

gent, to an amalgamation with the whites, is, that they can never rise to offices of trust and profit. Here this difficulty will be removed. In time, let us indulge the hope, that they will be competent to self-government, when they may be left entirely to themselves, and when, in consequence, their ambition will find its proper theatre, and be gratified; then none will have any adequate motive to remain among the whites.

A fourth object of the bill is, the division of their lands in such manner, and at such times, as the President may think proper. The object of this provision is, to give the power to the President, when, in his judgment, circumstances will justify it, to distribute the land among individuals by metes and bounds, in contradistinction to its being held in common by a tribe.—Nothing, it is believed, has had a more injurious influence on our efforts to improve the condition of the Indians, than holding their land in common. Whether such a system may succeed on a very limited scale, when under a beneficent patriarchal authority, is yet to be ascertained. Past experience has left the strongest evidence against its practicability under less favorable auspices. The attempt of that kind in the first settlement of Virginia, and, I believe, in the early settlements elsewhere conducted the colonists to the very brink of ruin, from which they were rescued only by abandoning it. The distribution of the soil, and the individuality imparted to the avails of its cultivation, history informs us, instantly gave a new and favorable aspect to their condition. How far the strong motives of human action may be modified by education and habit, may be left in the hands of the speculative philanthropists. The only safe rule for government is, to act on human nature as it is, and conform its changes of policy to new, but well ascertained developments. If, therefore, the position be a just one, that every attempt at a community of property has eventuated unsuccessfully, even with civilized man, it is no matter of wonder that it should have been equally so with the savage. To the lands thus granted, add liberally all that is necessary to enable them effectually to succeed in their new condition—implements of husbandry, mechanics for repairing them, domestic animals, and supplies of food. By directing a part of the funds at present paid for annuities, judiciously, under proper agents, to be appointed by the United States, and as long as necessity required it, the Indians might be brought, by degrees, to a love of civilized life, and be reconciled to the performance of its duties. And altho' the difficulty of inducing him to labor is duly appreciated, yet, when its benefits are once realized in the individuality of its productions, and by increasing his comforts, the hope can scarcely be deemed desperate which places him under the same influences as the white man. I refer to document B, as disclosing interesting information on this branch of the subject.—The principle fixed, the time of its application to different tribes might be left to the discretion of the President, who, in its exercise, would conform to circumstances, commencing with those most convenient and most civilized; and cautiously extending its application till the whole be embraced. The money we annually expend on our Indian relations, and frequently not very profitable to them, from the manner of their appropriating it, would furnish an ample fund to meet any probable expense arising from the execution of this plan.—By reference to document A, it will be seen that this year we have had to pay for this object \$781,827 14.

To those advantages may be added the consideration, that, after an individual distribution, the efforts of the whites to dispossess them of their lands thus held, must cease. The individual appropriation of land gives a sanctity to the title which inspires respect in nations the most barbarous. It would repress, with us, any thought of disturbing it. When this is effected, their distinction of tribes may easily be abolished, and the whole consolidated into one great family. And lastly, the bill leaves those that remain to the wisdom and justice of posterity. If, as is believed, the number disposed to emigrate is comparatively great, those that remain will be so few that their condition may be regulated without committing violence on their wishes or on their interests, and yet reconciling their residence with the prosperity of the whites. It is obvious, from causes that need not be enumerated, that they must soon surrender their distinction of race for the resemblance of the white man, and accept, as an equivalent, the blessings which that resemblance cannot fail to bring with it—a peaceful but sure remedy, which may be safely left to time alone to produce.

I will add, that the end proposed is the happiness of the Indians—the instrument of its accomplishment, their progressive,

and finally their complete civilization.—The obstacles to success are their ignorance, their prejudices, their repugnance to labor, their wandering propensities, and the uncertainty of the future. I would endeavor to overcome these by schools; by a distribution of land in individual right; by a permanent social establishment which should require the performance of social duties, by assigning them a country of which they are never to be bereaved, and cherishing them with parental kindness.

In looking to the possible results of this plan, I am cheered with the hope, that much good may be effected with comparatively little injury. Our difficulties, in their present form, will be diminished, or entirely removed. The desire to acquire Indian lands will cease, and no longer produce collisions. The Indians will at last know their lot with certainty. That many will avail themselves of this arrangement, so as to arrive at the blessings of civilization, I think there can be no reasonable doubt: that all will not, I readily admit. The imprudent of our own people are equally beyond the reach of legislative protection.

To this may be added the consolation furnished by the recollection, that, in the efforts we had made, we had acquitted ourselves of a debt of justice and humanity; and if they should even fail, by the overruling influence of an inscrutable destiny, whose fulfillment requires their extinction, however it may fill us with sorrow, we shall be relieved from remorse. Respectfully submitted.

JAMES BARBOUR.

VILLAINOUS OUTRAGE.—On the 30th ult. a man, who is as free, though not so white as the Governor of Maryland, was seized near the Columbia bridge by two fellows, the color of whose faces corresponds not with that of their hearts. The wretches pretended that their victim answered the description of a runaway advertised by a noted slaveholder. They placed him in a dearborn, with the professed intent to carry him to Maryland, and passed through this borough about midnight. Some misgivings that they might get into trouble in consequence of their lawless doings, induced them to go to Abbotstown, where they found that the man's title to freedom could be so clearly established, that they graciously consented to liberate him, and in the plenitude of their mercy gave him a certificate to that effect; leaving that poor man to walk back twenty five miles through the snow and slush, to the place where he had been seized. When he arrived at York, he lodged information against these "merciful men," and they will be made to answer for their conduct to the insulted laws of the country.

The man on whose personal liberty this outrage was committed, resides in a neighboring state, and had been here to visit a relative.—York (Penn.) Recorder.

ISAAC B. DESHA.—It is stated in one of the Western papers received this morning that Isaac B. Desha, the murderer of Baker—who has twice been convicted by a jury of his country, of this horrid crime, but who, by the shuffling and legerdemain of his father and friends, has as often been screened from the halter, and a new trial granted, has finally been released from prison! This high-handed act of the Governor of Kentucky, cannot fail to identify him in the eyes of the world, at least, if not of the law, in crime with his son. If there be any hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath, one would suppose the bolts would be hurled at the wretches who commit deeds like these. Well hath the poet said—

"Man, proud man,  
Dressed in a little brief authority,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
As make even angels weep."

The Legislature of Virginia adjourned on Thursday the 9th inst. after a session of ninety-four days, during which much business of general importance was done. In an article upon the adjournment of the Legislature, the Richmond Whig makes the following reflections:

"The character of the Legislature, compared with the more brilliant ones of '98 and '17, illustrates and represents the intellect of the State as it is at present, compared with what it once was—not so many stars eclipsing with their surpassing radiance the humbler lights around them—but a milky way of talent and intelligence, diffusing a milder, safer, and steadier illumination. There is no longer an aristocracy of talent and learning in the State, but the course of events has established a republican mediocrity, which, bringing the affairs of the country within the grasp of more minds, multiplies the numbers who are capable of understanding and defending the public interests. Shallow observers call this deterioration—those who reflect more justly will call it appreciation."

Nat. Journal.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

From London papers to the 20th January.

By these papers we learn that Constantine, at Warsaw, has fully, and with great apparent cheerfulness, acknowledged the sovereignty of his younger brother Nicholas. There is much speculation on the affairs of Russia, and an opinion seems general that many things are yet to be explained. There were reports at Paris and London of the assassination of Nicholas, the pregnancy of the widow of Alexander, and of much display of a revolutionary spirit in Russia; but from what we see, the country was more quiet than could have been expected.

By other advices from St. Petersburg, it appears that the empress mother, Maria Feodorowna, had called upon the officers of all the regiments quartered in the capital, to renounce the oath to Constantine, and take that to Nicholas. To this they all assented, with the exception, as it is said, of the regiment of Moscow, Constantine's own regiment, and the only one of his, at that time, in St. Petersburg. The officers we are told, "not only demurred to the empress's command, but represented, in strong but respectful language, that only a few days had elapsed since they had sworn fealty to Constantine as their emperor: that it was wholly inconsistent with that oath to transfer it to any other person, unless in the event of his death, or at his express order; that it would be disturbing the order of the succession to act otherwise; and that nothing less than Constantine's own appearance, and an order from his mouth, would induce them to consent."

This determination, it is added, was reported to the empress mother, who became extremely indignant at this resistance to her will, and conscious of the danger of even a delay of obedience in a Russian soldiery, gave orders that the refractory regiment should be immediately fired upon, if their consent was not at once tendered. Her spirit and promptness of determination on this trying occasion, if the accounts may be relied on, could not have been surpassed by Catharine herself.—Her orders were obeyed, and a slaughter instantly commenced of the resisting regiment, of whom between 200 and 300 are said to have been sacrificed before the remainder submitted. It has even been stated, but in this respect there is much ambiguity in the accounts, that the troops of Constantine's regiment returned the fire, and that, in consequence, great numbers of the other regiments fell. All agree, however, in the loss of lives sustained by the adherents of Constantine.

Letters from Warsaw announce that the grand duke Constantine, had caused the oath to be taken by all the regiments in that capital, (of Poland,) and had sent the same order to all the corps throughout the kingdom. The oath was taken according to the following formula:—"To the emperor Nicholas and his legitimate heir the grand duke Alexander."

There is a great deal of speculation about the affairs of Russia, but they are worth little, and we have no spare room.

It appears pretty certain, at least the accounts "look straight," that admiral Miallis has gained a victory over the Turkish fleet, burning one frigate, and capturing, undamaged, the steam boat belonging to the Pacha of Egypt. This will be of vast importance to him in the management of his fire-ships.

Ibrahim and Yusuf Pacha do not appear to be on a good understanding—perhaps jealous of one another. Ibrahim has been defeated at Elis with the loss of 500 men. The army of Redschid pacha has been much weakened by sickness and desertion. Missolonghi was not invested—the Turks had retired from the place.

Among the list of bankrupts in England, is the name of H. Sheppard, of Frome, Somersetshire, the celebrated cloth manufacturer, who recently lived in an establishment, equal in style and splendor, to the richest of English noblemen.

When the Spanish inquisition was overturned a few years ago, and its books were seized upon and submitted to inspection, it was found that in the small province of Murcia, one of the least extensive and populous in Spain, the provincial tribunal of the inquisition had actually instituted no less than seven thousand prosecutions against priests for attempting the seduction of their female penitents.

BADEN, JAN. 1.—They cease not to publish notices more or less curious respecting the bands of brigands of Lucerne. In one of them is the following:—"The notorious Clara Wendal, chieftainess of the band of brigands in eastern and southern Switzerland, is one of the most remarkable phenomena of this kind. She is not more than 20 years old, is endowed with rare mental faculties, and of extraordinary beauty.—She is the authoress of 20 murders, 14 conflagrations, and 1,588 robberies."

From the Cincinnati Gazette.  
Amendment of the Constitution.—The subject is still under discussion in the House of Representatives. Great praise is bestowed upon a speech against it made by Mr. Everett.

We subjoin the concluding remarks of Mr. Stevenson, of Virginia, and recommend them to the consideration of all.

"Mr. Chairman, I have troubled you long, too long, and, though I have yet much to say, I must hasten to a conclusion. A few more words, and I shall have done. The honorable gentleman from S. C. has cautioned us against indulging feelings of idyllic superstition, or mistaken veneration, for the great charter of our union and liberties. Whilst I acknowledge myself free from these feelings, I own that it is, in my eye, an instrument of a most sacred character. Ours, sir, is no ordinary Constitution or form of Government. It is no matter of theory or speculation. It was not the work of yesterday, which may be amended to-day, and to-morrow, and every day, as parties may rise or opinions fluctuate. It is a solemn compact, based upon the interests, principles and prejudices of distinct and independent societies of freemen, and intended to secure and perpetuate our union and liberties. It was the result of great perseverance, trial, and patriotism. It is composed of many wheels, and springs, and balances; of counteracting and co-operating powers; one part leans so much on another, the parts are so made for each other, that to unsettle is to destroy. It was the work, sir, of the most illustrious body of men that the world ever saw. It was formed in the midst of all the virtues, and in an age of wisdom. I would approach it with the same feelings of veneration and awe that I would the sepulchre of my fathers. Whenever any of its great principles are to be touched, I confess I feel distrust, and it is this feeling of distrust that I do not wish to see impaired. If it is to be amended, let it be in extreme cases; let the good be great which is to be obtained, or the evil to be remedied. Let every amendment bring with it the strongest credentials. Let it be good not only in design, but safe by its agreement with what we already enjoy. Such amendments, and such only, will I ever consent to make. Is the one now before us of that character? Will it accomplish all the purposes and benefits which its friends suppose? I fear not. I look to it myself as the foodful nurse of strife and disunion, rather than of peace and harmony, to our Union."

These, sir, are no times for great political experiments. Let us not shake the public confidence in the stability of our free institutions. Let us not especially attempt to swell the powers of this government, already too great, at the expense of the states. Let us guard the limits which divide the two Governments, by a watchful and systematic jealousy, on the part of the rulers in both Governments. For myself, I will not consent to touch one right which belongs to the States, for any purpose of reform. I will adhere to them, as their Governments, as the shield of our Union, and the safeguard of our liberties. It was upon them that our Fathers delighted to repose—they brought us through the age of revolution, and enabled us to triumph gloriously in two wars. It was these State Governments, that the beneficent fires of freedom were first lighted upon; it is there they will be last extinguished—and I will say, in the language of an ancient man, now no more, that, if ever time shall arrive when the Executive of this Union, wielding his mighty power of patronage, shall advance to the subversion of the liberties of his country, then the wisdom of our fathers will receive a crown of experience; for then those State Governments will constitute a sovereign phalanx, under whose constitutional banner the People may rally, and crush the invader!

Pause! pause! I beseech you, Mr. Chairman, in this work of innovation, and do not "madly rush in where Angels might tread." I ask it for my country—its repose and freedom."

IMMIGRANTS.—It appears from the Canadian papers, that about 8,000 settlers were brought from Ireland last season, at an expense of \$132,000 to the British government. Lands, and implements to improve them, were given to these people; it appears that great numbers of them preferred "a struggle with poverty" in the States, to an "enjoyment of the competency bestowed" on them in Canada. Such is the influence of liberty on the human mind. But a considerable number of king-loving persons have left the United States and settled in Canada. We will gladly exchange these for the restive subjects—and it seems that governed only with a strong arm in Canada.—Niles.