NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

LETTERS FROM THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

[CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.]

QUALLA TOWN, (N. C.) MAY 15, 1848.

Qualla Town is a name applied to a tract of seventy-two thousand acres of land, in Haywood county, which is occupied by about eight hundred Cherokee Indians and one hundred Catawbas. Their district is mountainous from one extremity to the other, and watered by a number of beautiful streams, which abound in fish; the valleys and slopes are quite fertile, and the lower mountains are well adapted to grazing, and at the same time are heavily timbered and supplied with every variety of game. This portion of a much larger multitude of aborigines, in consideration of their rank and age, and of valuable services rendered to the United States, were permitted by the General Government to remain upon their native soil, while the great body of the Cherokee nation were driven into exile. They (the exiles) amounted in all to more than sixteen thousand souls, *eighteen hundred and fifty* having died on their way to the "*promised land*" beyond the Mississippi. And here it may with propriety be added that since the removal those in the West have gradually decreased in numbers, while the remaining portion have steadily increased by births at the rate of four per cent. per annum. In addition to the Indians above mentioned, it ought to be stated that there is a remnant of two hundred still remaining in the county of Cherokee; of these, however, I know but little, and therefore purpose to confine my remarks to those of Qualla Town alone.

The Indians of this district, having formed themselves into a regular company, with appropriate regulations, they elected an old friend of theirs, named WILLIAM H. THOMAS, (mentioned in my last letter,) to become their business chief, so that the connexion now existing between the two parties is that of father and children. What the result of this arrangement has been will be fully understood when I come to speak of the advance which the Indians have made in the march of civilization. As they are organized at the present time, the Qualla Town people are divided into seven clans, and to each clan is assigned what is called a town, over each of which presides a regular chief. The Cherokee nation was originally divided into seven clans, which were probably descended from certain noted families, and the old party feeling is still preserved with jealous care among their descendants in this vicinity. The names of the clans are: In-e-chees-quah, or Bird Clan; In-egil-lohee, or Pretty-faced Clan; In-e-wo-tah, or Paint Clan; In-e-wah-he-yah, or Wolf Clan; In-e-se-hoonih, or Blue Clan; In-e-co-wih, or Deer Clan; and In-e-eo-te-ca-wih, the meaning of which is not known. And among the customs which prevail among these clans is one which prevents their marrying among themselves, so that they have to select their wives from a neighboring fraternity. Formerly such marriages were prohibited by penalty of death.

With regard to the extent of their civilization and their existing manner of life, the following may be looked upon as a comprehensive summary: About three-fourths of the entire population can read in their own language, and, though the majority of them understand English, a very few can speak the language. They practise, to a considerable extent, the science of agriculture, and have acquired such a knowledge of the mechanic arts as answers them for all ordinary purposes, for they manufacture their own clothing, their own ploughs and other farming utensils, their own axes, and even their own guns. Their women are no longer treated as slaves, but as equals; the men labor in the fields, and their wives are devoted entirely to household employments. They keep the same domestic animals that are kept by their white neighbors, and cultivate all the common grains of the country. They are probably as temperate as any other class of people on the face of the earth, honest in their business intercourse, moral in their thoughts, words, and deeds, and distinguished for their faithfulness in performing the duties of religion. They are chiefly Methodists and Baptists, and have regularly ordained ministers, who preach to them on every Sabbath, and they have also abandoned many of their mere senseless superstitions. They have their own courts, and try their criminals by a regular jury. Their judges and lawyers are chosen from among themselves. They keep in order the public roads leading through their settlement. By a law of the State they have the right to vote, but seldom exercise that right, as they do not like the idea of being identified with any of the political parties. Excepting on festive days, they dress after the manner of the white man, but far more picturesquely. They live in small log houses of their own construction, and have every thing they need or desire in the way of food. They are, in fact, the happiest community that I have yet met with in this Southern country, and no candid man can visit them without being convinced of the wickedness and foolishness of that policy of the Government which has always acted upon the opinion that the red man could not be educated into a reasonable being.

By way of giving my readers a correct idea of the present condition of the Carolina Cherokees I will describe a visit that I paid to one of their churches on the Sabbath. I was anxious to see how far they were advanced in the ways of Christian instruction, and, though I noticed many little eccentricities, I was, upon the whole, very much pleased with what I saw and heard. I was accompanied by Mr. THOMAS, and we reached the rude but spacious log meeting-house about eleven o'clock. The first hour was devoted to instructing the children from a Cherokee Catechism, and the chiefs of the several clans were the officiating teachers. At twelve o'clock a congregation of some one hundred and fifty souls was collected, a large proportion of whom were women, who were as neatly dressed as could be desired, with tidy calico gowns, and fancy handkerchiefs tied over their heads. The deportment of all present was as circumspect and solemn as I have ever witnessed in any New England religious assembly. When a prayer was offered they all fell upon their knees, and in singing all but the concluding hymn they retained their seats. Their form of worship was according to the Methodist custom, but in their singing there was a wild and plaintive sweetness which was very impressive. The women and children as well as the men participated in this portion of the ceremony, and some of the female voices reminded me of the carroling of birds. They sung four hymns, three prayers were offered by several individuals, and two sermons or exhortations were delivered. The prayers were short and pointed, and, as the shortest might be considered a fair specimen of the others, I will transcribe it for the edification of my readers:

"Almighty Lord, who art the father of the world, look down from heaven on this congregation. Bless the Indians, and supply them with all the food and clothing they may want; bless, also, the white men, and give them every thing they may need. Aid us all, O Lord, in all our good works. Take care of us through life, and receive us in heaven when the world shall be burnt up. We pray thee to take care of this young white man who has come to this Indian meeting. Protect him in all his travels, and go with him to his distant home, for we know by his kind words that he is a friend of the poor, ignorant, and persecuted Indian. Amen."

The first preacher who addressed the meeting was a venerable man, *Big Charley*, and he took for his text the entire first chapter of Genesis; but, before proceeding with his remarks, he turned to Mr. THOMAS and wished to know if he should preach with the "*linguister*," or interpreter, for the benefit of the young stranger. I told him no; but requested Mr. Thomas to take notes, and, through his kindness, it is now my privilege to print the substance of that Cherokee sermon. It was as follows:

"In the beginning of creation the world was covered with water. God spake the word and the dry land was made. He next made the day and the night; also the sun, moon, and stars. He then made all the beasts and birds and fishes in the world, and was much pleased. He wanted some one to take care of all these creatures, and so he made man, and from his body a woman, to help him and be his companion. He put them into a beautiful garden, which was filled with all kinds of good things to eat, but told them that there was one fruit they must not touch. That fruit was an apple, I believe. The woman was not grateful to God, and when a wicked serpent told her she might eat of the beautiful fruit which she was so curious to taste, she did eat of it, and gave some to the man, and he took some too. God talked with the man about his wicked conduct, and told him that he and his children should always have to work very hard for all they had to eat, so long as they lived in the world; and to the woman, God said, she must always suffer very much when she had children, and that the man should be her master. The man and woman were then turned out of the beautiful garden, and they were the father and mother of all the Indians in the world, as well as of the white men and the black men. They had a great many children, and the world was very full of people. The people were very wicked, and God warned a good man that he intended to destroy the world by covering it all with water, and that this good man must build a large boat like a house, and get into it with his family, that they might not perish. The people laughed at this good man for believing such a story; but he took into his house two kinds of all the animals in the world, and the waters came, so the world was destroyed. After many days the good man sent out a dove to find some land, but it could not find any and came back. He sent it out again, and it never returned, and soon the great house rested on the top of a high mountain. Another race of people then covered the earth; and a great many good men lived upon the earth. One of the greatest of them it was who received from God the *ten commandments*, which direct all men how to be good and happy; but the world was yet very wicked. Long after this God sent into the world his only Son, whose name was Jesus Christ. This wonderful being it was who gave up his own life that all the wicked of the world might be saved, and the justice of God be satisfied; and so it is that all the Indians, as well as the white men, who live like Jesus Christ, can get to heaven when they die."

In delivering his sermon the preacher occupied about thirty minutes; and the above facts were cemented together by a great number of flowery expressions, which made it quite poetical. His manner was impressive, but not particularly eloquent. After he had taken his seat, and a hymn had been sung, a young man stepped into the rude pulpit, who has distinguished himself by his eloquence. His name is Tekin-neh, or the Garden of Eden He spoke from the same text, and his remarks bore chiefly on the redemption by Christ. At the conclusion of his address he gave a sketch of his own religious experience, and concluded by a remarkably affecting appeal to his hearers. His voice, emphasis, and manner were those of a genuine orator, and his thoughts were poetical to an uncommon degree. In dwelling upon the marvellous love of the Saviour, and the great wickedness of the world, he was affected to tears, and when he concluded there was hardly a dry eye in the house.

After the benediction had been pronounced, Mr. THOMAS delivered a short address to the meeting on Temperance and a few secular matters, when the Indians quietly dispersed to their several homes. I retired to my own temporary home, deeply impressed by what I had seen and heard, for my pride had been humbled while listening to the rude savage, whose religious knowledge was evidently superior to my own.

ANAGRAM.

With such a glorious name
As that of ZACHARY TAYLOR,
'Twould be a burning shame
For Whigs to suffer failure.
Why should we now, at this late day,
HIS Whiggery bring in doubt,
Of whom 'tis only truth to say
That EVERY LETTER OF HIS NAME
Join'd in the universal shout
Of "'Za to Harry Clay?"

Then let us all
Our country's call
With one accord obey;
And while we still,
With right good will,
Shout "'ZA TO HARRY CLAY,"
The SELF-SAME LETTERS shall proclaim,
In spite of foe or railer,
Inscribed on rolls of endless fame
The name of ZACHARY TAYLOR.

PATAPSCO FEMALE INSTITUTE,
Near Baltimore, Md.

THE PRINCIPAL, Mrs. LINCOLN PHELPS, has had long experience in directing a literary institution, and is well known to the public from her former connexion in the Troy (N. Y.) Seminary with her sister, Mrs. Emma Willard, as the author of Lincoln's Botany, and of a series of works on Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, &c., of sundry works on the subject of Education, &c.

The Patapsco Female Institute is situated within five minutes' walk of the depot of the railroad in the vicinity of Ellicotts' Mills, Md., ten miles west of Baltimore, with which, as with Washington, there is a constant communication, both by railroads and turnpikes. The building for the accommodation of the School is of dressed granite, erected in a chaste style of architecture, at an expense of $27,000. The present Principal, aided by the advice and assistance of her husband, the Hon. JOHN PHELPS, has expended about $5,000 in additions and improvements. The adjacent grounds, consisting of about twelve acres, belonging to the institution, are beautifully situated, and afford many advantages for health and recreation.

The terms for the scholastic year, for board and English education, are $240; no extra charges being made but for ornamental branches, lectures, and foreign languages.

A Board of five Trustees (the Hon. Thomas B. Dorsey, President) have a general oversight of the condition and management of the institution. The Right Rev. Wm. R. Whittingham is visiter. A resident Chaplain, the Rev. Wm. H. Clarke, a graduate of Yale College, is Professor of Mental Philosophy and English Composition. Besides the experienced and excellent Vice Principal, Miss Browne, there are associated in the care, discipline, and instruction of the pupils, nine ladies resident in the family. Mons. Louis F. Levis, a graduate of the University of France, (*licentiate de droit,*) Professor of Modern Languages, resides in the institution, and devotes his time wholly to its interests. There are in regular attendance two distinguished German Professors of the Piano; two English Professors, one of Vocal Music and the Guitar, and one of the Harp and Organ; and a Professor of Drawing and Painting, in water colors and oil; Professor Aiken, of the University of Maryland, is Lecturer on the Physical Sciences. Mr. Henry C. Cornwell is Secretary and Business Agent.

An organization of officers and teachers like the above, with the accommodations provided, entitle the Patapsco Institute to the rank of a College or University for the perfecting of female education in useful and ornamental branches. It is vested, by an act of incorporation, with the power of granting diplomas to those who pass through a prescribed course of study.

Extract from a report of the Right Rev. Bishop Whittingham to the Diocesan Convention of Maryland.

"The late examination of the Patapsco Female Institute has afforded still greater evidence, if more were needed, how competent Mrs. Phelps is to sustain an institution inferior to none in the country of its kind."

The Board of Examiners, consisting of the Hon. Chancellor Johnson, of Maryland, associated with several distinguished gentlemen from this and other States, thus reported, October, 1847:

"The examination which has just closed was so conducted as to satisfy us that the course of instruction is thorough, various, and ample; that what is taught is perfectly understood; and that when a young lady has passed through the classes at the Patapsco Institute, and been imbued with the elevated principles which are there so sedulously inculcated, she is prepared to adorn any station in which it may be her future lot to be placed. In view of the high intellectual and moral culture which, in our judgment, the pupils of the Patapsco Institute enjoy, as well as the unsurpassed salubrity of the climate, the beauty of the scenery, and the conveniences of access with which it is favored, we are persuaded we cannot too strongly commend it to the public patronage."

Extract from a report of the Principal, October, 1847.

"Patrons of various Christian denominations have continued to give the institution their support and friendship; and as a due return, the principles of all are respected. Controversy among us is discountenanced. We endeavor to train up our pupils as *Christians*, relying much on the influence of religious habits and example.

"A Northern school in all its essential features and characteristics, but divested of all that might be offensive to Southern feelings, is planted in a Southern climate."

This Institution is at all times open for the reception of pupils. Those who wish to do so, remain during vacations.

Applications may be made to Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, Ellicott's Mills Post Office, Maryland.

N. B. The services of well qualified teachers for schools and families may usually be obtained by applying to the Patapsco Institute, in which is a *Normal Department*, for the training and improvement of teachers. may 13

TWO LADIES, accustomed to tuition, and who have been for the last three years in the employment of a nobleman in Ireland, are desirous of forming engagements as governesses. They are qualified to instruct in Music, (piano forte,) French, the usual English course, and Writing.

The most satisfactory testimonials can be produced and reference can be given to the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, (the Right Rev. W. R. Whittingham.)

Letters prepaid, addressed to H. J. C., 103 South Paca street, Baltimore, will be duly attended to. july 8—3t

REGISTER OF THE NAVY AND MARINE CORPS, alphabetically arranged, and containing the names of all officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, Military and Civil, commissioned and warrant, who have entered the service since the establishment of the Navy Department in 1798, showing the dates of their original rank and entry, the dates of their successive promotions, and in what manner and when they left the service, if not now in it; containing, also, a revised edition of all the laws in relation to the navy and marine corps, with reference to the "statutes at large," and an index. Compiled from the official records, by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, by Messrs. Mechlin and Winder, 1848. Complete in one volume, large octavo. Price $3. Just issued.

july 8 F. TAYLOR.

Office Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co.
Frederick, June 17, 1848.

THE July interest on the Preferred Bonds of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, issued under the act passed by the General Assembly of Maryland at its December session, 1844, chapter 281, entitled "An act to provide for the completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Cumberland, and for other purposes," will be paid at the Merchants' Bank of Baltimore on the presentation and delivery of the proper coupons. L. J. BRENGLE,
june 19—3taw3w Tressurer Ches. and Ohio C. Co.

CONGRESSIONAL.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 30, 1848.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the bill making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1849—

Mr. J. R. INGERSOLL addressed the Committee as follows: In the early part of the session a plan was brought forward for changing the system of our representation abroad. A bill, not now immediately before us, was formally introduced by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, accompanied by an explanatory report. It contemplates and authorizes an immediate elevation of diplomatic rank of every description; it promotes by wholesale. The representatives of the country, now well enough regulated in Austria, Turkey, and China, under the intelligible names of *Chargé d'Affaires*, *Minister Resident*, and *Commissioner*, are to be exalted according to the dignity of the respective courts to which they are accredited. The *Chargé* in Vienna is to assume the rank of *Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary* in order that he may be the better adapted to his imperial residence. The *Minister Resident* at the Sublime Porte is to be sublimated accordingly into a full Minister, and our present commissioner in the Celestial Empire is to be beatified to a different rank in order that he may be qualified for association with the brother of the sun. No less than fourteen chargés d'affaires are to be converted as by an enchanter's wand into a higher class of functionaries, and three additional ones of this elevated rank are to be provided for.

This is not all. A superlative degree of exaltation is to be built up in a shape happily yet unknown to us in practice, to a level with royalty itself. Ambassadors, which have been wisely regarded as a dead letter in the constitution, are to be introduced into use by express legislation, with an increase of no less than a third of the highest salary and outfit now allowed by law to any minister, and far beyond that of any public servant whatever except the President of the United States. These startling propositions were made at a time when the present developments of the European world were yet laboring in the womb of time. It might have been hoped that, after the great changes on that theatre which have convulsed a whole continent to its centre, and opened new phases of intercourse between the old empires and the new, the whole project would have been permitted to rest, at least until it should be known what forms of society and modifications of government may be evolved, to which it is proposed that we should professedly adapt ourselves.

Mr. I. declared himself to be unwilling to see any of these changes adopted. He should regret the introduction of them under any circumstances. At this moment they would be particularly unfortunate. An entering wedge for them was presented in the shape of a proposed amendment to the bill now immediately under discussion, and it was proper that it should be met and resisted at its earliest stage.

Europe cannot properly be said to be in a state of transition. The comparative order and regularity which that term implies is ill adapted to the chaotic ferment which is actually exhibited. Her condition is rather that of a great volcano, in which the different elements are not merely in agitation but disordered, each upheaved in turn from the lowest depths, all of them struggling for the mastery, and rendering it entirely uncertain which will finally remain upon the surface. Nothing can be more unlike what Milton somewhere calls "transition sweet" than the threatening spectacle that we have the privilege to behold at an uncontaminated distance. To plunge into ill-advised association in new and experimental arrangement with such a chaos were almost as unwise as physically to encounter the outpourings of the volcano itself. A time which, instead of leading us to become converts to their usages, presents every appearance of the sagacious of the old world putting on our habits of simplicity, is altogether unpropitious to the measures suggested. At *any* time they would be more than doubtful in their policy, exposing us as they would do at home and abroad to practical difficulty and danger, and opening a wide door to evil influences and a lessened love of country.

All will concede the increased liability that would at once exist to the influences of Executive patronage. Nothing in a republic deserves to be more carefully watched than this avenue of corruption. Scarcely an office in the gift of the President is deemed so desirable even now as that which enables the citizen to visit foreign countries clothed with the dignity and the privileges of diplomacy. It has been made already, in too many instances, however inadvertently perhaps in the bestower and the receiver, a proof of the extent to which patronage may be extended; and on how many individuals it may be lavished, by merely changing the occupants of a particular place! It would seem as if the Russian mission, for example, had been made, during a long course of years, an occasion for brief visits to a splendid court, and, incidentally, to all other attractive objects of interest and curiosity scattered over the continent. New outfits and new salaries have succeeded each other so rapidly that the names and the uses of them are entirely incongruous. A communication from the Secretary of State to the House of Representatives of May 7, 1838, exhibits the course of succession for some years, and affords a curious specimen of short-lived diplomatic employment. The Legation to St. Petersburgh is described from near the close of the mission of Mr. Middleton until the earlier part of that of Mr. Dallas. The intermediate missions are complete:

John Randolph from June 9, 1830, to July 17, 1831—1 year 1 month and 9 days.

James Buchanan from March 1, 1832, to August 7, 1833—1 year 5 months and 7 days.

William Wilkins from July 1, 1834, to May 2, 1836—1 year 10 months and 2 days.

If you raise the rank and increase the emoluments of these tempting places, you increase proportionally the means of purchasing support, and sapping the foundations of a lofty independence. The proposed plan, besides, greatly adds to the number of retainers, and thickens the dangers of a disastrous influence. Our present most accustomed diplomatic agent goes without any official attendant. The moment you begin to rise in the scale of dignity you begin to create a retinue. Ministers of any known degree have their secretaries, and the only existing *minister resident* from this country is accredited at Constantinople with an official assistant under the name of dragoman. The moment you adopt the title and the functions of *ambassador* you greatly multiply the attendant officials. In imitating the crowned heads of Europe in appointing to this exalted, and, as it is called in the books, *sublime* order of diplomacy, you will not probably withhold the *usual* allowance of authorized attendants. An unusual allowance might somewhat startle us. When Charles X. ascended the throne of France a mission of the highest dignity was fitted out in England to convey the congratulations of the British king. The ambassador himself was selected from the first class of nobles of the realm; a hundred knights in splendid pageantry composed his suite. They were headed by the brother of the Duke, who was himself created a peer for the occasion. Such was the enormity of the expense attendant on this brilliant pageant that it is understood no repetition of it has taken place, or will probably occur again. But listen for a moment to the allowances, according to the books, made on occasions of no extraordinary character, especially as they say to missions of the first class. Governments, we are told, sometimes name, independently of the secretaries of the embassy and legation, a *chancelier d'ambassade*, a *directeur de chancellerie*, *aumoniers*, *attachés* and *aleves*, besides *secretaires interprètes*, and in missions of great ceremony *pages*, to accompany their ambassadors and augment the eclat of the mission. One of each of these (pages not included) would swell the number to nine; and as we have some twenty-five missions, if every mission were an embassy, two hundred and twenty-five dependants would be created by the change. Diminished numbers do not at all destroy the danger of the thing itself. A couple of persons, at a time of real consequence, made dependant by every mission, and that couple multiplied at the pleasure of the Executive, by renewed appointments at short intervals, would present a formidable temptation. Extreme party men may not deprecate this as an evil. It is not too much to say there is present danger that it would be rendered available. With entire individual respect for the Chief Magistrate, I cannot doubt his willingness to carry his official power to the extreme of party preference and exclusion. With two great divisions of the people nearly or quite equal in point of numbers, and with no alleged deficiency of merit in either, all the high military appointments, certainly with not more than one exception if so much as one, fourteen have been made from among his own political adherents. This fact has been noticed on another occasion; but a correlative fact not less significant has not been noticed. A gentleman of the highest standing, with military habits and a regular military education at the West Point Academy, holding or having held a commission of general in his own State, representing the majesty of the Commonwealth of Louisiana in the Senate of the United States, recommended by either all or almost all of his brother Senators—[some one near suggested all but one, and that one influenced by circumstances peculiar to himself, and not in the least derogatory to the gentleman referred to]—and fortified if possible more strongly still by the warm attachment of his associates and acquaintances of all political parties, was passed by, being tainted in the jaundiced eye of the President of the whole people with party heresy.

The time is at hand when, with the blessing of Heaven, political persecutions will cease, or will at least be suspended for a season. One of the candidates for the high office of Chief Magistrate is believed to be above a vindictive indulgence in these narrow prejudices. Those with whom I have the pleasure to act as a party will hail his elevation for none of his high qualities with sincerer pleasure than because he will neither punish nor reward from the *mere* influence of party. Besides their own peculiar union in cordial support of him as the selection of their delegates, there is a class, less numerous but not less devoted in attachment, who will spontaneously combine in that support without the organization of party. They have made manifest their preference individually and in masses. In anticipation of the Whig Convention of the 7th of June, and independently of it, they assembled by thousands on the 6th, and made the welkin ring with loud plaudits of the virtuous citizen of their choice. His advocates, of whatever original party denomination, feel that they are *Conservative Republicans*; and they sustain him because they know him to be of the same character. Knowing, from his own repeated assurances, his uniform preference for the men and approval of the policy of the Whig party, that party sustain him as one of their cherished associates. Those who ask for a detail of his principles should be informed that in calling for a principle they mistake the meaning of the term, and really seek only for an *expedient*. One is deep-rooted and enduring, and cannot be changed by any circumstances. The other is temporary, evanescent, and unsettled, and necessarily depends upon accident and contingency, and varies with them. The principles of the British Government, for example, are monarchical. Its policy is to aggrandize the aristocracy of the realm. Its tendencies are strongly towards republicanism, unless counteracted. These are fundamental and permanent. Its expediency is wisely shown in occasionally shifting the measures which from time to time may be adopted. They *protect* particular objects for centuries until they have given full vigor to them, and they then take off protection. They enact corn laws in different shapes during a long course of years, and they then greatly modify or totally abolish them. Our 54-40 doctrine was no principle. It was a mere expedient—an expedient of party. It melted away before the breath of principle, which was made manifest in a desire to do justice and a love of peace. The cry of indemnity for the past and security for the future during the war with Mexico was a mere expedient. It has given way to the desire to promote peace, which is essentially a principle. It is a singular fact that both these Presidential expedients, for such they were, have been defeated by the principles of another department of the Government, which have triumphed in spite of his declarations and his perseverance in them. The *Wilmot proviso* is nothing but an expedient—which may be, as it has been, departed from or adopted, without any abandonment of principle. It was adopted in the ordinance of '87 and in the Missouri compromise. It was omitted in the admission of Texas. The spirit and terms of it existed nearly sixty years before it acquired its name. When on a certain evening, two years ago, an informal communication was received from the Secretary of State, asking for an appropriation in confidence of two millions of dollars, the *proviso* arose in incarnate form from yonder seat, and probably no one who voted for it, as I did cheerfully, did so under any other belief than its being a harbinger of peace, which was promised by the President if the two millions were placed at his disposal. It was voted for as an expedient, because without it the peace offering would not have been made, and it too was in effect an offering of principle. Gentlemen may be *principled against* the proviso because of some concession which it is supposed to imply. But until a particular party has lately built itself up on this foundation, it never was regarded in any other than an expedient light. Friends around me, uncompromising Whigs, are decidedly against it. Others, as uncompromising in their declared faith, are devoted to it. One of them has said in effect on the floor that he would go for any honest man who was in favor of it. What may be the fate of it hereafter. Who can tell? Every thing will depend upon the opinions of those who vote as to the expediency of its adoption. In any final action upon it, if there shall be any by a conflict of judgments under the influence of excitement, there might be terrible developments. I hope to see them averted, by suffering time and reason to work the cure of an unquestionable evil. One of the advantages of a selection of a particular candidate is that it may postpone a decision which might otherwise be unnecessarily precipitated, and then, as at all times, our safest reliance will be upon the direction of Providence, which will take care of us in the future as it has done in the past. The great subject of slavery is rending the country into factions—fragments and parties of parties. It probably never will be settled by agreement. But, like other difficulties, it will settle itself.

Without any peremptory pledges to particular expedients General Taylor has been explicit in the declaration of his principles. An avowal that he is a Whig, repeatedly made, is a sufficient pledge, if no other avowal existed, of his adoption of that course of policy and his support of those measures which are identified with the name. But his principles are further avowed in a preference of his country to any party—in a disapproval of proscription—in deference for the deliberate and declared will of the people through the voice of their Representatives—in devotion to the constitution as it was carried out by the early Presidents—in uncompromising hostility to Executive encroachments upon the rights of other branches of the Government—in a belief that the prosperity of the country may be promoted by the Congress of the country unimpeded by narrow prejudices, the offspring alike of arrogant selfishness or degrading subserviency. It is not the first time that abstinence from extreme or ultra party feelings has led to elevation to the Executive chair. To say nothing of Gen. Washington, no one can forget the letter of Gen. Jackson to the Legislature of Tennessee, or his letter to Mr. Monroe, supposed to have been written by Mr. Harper. These are cardinal principles upon which the Government has always been administered when it has been well administered, and beyond which, when any candidate has gone with promises, his promises have been forgotten or violated. When President, it will become his duty to recommend "such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Until then, his recommendations, which would rashly anticipate the circumstances by which expedient measures of a future moment must be governed, would be officious and absurd. What strange measures might not a candidate be expected to judge of for the hereafter, if he could be put upon the witness stand, the confessional, or the rack at the pleasure of every inquisitive or malignant opponent! I believe that a wise man never undertakes to say what he would do in a supposed state of things. He must be actually in the midst of circumstances which prompt to action before the mind can resolve with an energy suited to the occasion. Issues have been tendered not only of present and future expedients, but of obsolete questions that have been consigned to the repose of history. A bank many years entombed is made the stalking-horse of party; and we have even seen intrepid efforts to invoke from the penetralia Cocyti the ghosts of long since departed alien and sedition laws to fight the battles of a despairing Democracy.

So much for the dangers of Executive patronage and the evils which may or may not follow in its train. The next prominent objection to the too great embellishment of the honors of American diplomacy consists of its leading to an evil habit already more than sufficiently prevalent. Nothing has contributed more directly to the unhappy condition of Ireland than what is well known by the term *Absenteeism*. The more affluent inhabitants of that ill-fated island, instead of remaining, if not to share with their less opulent countrymen the gifts of fortune, at least to dispense among them the smiles of friendship and the expenditures of wealth, seek the atmosphere of a court and the luxury of its retainers, leaving crowded millions to starve or to incur the penalty of crimes for which they are scarcely morally responsible. Do not add temptations to those which already shine in the brilliancy of the vices of European capitals to lead your simple mannered republicans astray. Facilities of access render their visits already too frequent and their passion for them too easy of indulgence. Let them not hope for new zest to enjoyments at war with their domestic manners and political institutions, in the constantly renewed dispensation among them of high diplomatic honors. Above all, do not inoculate a succession of your citizens with a passion for principles of which they see the workings only among the rich, lest when they come home they may endeavor to apply them where there are few to be benefited by the infliction of them upon the poor.

All that is proposed looks to European existence alone. Representatives of one class are, in reality, as much entitled to proper privileges as those of another. All alike are exempt from responsibility in their persons or property for asserted debts or imputed crimes. Communications are received with the same respect from a chargé as an ambassador. Business is as promptly conducted, his country's rights are as well observed, his calls and suggestions are as respectfully listened to, no matter which station may be occupied by the individual. The truth is, that in ancient times there was but a single order of representatives, and it is not improbable that to such an intercourse the nations of the modern world may soon return. Ambassadors, ministers, and envoys, even legates and nuncios, are titular but empty and unmeaning names. High-sounding and derived from ancient or foreign languages, they signify nothing more than agents or messengers, while the term now to be rejected more significantly imports a trust with which the bearer is invested. No difference, in truth, exists except that those are *titles*, and this is none. Not one of them except an *ambassador*, whose office is termed sublime, is the representative of the sovereign, and their nominal dignity scarcely exceeds that of our chargé d'affaires. The ambassador has indeed (or had) striking privileges. He could drive six horses before his coach; he may sit on a *dais* or elevated stage at the table; he gives his hand to those only of noble blood; he takes the *pas* of other ministers; he sometimes sits uncovered while others stand; and he is called excellency by right, and not by mere courtesy. The representative character is said to be triple—*essential*, (which is common to all degrees, and depends upon the office;) *natural*, (which may be common to all, as it depends upon individual merit and acceptance;) and *accidental*, (such as rank, which is by far the least important of the three.)

No doubt the title and the ceremony, and the platform of princes, may be amusing, and even agreeable, to the incumbent. He imbibes, when breathing the air of absurd pomp, tendencies to delight in it. It might possibly be still more agreeable if he could derive from it the more substantial advantages which sometimes wait on fawning. Presents have been lavished on acceptable diplomatic visiters sufficient in amount to put to shame the accumulations of a life of industry. An outside row of diamonds on a snuff box, once given by a crowned head to an American Minister, are said to have furnished means for defraying the travelling expenses all over Europe of a family of his descendants. *Orders*, too, are bestowed occasionally upon the pets of princes, and stars, and garters, and red ribands serve, where they are allowed, to swell the pride and confirm the devotion of admiring satellites. Our constitution wisely prohibits these things to our own representatives, and the prohibition is commended by foreign writers on diplomacy, not so much because of the corruption that the practice might encourage, since secret gifts would equally effect the object, but because of the humiliation which the usage implies. You may see an occasional specimen of this kind of imperial bribery reluctantly deposited in the care of the Department of State, in obedience to the rigorous exactions of the constitution. These apparent inducements to courtly companionship are occasionally attended with corresponding penalties, paid for the honor of high association. One of the ambassadors at the court of Napoleon found his resources so diminished, though himself of high rank and corresponding private means and liberal official endowment, by conforming to the usage of play which was extravagantly indulged in among the great, that he appealed to his own Government for a suitable allowance to meet the exigencies of the gaming table. His request was granted, under the belief that he could not otherwise maintain his position in the royal saloons; and the next settlement of accounts disclosed an item of a hundred thousand pounds sterling for this conformity to the habits of titled profligacy.

Not only will the contemplated arrangements be made in exclusive conformity to foreign views—views in the development of which we have had no part, and to which at home it is utterly impossible that we should maintain any resemblance—but they will be in subservience to alliances between which and ourselves there are, in principle, differences that can never be overcome. We are referred for a guide to the Congress at Vienna, which met at the moment of flagrant war between this country and one of the strongest of the sovereignties of Europe—a prominent member of the Congress. That was the body that declared Bonaparte an outlaw, and set as it were a price upon his head, after proceeding to regulate the ceremonials of diplomatic precedence. Yet they were obliged to admit how empty was their scale of order, when they adopted the suggestion of the autocrat of the Russias to save themselves from breaking up on a point of etiquette, and arranged their signatures, as we should probably do, in disregard of rank, in the order of the alphabet. This celebrated assembly was followed by that of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1818 for similar purposes; and not long afterwards came yet more holy alliances, composed in a great degree of the same materials—Principalities and Powers—at Troppau and Laybach. There assembled the "*alliance tutélaire*," with earnest desires to watch over the prosperity of European thrones, but with any thing but affinities for the republics of another continent. What has become of most of their integral parts? Revolution after revolution in France has proved the insecurity of the basis on which its Government rested under the shadow of the Holy Alliance. The veteran and sagacious diplomatist of Austria did not foresee one place of exile for himself, and another for the anointed head whom he served so well. The whole confederacy, which was formed mainly for the overthrow of free institutions, is itself perhaps tottering to its fall. An edition has lately been published in London of Sir Thomas More's "*Utopia*," in which the (British) commentator takes occasion to introduce something not unfitted to my purpose. The text relates an arrival of three ambassadors, with an hundred attendants, among the Utopians. These ambassadors are described as of the nobility of their country, in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings, and rings of gold—set out, in a word, with all those things that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the children's rattles. Anote to this curious page informs us that "a display not much unlike this took place at Washington on the installation of the President Van Buren, where the Senators of the great republic made their appearance in the plainest dresses, and in a taste almost puritanical; while the European ambassadors, laden with jewels, feathers, and frippery, excited the laughter and contempt of the Americans."

What, then, is the advantage or the object of any part of the proposed change? What do you hope to gain by converting your chargés d'affaires into ministers resident? I have already endeavored to show that the introduction of the rank of ambassador cannot be attended with any thing but evil. It is said that chargés are accredited to a minister of foreign affairs from the corresponding officer at home, while ministers, so called, are accredited to the head of one Government from the head of the other. This is exactly correct. The operation of it in practice with regard to ourselves is, that a minister takes a formal letter, purporting to be written by the President himself, addressed to his great and good friend Don Pedro II; while a chargé d'affaires takes a no less formal letter, purporting to be written by the Secretary of State to the proper Secretary of the Swedish, Danish, Austrian, Portuguese, or Belgian cabinet, or of the cabinet of the Netherlands.

Mr. Rush's book has been quoted to show that important negotiations were carried on by that experienced minister with Mr. Canning. To prove that fact, or any other which it professes to relate, the book is authentic and available. But so far it serves only to show that any and all useful intercourse between Mr. Rush and any body, was between him and the foreign secretary, though he was not accredited to him, exactly as it would have been if he had been accredited to him and not to the sovereign. An introduction—or as it is called an audience—once over, the secretary and nobody but the secretary negotiates. Opportunities occur either upon mutual arrangement at the instance of either, or, as Mr. Rush's book abundantly shows, in the casual intercourse of society, where gentlemen associate with each other and not with kings, in equal and agreeable companionship, and sometimes interchange grave suggestions which are connected with the fate of empires. An agreeable passage in the same book informs us precisely of the character of an audience with the monarch, or, in other words, of the value of being accredited to him instead of his foreign secretary. The form and the language are described in the *manuals* of diplomacy. The minister being introduced makes his three bows—presents his letter and speaks his short speech. A brief and formal reply terminates the ceremony, and nothing is left but for the accredited functionary to find his way out of the hall of audience—which he is bound to do without the use of his eyes. With his face always directed towards the sovereign, he moves backward over unaccustomed ground, and is fortunate if he escapes, by virtue of a skilful but hurried reconnoissance as he entered, the danger and the awkwardness of a ceremonious retreat.

Being accredited to the sovereign does not answer any good purpose among European sovereignties. But it is yet further from the mark in another region to which the proposed alterations are to extend. Two great embassies have been sent at different times by Great Britain to China. Lord Macartney was at the head of one and Lord Amherst of the other. They were of course duly accredited, but neither of them was able, with every effort, I believe, to overcome the difficulties of a humiliating presentation. Bows and reverences do not suffice at the court of Pekin. The unhappy minister must kneel, and, prostrating himself, strike the floor with his head. Without these marks of reverence an audience cannot be allowed. Nor is it necessary. Our treaty was made at a great distance from the capital, as all treaties are made, without any immediate agency of the sovereign.

Thus it is impossible sometimes to effect any thing with a letter of credence to the head of the Government. At all times nothing is effected by it but an unfruitful ceremony, which leaves the business of the mission exactly where it would have been had the diplomatic agent been accredited only to the minister. Kings neither can nor will enter into the duties of negotiation. They cannot, because their actions are on the responsibility of the minister, who may lose his head for his supposed erroneous advice to his master. They will not, because their hours are devoted to burdensome ceremonies enough for occupation, and too much for intermixture with the cares of business. It is said that the late George IV. of England could with difficulty be prevailed on to subscribe his name to papers which require the sign manual; yet he was eminent and exemplary in the graces of his person, and in the performance of all the offices of ceremony. Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have written a poem, the night before his execution, in which he thus describes the incapacity of monarchs for active duty:

"Tell potentates they live,
Acting by others, actions;
Not loved—unless they give;