

From the Enquirer.
EXPOSITION—Exposed.

[BY A VIRGINIAN.]

Are we never to have peace?—Is discord eternally to rage in the Republican ranks?—Some hopes were entertained, that the caucus would bring healing under its wings; that as soon as the public mind had settled down in favor of Mr. Monroe, all oppositions and contentions would cease. But there are some persons not so easily satisfied. They cannot forget the ambitious dreams they had formed, or forgive the man who has dispelled them. If they cannot succeed, they may hope to wound—If they cannot gratify their ambition, they may glut their Revenge.

This passion is as dark in its means as it is in its designs. It shrinks from an open attack, but deals its blows in the dark. When it attacks the person, it wields the muffled dagger of the assassin. When it strikes at reputation, it throws out whispers to set other tongues in motion. When it seeks the Press, it conceals itself under some anonymous signature. As it is base enough to do a mean action, it has not spirit enough to avow it.

Of this stamp, is a small pamphlet which has lately appeared from Jonathan Elliott's press at Washington entitled—"Exposition of the motives for opposing the nomination of Mr. Monroe for the office of President of the United States." Ten thousand copies are said to be ready "to be dispersed throughout the nation, to justify the conduct of Fifty Four Democratic Members of Congress, who opposed James Monroe as next President in the late Caucus at Washington."

"By whom" this wretched piece "was begotten," it is not charitable enough to inform us. There is no name signed to it. See the art of the writer. He wishes us to believe, that it was sanctioned by the fifty four dissentients; when there is not one of them "disposed to put his name to it. So far from its being the act of fifty four persons, we are told that it was written by one member of Congress, corrected by another, and handed by a third to the printer.

The same cowardice did not distinguish the conduct of those who opposed the election of Mr. Madison eight years ago. They produced a formal protest also—"exposing their motives for opposing his nomination"—but neither did they shrink from the exposition of their names. The instrument was signed, sealed, openly delivered to the people. Those men went upon the broad ground of political opposition. These, upon the mean principle of personal revenge.

There is, indeed, some prudence in this policy. If the arrow hits, they may come forward and claim it as their own. If it fails, the hand that shot it will be concealed. If the attack succeeds, they will be the first to partake of the triumph—If it fails, they may be the first to crouch at the feet of the man they had attempted to stab.

Yet no blow could be weaker, than the one which is now aimed. It has not even the merit of novelty to enforce it. It is but the thrice told tale of federal politicians again dressed up. All the slang which has been uttered for years against Virginia Influence, and the Virginia Succession, is once more repeated. Having no weapons of their own, these men are obliged to take up such as they had once combatted themselves. They are doomed to repeat what has been so often refuted; and still more mortifying to their pride, what they have themselves refuted.—No wonder that the federal prints are so willing to return the compliment which is paid them—and that they are again uttering the counterfeit coin which had originally issued from their mint.

It is not then, because the blow is dreaded; but because there is so little effort to interest the public mind, that a few hasty remarks are given to the Exposition. If better game had offered in view, one would not willingly hunt the feeble hare.

The Exposition opens the matter with stating that

"The objection to Col. Monroe as a candidate for the Presidency was twofold: First, as it regarded the policy which presented him for adoption to that high station; Secondly, as it respected his particular qualifications for the chief magistracy.

"On the first point, the following con-

siderations, founded upon facts universally known, seemed irresistibly to prescribe his exclusion: The present Constitution has been in operation about 27 years, during the whole of which term (excepting four years) the President has been from the state of Virginia. This monopoly of the first post in the government, so far from being considered by the Virginians as an encroachment on the fair claims of the other sections of the Union, has, by dexterous sophistry been converted into an argument to prove, that those who question the propriety of continuing power for so long a time in the same hands, are only guided by ambition, or impelled by factious motives; as if the tenacity with which a few men in that state, cling to the presidential succession, were not in itself an admonitory indication in them of the most ardent and unquenchable thirst for power. But this feature of local policy, odious as it is, would not have awakened a spirit of indignant resistance, had it not been apparent, that in order to insure its success, the whole weight of the republican party for fifteen years past, had been artfully wielded to cut it from the popular respect and estimation the most distinguished characters in other parts of the United States. To support this assertion, it is only necessary to recur to a few facts within the recollection and observation of every politician who has been on the public stage."

It is the "policy which presents" Mr. Monroe, that forms the first objection to him. This policy seems to be characterized as a "local policy" on the part of Virginia, to monopolize "the first post in the government."

Now is this the fact?—Have we any proof that such policy does exist in Virginia? The Expositor does not prove it—but wishes to infer it from another fact, that, with the exception of four years, "the President has been from the state of Virginia."

It would not be right to argue in this way, even if it were true that it is Virginia alone who chooses the Chief Magistrate—for it might have been true that she was anxious to chuse three of her own citizens, without being so to extend the selection. Virginia might have been anxious, that Washington, Jefferson and Madison and Monroe should be chosen, because they were qualified to serve the state—when their race was run, her choice might have fallen upon the other states. Has she pressed any one upon her sisters, who was not qualified? The impartial world says no—but, till she proceeds to these arrogant lengths, until the only question with her is, not, who is the most worthy, but who is a Virginian?—It is not fair to ascribe her preference to local feelings, or local policy.

It is still less so, when it is recollected that her voice alone does not chuse—that Virginia alone does not dictate Presidents to the Union. On this question, the voice of the Union is heard—no man becomes President who has not the majority of votes in his favor. The success of her sons, therefore, quiets all doubts—it proves that she is not misguided in her choice by any partialities, that it is not she alone, but a majority of the votes in the Union, which deems Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, to have been the best qualified to serve the nation. It proves another fact beyond dispute, that if there were any established policy to concede the monopoly of the first post in the government to the Virginians, it is not a local policy, but the policy of the majority of the Union. But such an assertion would be as ridiculous, as it is false—how then can the argument be true in one sense, & not in the other? How can the other states be cleared from the imputations of such a policy—and yet Virginia alone be guilty of it? Why infer it from the single fact that the President has been from the state of Virginia? when the other states have equally contributed to produce the fact? But they are clear from such a policy—Why then charge it to Virginia alone? Where then is this "encroachment" about which so much is said? It is no encroachment on the Constitution, because it does not forbid the act—nor on the principles of the Republic, because it was done by the will of the majority—nor, on the fair claims of the other sections of the Union, because, if they had any, they have waived them.

This charge of ambition would have been a more feasible one, if there had been no other means of accounting for this "Virginia Succession," as it has been termed. But this is a good rule, in state as well as philosophy, to call in no other causes for a phenomenon,

than such as are true, and sufficient to explain it. We have already seen, that the reason assigned by the other side is not demonstrably true; we will now see, if there are not reasons sufficient without it. Why, then, have three Presidents been chosen from Virginia? Why have other states tallied with her in this particular?

As soon as the Constitution was framed, every eye naturally turned to Gen. Washington as the first Chief Magistrate. Was this ambition? During his administration, two parties began to appear. One of them turned their views to John Adams;—the other to Thomas Jefferson. The last was the most distinguished man, who was on the republican side. He owed this distinction, not to his Virginia birth, but to his services and talents. The sword of Washington had conquered in the field; the pen of Jefferson had triumphed in the cabinet. He had penned the Declaration of Independence—and was one of the greatest Statesmen who had sprung from the Revolution. It is true that Mr. Adams was elected President: but the next election placed Mr. Jefferson in the chair. Was this Virginia ambition?

When his eight years were about to expire, the eyes of the nation looked anxiously for his successor. Where was he to be found? Many of the great men, whom the Revolution had produced, had gone off the stage—Green and Franklin, and Laurens, and Samuel Adams, had sunk into the tomb. Some, who survived, had not shone in the Cabinet; and some, as Hamilton, and King, and Jay, were supposed to have strayed from the paths of their country's interest. Madison stood pre-eminent. He had shone amid the storms of the Revolution; he had proved himself the faithful interpreter of the Constitution he had contributed to frame; his heart was pure. The majority of the Republicans selected him as their candidate; and he was chosen because he was deemed best qualified for the appointment. Was this ambition?

In fact, the Revolutionary School has always been preferred. The race of men whom it has reared, will soon pass away; but they were tried, and they are trusted. Was this ambition? Whether the qualifications of Mr. Monroe are such as to forbid his success, will, hereafter, be examined.—At present, we will confine ourselves to the proofs, which are given by the Exposition, of the means which Virginia has taken to gratify her alleged ambition.

(To be continued.)

NEW-YORK GENERAL BIBLE SOCIETY.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Every person of observation has remarked that the times are pregnant with great events. The political world has undergone changes stupendous, unexpected, and calculated to inspire thoughtful men with the most boding anticipations.

That there are in reserve, occurrences of deep, of lasting, and of general interest, appears to be the common sentiment. Such a sentiment has not been excited without a cause, and does not exist without an object. The cause is to be sought in that Providence which adapts with wonderful exactitude, means to ends; and the object is too plain to be mistaken by those who carry a sense of religion into their speculations upon the present and future condition of our afflicted race.

An excitement, as extraordinary as it is powerful, has roused the nations to the importance of spreading the knowledge of the one living and true God, as revealed in his Son, the Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus. This excitement is the more worthy of notice, as it has followed a period of philosophy, falsely so called, and has gone in the track of those very schemes, which, under the imposing names of reason and liberality, were attempting to seduce mankind from all which can bless the life that is, or shed a cheering radiance on the life that is to come.

We hail the re-action, as auspicious to whatever is exquisite in human enjoyment, or precious to human hope. We would fly to the aid of all that is holy, against all that is profane; of the purest interest of the community,

the family and the individual, against the conspiracy of darkness, disaster and death, to help on the mighty work of Christian charity—to claim our place in the age of Bibles.

We have, indeed, the secondary praise, but still the praise of treading in the footsteps of those who have set an example without a parallel—an example of the most unbounded benevolence and beneficence: And it cannot be to us a source of any pain, that it has been set by those who are of one blood with the most of ourselves; and has been embodied in a form so noble and so Catholic, as "The British and Foreign Bible Society."

The impulse which that institution, ten thousand times more glorious than all the exploits of the sword, has given to the conscience of Europe, and to the slumbering hope of millions in the regions and shadow of death, demonstrates to Christians of every country what they cannot do by insulated zeal; and what they can do by co-operation.

In the United States we want nothing but concert to perform achievements astonishing to ourselves, dismaying to the adversaries of truth and piety; and most encouraging to every evangelical effort, on the surface of globe.

No spectacle can be so illustrious in itself, so touching to man, or so grateful to God, as a nation pouring forth its devotion, its talent, and its treasures, for that kingdom of the Saviour which is righteousness and peace.

If there be a single measure which can overrule objection, subdue opposition, and command exertion, this is the measure. That all our voices, all our affections, all our hands, should be joined in the grand design of promoting "peace on earth and good will to man"—that they would resist the advance of misery—should carry the light of instruction into the dominions of ignorance; and the balm of joy to the soul of anguish; and all this by diffusing the oracles of God—addresses to the understanding, an argument which cannot be encountered; and to the heart an appeal which its holiest emotions rise up to second.

Under such impressions, and with such views, fathers, brethren, fellow-citizens, the American Bible Society has been formed. Local feelings, party prejudices, sectarian jealousies, are excluded by its very nature. Its members are leagued in that, and in that alone, which calls up every hallowed & puts down every unhallowed principle—the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required. In such a work, whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true, has ample scope;—while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenue of admission.

The only question is, whether an object of such undisputed magnitude can be best attained by a National Society, or by independent associations in friendly understanding and correspondence.

Without entering into the details of inquiry, we may be permitted to state, in a few words, our reasons of preference to a National Society supported by local Societies, and by individuals throughout our country.

Concentrated action is powerful action. The same powers, when applied by a common direction, will produce results impossible to their divided and partial exercise. A national object unites national feeling and concurrence. Unity of a great system combines energy of effect with economy of means. Accumulated intelligence interests and animates the public mind: and the Catholic efforts of a country, thus harmonized, give her place in the moral convention of the world; and enable her to act directly upon the universal plans of happiness which are now pervading the nations.

It is true, that the prodigious territory of the United States—the increase of their population, which is gaining every day upon their moral cultivation—and the dreadful consequences which will ensue from a people's outgrowing the knowledge of eternal life; and reverting to a species of heathenism, which shall have all the address and profligacy of civilized society, without any religious control, present a sphere of action, which may for a long time employ and engross the cares

of this Society, and of all the local Bible Societies of the land.

In the distinct anticipation of such an urgency, one of the main objects of the American Bible Society, is, not merely to provide a sufficiency of well printed and accurate editions of the Scriptures; but also to furnish great districts of the American continent with well executed Stereotype plates, for their cheap and extensive diffusion throughout regions which are now scantily supplied, at a discouraging expense; and which, nevertheless, open a wide and prepared field for the reception of revealed truth.

Yet, let it not be supposed, that geographical or political limits are to be the limits of the American Bible Society. That designation is meant to indicate, not the restriction of their labor, but the source of its emanation. They will embrace, with thankfulness and pleasure, every opportunity of raying out, by means of the Bible, according to their ability, the light of life and immortality, to such parts of the world, as are destitute of the blessing, and are within their reach. In this high vocation, their ambition is to be fellow-workers with them who are fellow-workers with God.

People of the United States!

Have you ever been invited to an enterprise of such grandeur and glory? Do you not value the Holy Scriptures? Value them as containing your sweetest hope; your most thrilling joy!—Can you submit to the thought that you should be torpid in your endeavors to disperse them, while the rest of Christendom is awake and alert? Shall you hang back, in heartless indifference, when Princes come down from their thrones to bless the cottage of the poor with the gospel of peace; and Imperial Sovereigns are gathering their fairest honors from spreading abroad the oracles of the Lord our God? Is it possible that you should not see, in this state of human things a mighty motion of Divine Providence? The most Heavenly Charity trends close upon the march of conflict and blood! The world is at peace! Scarce has the soldier time to unbend his helmet, and to wipe away the sweat from his brow; ere the voice of mercy succeeds the clarion of battle, and calls the nation from enmity to love! Crowned heads bow to the head which is to wear "many crowns;" and, for the first time since the promulgation of Christianity, appear to act in unison for the recognition of its gracious principles, as being fraught alike with happiness to man, and honor to God.

What has caused so strange, so beneficial an alteration? This is no doubt the doing of the Lord, and it is marvellous in our eyes. But what instrument has he thought fit chiefly to use? That which contributes, in all latitudes and climes, to make Christians feel their unity, to rebuke the spirit of strife, and to open upon them the day of brotherly concord—the Bible! the Bible! through Bible Societies!

Come, then, fellow-citizens, fellow-Christians, let us join in the sacred covenant. Let no heart be cold; no hand be idle; no purse reluctant!—Come, while room is left in the ranks whose toil is goodness, and whose recompense is victory. Come cheerfully, eagerly, generally. Be it impressed on your souls, that a contribution, saved even from a cheap indulgence, may send a Bible to a desolate family; may become a radiatory point of "grace and truth" to a neighborhood of error and vice; and that a number of such contributions made really at no expense, may illumine a large tract of country, and successive generations of immortals, in that celestial knowledge, which shall secure their present and their future felicity.

But whatever be the proportion between expectation and experience, thus much is certain: We shall satisfy our conviction of duty—we shall have the praise of high endeavors for the highest ends—we shall minister to the blessedness of thousands, and tens of thousands, of whom we may never see the faces, nor hear the names.—We shall set forward a system of happiness which will go on with accelerated motion and augmented vigour, after we shall have finished our career; and confer upon our children, and our children's children, the delight of seeing the wilderness turned into a fruitful field, by the blessing of God upon that seed which their fathers sowed, and