

SPECIAL OF

Mr. RAYNER, of N. Carolina,

On the Bill proposing to distribute annually, among the several States, the proceeds of the Sales of the Public Lands; delivered in the House of Representatives of the U. States, July 6th, 1841.

CONTINUED.

The gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Wise,) took the ground, in his argument, on yesterday, that the General Government had never yet been reimbursed by the sale of these lands, for the expense incurred in their purchase, survey, and sale; and that, including the expense of Indian wars, the land fund was many millions of dollars in debt to the Government. Now, sir, is this a fair standard, by which to estimate the relative benefits and burthens, which the purchase of the western territory has entailed on this Government? What was the motive, which induced the General Government to purchase Louisiana and Florida? Was it one of pecuniary gain? Was it for the purpose of securing a fund to supply revenue? Was it with a view to lessen the burthens arising from the duties on foreign importations? Does any one believe—does the gentleman from Virginia believe—that such an idea ever entered the heads of those, who conceived and executed the project of purchasing Louisiana and Florida?

Mr. Wise. I do say, that one of the main objects which induced to the purchase of this territory, was its value, in a pecuniary point of view.

Mr. R. Then I can only express my surprise, that one who usually takes such liberal and comprehensive views of great questions of national policy, as the gentleman from Virginia, should look at this in such a narrow and contracted light—as a mere matter of pecuniary speculation. No, sir; no such sordid calculating motive actuated those who administered the Government, when they purchased this territory. They were stimulated by far higher and more patriotic considerations. National safety, national honor, national glory was the aim—Here was an immense frontier, extending from the source to the mouth of the Mississippi, dividing us from numberless tribes of hostile Indians. Here was a limit placed to our power and civilization. Here was a foothold, from which the enemies of our country and our institutions might forever harass and annoy us. Here was an obstruction to the commerce of the great valley of the Mississippi. Here was the free and exclusive navigation of the great father of waters, not only denied us, but likely to prove a source of endless litigation. Here was a flourishing colony on our south western border, belonging to one of the mightiest powers of Europe, and that governed by the great captain of modern times, who threatened to subjugate the world to his dominion. By the purchase of Louisiana, all the dangers likely to result from these difficulties were averted—free scope given to the progress of our power, our institutions, and our glory, as far west as the Pacific; and an enduring fountain of prosperity, wealth, and comfort, opened to our enjoyment. These blessings cannot be estimated by dollars and cents. They can only be measured by national glory, which is beyond value and beyond price. As remarked by my friend from Maryland, (Mr. Johnson,) if this extensive territory had been as barren as Sahara's vast desert—yet, if the soil had been firm enough to bear the feet of an enemy, a hundred millions would not have been too great a price for its acquisition.

If, then the object of the General Government, in the purchase of the western territory, was not pecuniary gain—as it certainly was not; if it has been more than a hundred fold compensated for in the cost, in the acquisition of strength, power, safety, and glory, as well as other endless sources of revenue; why will you continue to talk about the cost of these lands, in dollars and cents? Why will you insist upon "disposing" of these lands in such a way as will reimburse the Government, in a pecuniary point of view, for the expense incurred in the purchase? This argument is based on the ground, that this Government, in all its great national movements, should be actuated by the sordid selfishness and exactness of calculation, of a broker at his counter, or a merchant on exchange.

If you wish to know whether this Government is reimbursed for the expense of the purchase of the western territory, go to the west, and behold the hundreds of steamboats, richly freighted with the commerce of a thousand streams, pouring their treasures into the great depot at the mouth of the Mississippi. Behold the mansions of elegance and comfort, gracing the margin of that noble stream. Behold the hands of civilization and enterprise, diffusing the blessings of comfort and of ease among thousands of our kindred freemen. Cross the great river, and behold your national banner floating from the spires of St. Louis. Listen to the anthems of our religion chanted, where the nomad tribes that sweep the prairies, would have annoyed us with their endless forays. Behold your power and your civilization tending westward—your laws and your institutions scattering quiet and contentment in their progress. No, sir, you need not go to the west; cast your eye around this hall, and behold the members from the extreme west, from distant Missouri, from the burning climate of Louisiana, and the cold region of Maine, mingling in council, with their brethren of the Atlantic coast. Look at this, I say, and then see, if you can find in your hearts, to calculate all these considerations by a standard of dollars and cents. Then ask yourselves, if you will continue to talk about this land fund still being in debt to this Government.

The gentleman from Maine read to us a calculation, which he says, was prepared at the Treasury Department, from which it appears, that, taking into account all the expense of purchase, survey, and sale of these lands, together with the cost of Indian treaties and other Indian relations, there is a balance due the General Government of

some fourteen millions of dollars, after striking a balance between this sum total of expense, and the whole amount received from the sales of these lands. Now, I have attempted to show, that the original purchase money should not be taken into account; that the object of the purchase was not pecuniary gain; that it was national safety, national convenience, national power and character; and that the Government has, in these respects, been compensated beyond the power of money to bestow. Neither ought the amount of the purchase-money paid to the Indians, to be included in stating this account. The object of these purchases from the Indians, was not solely to obtain their lands: much of it was paid for the purchase of peace, for the purpose of restoring safety and quiet on our frontiers—Much of it was paid to arrest the uplifted tomahawk; for affording to the pioneer the comfort of his home; for securing to infancy the quiet of its slumber; for arresting the starting tear in the anxious mother's eye. These are also beyond all price, and cannot be estimated by dollars and cents. The item of Indian relations, such as treaties, pensions, agencies, &c., ought not to have been included in this computation. Are the expenses attending these, in consequence of either the cession or purchase of western lands? Certainly not, sir. If the old States had never ceded one foot of land, and all that vast territory were a waste wilderness, still we should have had a frontier extending from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico, with tribes of hostile Indians congregated on our border, requiring, at all times, the anxious attention of this Government—Suppose this Government had never purchased Louisiana and Florida, why we should still have had a frontier extending from the Lake of the Woods to the mouth of the St. Mary's. We must still have maintained the same policy towards the Indian tribes; negotiated for their trade and friendship by treaty; purchased their quiet by presents and pensions; dealt with them by agencies, &c. So that, if we had never acquired the western domain, either by cession or purchase, this item of Indian relations would have been, to this day, a permanent annual charge upon the Treasury.

But if gentlemen will state the account, by an estimate of dollars and cents, let them do it correctly. Whilst the land fund is charged with many items of expense improperly, which never grew out of either cession or purchase, but which, as I have attempted to show, would have existed in the absence of either, one large item with which it should be credited, has been omitted altogether—mean the bounties to our Revolutionary soldiers, and to the families of those who fell in the last war. These bounties, arising from our gratitude and justice, if not paid from these lands, must have been satisfied from some other sources of revenue, and, to that extent, have saved the Treasury from a drain of—I know not exactly how much—but an amount of many millions. The calculation of the gentleman from Maine and Virginia is entirely fallacious. It is based upon the idea, that every great question of national policy and national honor is to be measured by a standard of money—of dollars and cents. Their estimate savors too much of the counting-house, to receive countenance in the Representative Hall of the nation. I wish to take a more elevated view of this subject; I wish to look at it in connexion with the motives to that policy in our early history, which has led to our present greatness; and also in connexion with the results that are likely to flow from it, in time to come.

The gentleman from Maine insists, that the power to dispose of the public lands, means the power to dispose of them by sale, for the purpose of raising a revenue to support the Government. Where does he get such a rule of construction from? Does he derive it from any other clause of the Constitution? If so, where is it? Webster, in his dictionary, defines "to dispose" as meaning "to apply to a particular purpose; to give; to place; to bestow; to part with; to alienate; to part with to another; to put into another's hand or possession." The gentleman's construction must then be entirely arbitrary—assumed merely to answer an especial purpose. He says this property belongs to the Government, and not the Federal Union. The gentlemen are correct, so far as relates to the lands acquired by purchase. They do belong to the Government, free of all incumbrance; and the Government being authorized by the Constitution to dispose of them, has the undoubted right, according to the definition of Webster, to "give, bestow, or part with" them to the States.

(Continued on 2d page.)

State of North Carolina—Burke County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, July Term, 1841.

William M. Carson, and Jonathan L. Carson, Adm'rs. with the Will annexed of John Carson, dec. and George M. Carson.

versus Joseph McD. Carson, Charles Carson, Rebecca Carson, Sidney S. Erwin and wife Caroline, James Smith and wife Emily, James and Samuel Carson, Sarah Robinson, Sarah Smith, Rebecca McEntire, James Wilson, Ruth Wilson, Mary Wilson and Matilda Wilson.

An application to prove the last Will and Testament of John Carson, dec'd. in due and solemn form.

It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court in this case, that the Defendants Sidney S. Erwin and wife Caroline, James Smith and wife Emily, James Carson, Samuel Carson, Ruth Wilson, Mary Wilson and Matilda Wilson are non-residents and live without the jurisdiction of this Court: It is therefore ordered, adjudged and decreed that publication be made for six weeks in the Weekly Raleigh Register, published at Raleigh, North Carolina, and in the Highland Messenger, published at Asheville, North Carolina, summoning the said Defendants to appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be opened and held for the County of Burke, at the Court-house in Morganton, on the third Monday after the fourth Monday in September next, to see proceedings touching the probate of the last Will and Testament of John Carson, deceased, in solemn form.

Witness, J. J. Erwin, Clerk of our said Court, at Office, on the third Monday in July, 1841, and in the sixty-sixth year of American Independence.

CONGRESSIONAL WHIG MEETING.

At a meeting of the Whig members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 27th Congress of the United States, held in the City of Washington, on the 11th of September, 1841—

The Hon. NATHAN F. DIXON, of Rhode Island, on the part of the Senate, and the Hon. JEREMIAH MORROW, of Ohio, on the part of the House, were called to the Chair, and KENNETH RAYNER, of North Carolina, CHRISTOPHER MORGAN, of New York, and RICHARD W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, were appointed Secretaries.

Mr. MANGUM, of North Carolina, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved That it is expedient for the Whigs of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States to publish an Address to the People of the United States, containing a succinct exposition of the prominent proceedings of the Extra Session of Congress, of the measures that have been adopted, and those in which they have failed, and the causes of such failure; together with such other matters as may exhibit truly the condition of the Whig party and Whig prospects.

Resolved, That a Committee of three on the part of the Senate, and five on the part of the House, be appointed to prepare such Address, and submit it to a meeting of the Whigs on Monday morning next, the 18th instant, at half-past eight o'clock.

And the question being taken on said resolutions, they were unanimously adopted.

Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed said Committee: Messrs. Berrien, of Georgia, Tallmadge, of New York, and Smith, of Indiana, on the part of the Senate; and Messrs. Everett, of Vermont, Johnson, of Ohio, Kennedy of Maryland, John C. Clark, of New York, and Rayner, of North Carolina, on the part of the House.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1841.

The meeting assembled, pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following Address:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The Extra Session of Congress has, at length, been brought to a close. The incidents which belong to the history of this Session, and especially those which have marked its termination, are of a nature to make so strong an impression upon the country, and to excite so much interest in the future action and relations of the Whig party, that the Whig Representatives in both Houses of Congress have thought it their duty, before separating, to address their constituents with a brief exposition of the circumstances in which they conceive themselves to be placed by the events which have recently transpired.

This Session of Congress was called as almost the first measure of that illustrious and lamented citizen whose election to the Presidency was no less significant of the general sentiment of condemnation of the acts of the preceding Administration, than it was expressive of a wish for an immediate and radical change in the public policy. The improvidence of those who had just been expelled from power had rendered it inevitable; and the country hailed the meeting of a new Congress as the sure pledge of relief from all those evils which the disastrous incompetency of the men at the head of affairs had brought upon it.

The People desired the early adoption of the policy which had been promised them by the Whig party. That policy had been brought to the consideration of the country throughout a contest of nearly twelve years' duration, maintained with unexampled devotion; and its principles were illustrated by the precepts and practice of the most eminent and patriotic of our citizens in every form by which they were able to address themselves to the intelligence of the People. No one misapprehended these principles; they were identified with the labors of that great party whose unparalleled success was both the token and the reward of the general confidence of the nation. They promised reform—

1st. In the restraint of Executive power and patronage;

2d. In the wholesome regulation of the currency and the advancement of the interests of industry; and

3d. In the establishment of an economical administration of the finances.

They proposed to accomplish the first of these objects by limiting the service of the President to a single term; by forbidding all officers of the Government from interfering in elections; and by a voluntary self-denial, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, in that excessive use of the Veto power which had recently become so offensive to the country as an instrument of party supremacy.

They hoped to achieve their next object by the establishment of a National Bank; by an adjustment of the system of duties upon a moderate and permanent scale, adapted as nearly as practicable to the interest, and conformable with the views of every portion of the Union; by the establishment of a uniform system of bankruptcy; and by the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands amongst the States—a measure recommended not only by considerations of justice to the States themselves, but also by a sad experience of the embarrassment produced in the currency resulting from the administration of a fund of such variable amount as an item in the ordinary revenues of the Government. The establishment of an economical administration of the finances they expected to attain by cutting down all useless offices; by enforcing a strict accountability of the public agents; and, more conspicuously, by making exact and adequate provision for the ascertainment and eventual liquidation of that public debt which the past Administration had created by permitting their expenditures to overrun their receipts, and which they had concealed from public observation by the easy device of repeated issues of Government notes.

These were the prominent points to which the policy of the Whig party had been directed, and which constituted the great issues before the country in the recent Presidential election. We are aware that our adversaries in that contest now deny these issues, founding their denial chiefly upon the fact that no formal manifesto was put forth to declare the terms upon which we insisted. We chose rather to appeal to the widely diffused knowledge of our principles which had

been impressed upon every man's mind in that long struggle of years gone by; with which one party had been identified, and of which its very name was an exponent.

It need not be said that, in a representation spread over a territory of such extent as that comprehended by our Union, and exhibiting interests so diversified, what might be called the characteristic principles of the Whig party, throughout this wide sphere, should be subject to occasional modifications, dependent upon local influences; and that it was incumbent, therefore, upon the party to move together in a spirit of mutual concession and accommodation of sectional differences of opinion. It need not be told that, in the system of measures which we have enumerated, conflicting views might naturally exist between the Representatives of distant portions of our Republic, and that only by the yielding of minor interests to the establishment of the general good, entire harmony was to be obtained in the action of Congress. This was natural, and to be expected. But we felt a proud consciousness that in the patriotism of the party all such difficulties would vanish, and that the demands of an enlarged welfare would be met and fulfilled, through the virtue of that spirit of compromise and forbearance, that liberal and comprehensive sentiment of self-denial and concession, which rests at the heart of our confederacy, and which constitutes the living principle of our union.

Before the appointed day arrived for the meeting of Congress, and at the expiration of but one short month from the date of its inauguration, our beloved President was snatched from us by the grasp of death: too soon for the happiness of his country, but not too soon to awaken in our bosoms a deep and awful sense of the irreparable loss which we have sustained in the deprivation of a great and good man—not too soon to convince us how low and how bitterly our country is doomed to deplore this heavy misfortune. In this our calamity, we hoped to find consolation in the character and principles of him whom the Constitution had designated to fill the office of the departed chief. It is true, that towards that individual, even at the moment of his selection for the Vice Presidency, no very earnest public attention had been directed; and it is equally true that but a passing regard was bestowed upon the current of his previous life and opinions. We only knew him as one professing to be a member of the Whig party, and as seeking to identify himself with those great leaders of that party whose opinions and principles were deeply engrained in the most conspicuous acts of our political history, and were read and understood by every citizen in the land. In this connection, where he had sought to be prominent, we ascertained what we conceived, and what doubtless he meant, to be a pledge of faithful adherence to the cardinal doctrines for which we struggled, and with which the hopes of the country were indissolubly bound up. We hoped to find consolation also in the fact that his accession to the Presidency brought him into communion and intimate political fellowship with the chosen vanguard of the Whig party—the first selection made by General Harrison of a Cabinet, distinguished for its paramount ability, integrity, and fidelity to the glorious cause in which we had conquered—a Cabinet eminently crowned with the public confidence, in whom all men trusted as in the very embodiment of the principles of the party to which they belonged; who were inseparably associated with its glory, and in whose generous and honorable relation to the President we had the security of wise and prosperous counsels, and he the pledge of a co-operation which should enable him to accomplish all that the nation desired. These hopes were still further enlivened by the encouraging tone in which the President referred, in his first address to the nation, to the "ever glorious example" afforded him by the Fathers of the great Republican school, and the declaration of his determination to walk in the way they pointed out.

In the indulgence of these hopes, Congress entered upon its labors. But adopting rules for the despatch of business conformable to the emergency of an extra session, and in view of the great amount of legislation which the times required, we have been enabled to have achieved all, and even more than all, that our constituents could have demanded at our hands. The leading and great measures of this session have been under discussion, in Congress and out of it, for many years past, and little remained to be said beyond a repetition of former debates.—There was nothing in the circumstances or position of either party in Congress to require, or even to justify, protracted discussions; and the majority, therefore, felt themselves entitled to give to the extra session the character of a Congress of action and decision, rather than one of debate; and we feel assured that in this effort we have done no more than respond to the just expectations of the People.

First in urgency amongst the bills passed during the session, and that to which the public command most imperatively drew the notice of Congress, was the repeal of the sub-Treasury Law. Our next care was the enactment of the Land Bill. This was followed by an act converting the Debt which the preceding Administration had entailed upon the country into a Loan of twelve millions of dollars, which is limited for its redemption to a period of three years. Associated with this measure was the Revenue Bill, rendered necessary not only not as a provision towards the extinguishment of the loan, but also as indispensable for the supply of means to meet the ordinary and necessary appropriations of the year. The Bankrupt Act, so earnestly and so long solicited by a large and meritorious class of our citizens, has been passed under circumstances which cannot but reflect the highest honor upon the Representatives of many sections of the country. As a measure standing alone, it might perhaps have been destined to a further delay; but being brought, as it was, into that series of measures which were supposed to embrace the scheme of relief which the nation at large required, it met from a Whig Congress that support of which the chief argument and highest value are derived from the respect which every one felt to be due to a

comprehensive policy, whose scope should include every interest in the nation. It is a trial for the benefit of the country, and remains to be altered, or improved, as the public wants may hereafter be found to require. The importance, in the present posture of our affairs, of attending to the national defenses suggested the measures of establishing a Home Squadron, of repairing and arming the Fortifications, of providing for the defence of the Lakes; and of bringing the nation at large into a state of readiness against hostile aggression—in regard to which measures, as great unanimity prevailed in Congress, we may safely assure ourselves they will meet the undivided approbation of our constituents throughout the whole Union.

This rapid review, fellow-citizens, will exhibit what we have done. What we have failed to do remains to be told. It is with profound and poignant regret that we find ourselves called upon to invoke your attention to this point. Upon the great and leading measure touching this question our anxious endeavors to respond to the earnest prayer of the nation have been frustrated by an act as unlooked-for as it is to be lamented. We grieve to say to you that, by the exercise of that power in the Constitution which has ever been regarded with suspicion, and often with odium, by the People—a power which we had hoped was never to be exhibited, on this subject, by a Whig President—we have been defeated in two attempts to create a Fiscal Agent, which the wants of the country had demonstrated to us, in the most absolute form of proof, to be eminently necessary and proper in the present emergency. Twice have we, with the utmost diligence and deliberation, matured a plan for the collection, safe-keeping, and disbursing of the public moneys through the agency of a corporation adapted to that end, and twice has it been our fate to encounter the opposition of the President, through the application of the veto power. The character of that veto in each case, the circumstances in which it was administered, and the grounds upon which it has met the decided disapprobation of our friends in Congress, are sufficiently apparent in the public documents and the debates relating to it. This subject has acquired a painful interest with us, and will doubtless acquire it with you, from the unhappy developments with which it is accompanied. We are constrained to say that we find no ground to justify us in the conviction that the veto of the President has been interposed on this question solely upon conscientious and well-considered opinions of constitutional scruple as to his duty in the case presented. On the contrary, too many proofs have been forced upon our observation to leave us free from the apprehension that the President has permitted himself to be beguiled into an opinion that, by this exhibition of his prerogative, he might be able to divert the policy of his Administration into a channel which should lead to new political combinations, and accomplish results which must overthrow the present divisions of party in the country, and finally produce a state of things which those who elected him, at least, have never contemplated. We have seen, from an early period of the session, that the Whig party did not enjoy the confidence of the President. With mortification we have observed that his associations more sedulously aimed at a free communion with those who have been busy to prostrate our purposes, rather than those whose principles seemed to be most identified with the power by which he was elected. We have reason to believe that he has permitted himself to be approached, counselled, and influenced by those who have manifested least interest in the success of Whig measures. What were represented to be his opinions and designs have been freely, and even insolently put forth in certain portions, and those not the most reputable, of the public press, in a manner that ought to be deemed offensive to his honor, as it certainly was to the feelings of those who were believed to be his friends. In the earnest endeavor manifested by the members of the Whig party in Congress to ascertain the details of such a bill relating to a Fiscal Agent as would be likely to meet his approbation, the frequent changes of his opinion and the singular want of consistency in his views have baffled his best friends; and rendered the hope of adjustment with him impossible.

Secondly, early in the session, called upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the plan of a Fiscal Agent. The result of this call was a bill which was reported in detail, with an argument in its favor, and it was, as we had a right to regard it, received by all as the bill of the President. In fact, it was known to contain provisions, in reference to the assent of the States, which corresponded with the private opinion of no member of the Cabinet. This bill the President had even informed more than one member of the House he would be willing to sign if passed by Congress; yet it contained provision for local discounting, in regard to which his Veto Message affirms his objection to be altogether insuperable. The plan of an Exchange Bank, such as was reported after the first Veto, the President is understood by more than one member of Congress to whom he expressed his opinion, to have regarded as a favorite measure. It was in view of this opinion, suggested as it is in his first Veto, and after using every proper effort to ascertain his precise views upon it, that the Committee of the House of Representatives reported their second bill. It made provision for a bank without the privilege of local discounting, and was adapted, as closely as possible, to that class of mercantile operations which the first Veto Message describes with approbation, and which that paper specifically illustrates by reference to the "dealings in the exchanges" of the Bank of the United States in 1833, which the President affirms "amounted to upwards of one hundred millions of dollars." Yet this plan, when it was submitted to him, was objected to on a new ground. The last Veto has narrowed the question of a bank down to the basis of the sub-Treasury scheme, and it is obvious from the opinions of that message, that the country is not to expect any thing better than the exploded sub-Tre-

asury, or some measure of the same character, from Mr. Tyler.

In the midst of all these varieties of opinion, an impenetrable mystery seemed to hang over the whole question. There was no such frank interchange of sentiment as ought to characterize the intercourse of a President and his friends, and the last persons in the Government who would seem to have been entrusted with his confidence on those embarrassing topics were the constitutional advisers which the laws had provided for him.

In this review of the position into which the late events have thrown the Whig party, it is with profound sorrow we look to the course pursued by the President. He has wrested from us one of the best fruits of a long and painful struggle, and the consummation of a glorious victory: he has even perhaps thrown us once more upon the field of political strife, not weakened in numbers, nor shorn of the support of the country, but stripped of the arms which success had placed in our hands, and left again to rely upon that high patriotism which for twelve years sustained us in a conflict of unequalled asperity, and which finally brought us to the fulfillment of those brilliant hopes which he has done so much to destroy.

In this state of things, the Whigs will naturally look with anxiety to the future, and inquire what are the actual relations between the President and those who brought him into power; and what, in the opinion of their friends in Congress, should be their course hereafter. On both of these questions, we feel it to be our duty to address you in perfect frankness and without reserve; but, at the same time, with due respect to others.

In regard to the first, we are constrained to say, that the President, by the course he has adopted in respect to the application of the veto power to two successive bank charters, each of which there was just reason to believe would meet his approbation; by his withdrawal of confidence from his real friends in Congress and from the members of his Cabinet; by his bestowal of it upon others notwithstanding their notorious opposition to leading measures of his Administration, has voluntarily separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elevated to that office through which he reached his present exalted situation. The existence of this unnatural relation is as extraordinary and mortifying. What are the consequences and duties which grow out of it?

The first consequence is, that those who brought the President into power can be no longer, in any manner or degree, justly held responsible or blamed for the administration of the Executive branch of the Government; and that the President and his advisers should be exclusively hereafter deemed accountable. But, as by the joint acts of Providence and the People he is constitutionally invested with the powers of Chief Magistrate, whilst he remains in office he should be treated with perfect respect by all. And it will be the duty of the Whigs, in and out of Congress, to give to his official acts and measures fair and full consideration, approving them and co-operating in their support where they can, and differing from and opposing any of them only from a high sense of public duty.

The more important question remains to be touched. What ought to be the future line of conduct of the Whig party in the extraordinary emergency which now exists? They came into power to accomplish great and patriotic objects. By the zeal and perseverance of the majorities in Congress, some of the most important of those objects have been carried at the extra session—Others yet remain to be effected. The conduct of the President has occasioned bitter mortification and deep regret. Shall the party, therefore, yielding to the sentiments of despair, abandon its duty, and submit to defeat and disgrace? Far from suffering such dishonorable consequences, the very disappointment which it has unfortunately experienced should serve only to redouble its exertions, and to inspire it with fresh courage to persevere with a spirit unsubdued and a resolution unshaken, until the prosperity of the country is fully re-established, and its liberties firmly secured against all danger from the abuses, encroachments, or usurpations of the Executive department of the Government.

At the head of the duties which remain for the Whigs to perform towards their country stands conspicuously and pre-eminently above all others—

First. A reduction of the Executive power, by a further limitation of the Veto, so as to secure obedience to the public will, as that shall be expressed by the immediate Representatives of the People and the States with no other control than that which is indispensable to avert hasty or unconstitutional legislation.

By the adoption of a single term for the incumbent of the Presidential office.

By a separation of the Purse from the Sword, and with that view to place the appointment of the Head of the Treasury in Congress; and

By subjecting the power of dismissal from office to just restrictions, so as to render the President amenable for its exercise.

Second. The establishment by Congress of a fiscal agent competent to collect, safely keep, and disburse the public moneys, to restore the currency, and to equalize the exchanges of the country; and

Third. The introduction of economy in the administration of the Government, and the discontinuance of all sinecures and useless offices.

To the effectuation of these objects ought the exertions of the Whigs hereafter to be directed. Those only should be chosen members of Congress who are willing cordially to co-operate in the accomplishment of them. Instead of striking our flag, let it be reared still higher, with a firmer hand, bearing upon its folds in conspicuous letters, "THE WILL OF THE NATION, UNCONTROLLED BY THE WILL OF ONE MAN; ONE PRESIDENTIAL TERM, A FRUGAL GOVERNMENT, AND NO SUB-TREASURY, OPEN OR COVERT, IN SUBSTANCE OR IN FACT; NO GOVERNMENT."

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