent and cognate in their being, cannot be met by the same measures of relief; if relief is given to the one, it does not follow that you will relieve the others; if you replenish the Treasury, and thus bring a remedy to that evil, this brings no relief to the disordered currency. And again: if the local currency is relieved, it does not supply the other want, namely, that of a universally accredited medium.

It has, no doubt, struck the country generally that the most important objection to the Message is, that it says nothing about relief to the country, directly and mainly; the whole amount of the proposition it contains relates to the Government itself; the interest of the community is treated as collateral, incidental, and contingent. So in the communication made by the Secretary of the Treasury, the state of the currency, the condition in which the commerce and trade of the country now are, is not looked at as a prominent and material object. The Secretary's report, as well as the Message itself, exclusively regards the interest of the Government, forgetting, or passing by the People. The outpourings in quantity, which are very considerable in quantity, are under seven heads, the exact number of the seven evils of which we read; but the contents of none of these is connected or prepared in reference to the benefit of the community; all the medicine is intended for the Government Treasury, and there is none for the sickness and disease of society, except collaterally, remotely, and by-the-by. It is, however, to the credit of the President that he has given, in an unequivocal and intelligible manner, his reasons for not recommending a plan for the relief of the country, and they are that, according to his view, it is not within the constitutional province of Government. I confess, (said Mr. W.) this declaration is to me quite astounding, and I cannot but think that, when it comes to be considered, it will produce a shock upon the whole country. This avowed disregard of the public distress, upon the ground of alleged want of power; this exclusive concern for the interest of Government and revenue; this broad line of distinction now, for the first time, drawn between the interests of the Government and the interests of the People, must certainly present a new era in our politics.—For one, (said Mr. W.) I consider Government as but a mere agency; it acts not for itself, but for the country; the whole end and design of its being is to promote the general interests of the community. Peculiar interests, selfish interests, exclusive regard for itself, are wholly incompatible with the objects of its institution, and convert it from its true character as an agency for the People, into a separate dominant power, with purposes and objects exclusively its own.

Holding, Mr. President, opinions on this subject, and being prepared to stand by and maintain them, I am certainly rejoiced at the clear shape which the question has at last assumed. Now, he that runs may read; there are none but can see what the question is: is there any duty incumbent on this Government to superintend the actual currency of the country? has it any thing to do beyond the regulation of the gold and silver coin? In that state of mixed currency which existed when the Constitution was formed, and which has existed ever since, is it or is it not a part of the duty of the Government to exercise a supervisory care and concern over that which constitutes by far the greater part of that currency?

In other words, may this Government abandon to the States & to the local banks,