

# THE PEOPLES JOURNAL.

DEVOTED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, AND THE DISSEMINATION OF MORALITY LITERATURE, AND NEWS.

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### Original Poetry.

#### A DREAM.

I dreamed—and I thought that I sailed,  
In a gallant bark, o'er the main;  
The last point of land had been hailed,  
Perhaps to be hailed not again.

As onward and onward we sped  
Aft' over the billows and spray,  
The last lingering sunbeams all fled—  
The last rays of light died away.

And then on my couch of repose  
I secretly was settled to rest,  
When storm-clouds above us arose,  
And lightnings flashed bright in the west.

Below us the rumbling surge,  
And above us the thunder's deep roll,  
Sounded hoarse, like the elements' dirge,  
Breathed over the wreck'd sailor's soul.

Then the bark, which so gallantly left  
The shores, filled with life and with glee,  
Of mast and of spars all bereft,  
Soon floated, a wreck, on the sea.

With feelings of horror and awe,  
I sunk to the mariner's grave,  
Around me the white bones I saw  
Of those who long slept 'neath the wave.

And I wandered through palaces there  
More grand than the dwellings of men,  
All peopled by images fair,  
Not found in our mountain or glen.

And around me a forest there grew,  
Of coral, and sea-weed, and pearl,  
More brilliant by far to the view  
Than aught to be seen in our world.

On the sea-shells I gazed as they lay,  
And on flowers more bright than the sun;  
When a voice I heard near me say,  
"Now praise the Immaculate One."

Then music the sweetest e'er heard,  
It sounded those caves among;  
They warbled the praise of their Lord—  
His glory and praise they sung.

Then said I, "Why should creatures like you,  
Who rank not with children of men,  
Raise your voices to give the praise due,  
And expect by God but from them?"

"We praise him," said they, "as do all  
That He in His wisdom hath made;  
Man only hath known of a fall—  
Man only of God is afraid."

"Now, mortal, return unto earth,  
And when with thy kindred again,  
Forget not, 'mid sorrow or mirth,  
The God of both creatures and men."

Then methought that through spray I was  
borne,  
And the surface of Ocean did gain;  
The sun had just gilded the morn,  
Shedding daylight on billow and plain.

I awoke—and methought I had learned  
A lesson, ye maid, from you,  
And I give to my Saviour the glory he'd earned:  
May I ever return him the praise that is due.

REBECCA WILLIAMS.  
Bristol, Pa.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

The only attempt at an argument in favor of the Douglas fraud that we have seen is, that it secures to the people of the Territories the right to form their own laws.

This false position was so fully exploded by Col. Benton's great speech, that it may be useless to recur to the subject again, and yet as this is the only thing said in favor of the bill, we think the friends of freedom should show that there is not a shadow of truth in the assertion.

On the night of its final passage in the Senate Mr. CHASE dissected the bill so completely that no sophistry can answer its argument. Here is an extract from his closing speech:—*Essex Journal.*

And, sir, for what? What does this bill give us in lieu of the prohibition of slavery in the territories? Why, sir, we are told that it gives the principle of Congressional non-intervention. That is the great merit of the bill, in the eyes of the distinguished Senator from Michigan. But he tells us, also, that in other respects, this bill is in advance of former Territorial acts. Now, Sir, it so happens, that all the more liberal provisions of this bill, which he approves, originated with the opponents of the repeal. As the bill comes from the Committee on Territories, it was an exact transcript of former acts. I believe I was, myself, the first Senator who directed attention to the fact, that

the Governors of these territories were invested with an absolute veto power; that all the acts of the Territorial Legislature were subject to the revision of Congress; and that, therefore, the bill, which professed to establish popular sovereignty, subjected every act of the People, through their Legislature to the double veto of the appointee of the President and of Congress. In these respects, the bill has received some amendment.

But, sir, the veto power, although abridged, still remains. The legislative authority of the Territory is invested, not in a Legislature elected by the People, but in the Governor and Legislature. This bill invests the Governor with a legislative power, equal to that of one-third of the members in each branch of the Legislature. Rut vote of disapproval, will arrest the passage of any act which cannot command the sanction of two-thirds of each branch, notwithstanding the veto. Add to this direct power of the veto, the influence which the patronage and station of the Governor confers, and it is easily seen that few acts, objectionable to him, are likely to receive the legislative sanction.

Then, sir, every act of the Legislature has to pass the ordeal of the Judiciary, in part at least, not only upon the Governor, but upon the Secretary, the District Attorney, and the Marshal. Now, sir, in this bill, the advocates of which profess so much respect for the doctrine of self-government, one would naturally expect to find these officers made elective by the people. But does the bill in fact contain any such provision? Not at all. The President is to appoint the Governor, who is to exercise the veto power; the President is to appoint the Judges, who determine the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of all legislative acts; the President is to appoint the Secretary, the District Attorney, and the Marshal, who must necessarily exercise an important influence upon the territorial destinies. Not only is the President to appoint all these officers, but he may remove them all, or either of them, whenever he pleases. The whole action of the Territorial Government is thus completely subjected to Executive control. The whole achievement of the bill is to substitute Presidential intervention for Congressional intervention. If we are to have either, I prefer that of Congress, to be exercised by the representatives of the States and of the People, rather than that of the President, too likely, under existing circumstances, to yield the immense patronage of his office for the extension and perpetuation of Slavery.

The substitution of Presidential for Congressional regulation of the Territories will have one result which deserves attention. The question of freedom or slavery in the Territories, in the absence of Congressional prohibition, must be determined by the results of Presidential elections. Henceforward, this great question must enter conspicuously into the conflicts of party. If the people desire to secure the Territories for freedom they must have a President, who will not hesitate to exercise his influence on the side of freedom. The present Administration, indeed, will make the first appointments; but the officers thus appointed are removable at pleasure, and the People by changing the President, can change also the whole character of the official influence over the Territories. The late distinguished Senator from Massachusetts once said, in substance, that the Constitution of States formed out of Territories were made at Washington. I do not fully accept this statement. But nobody can doubt that the powers conferred on the President by this bill will enable him to mould the Territorial institutions according to his pleasure, unless he is met by the firm and determined opposition of the people themselves.

Sir, I am opposed to this Presidential intervention. It is an abuse of language to call a bill which authorizes it, a non-intervention bill. It is absolutely the reverse. I, sir, who am denounced for my determined resistance to the repeal of the Missouri prohibition—that simple guarantee of inalienable rights—proposed an amendment which would have secured to the people of the Territories the absolute control of their own affairs, without Congressional or Presidential intervention. That amendment proposed that the action of the President in the organization of the Territories should be restricted to the simple appointment of commissioners, who should divide the territory into convenient election precincts; notify the election of Governor, Judges, Secretary, and members of the Legislature, to be held on a certain day; receive and count the votes and announce the

result, and appoint a place and time for the meeting of the Legislature, and the organization of the Government. I do not see how it is possible that a simpler, plainer, or more certain plan of giving effect to the doctrine of self-government in the Territories could be devised. I do not see how it was possible for the professed friends of that doctrine to vote against it, and it was rejected and Presidential intervention was established. Under these circumstances, regarding the bill as the violation of a solemn compact; as an abrogation of a great security for personal freedom and individual liberty; as no bill of non-intervention, but as a bill which substitutes for the control of the people, through their chosen representatives, the control of the President, through his official patronage, I can never give it the sanction of my vote.

I stand here, Mr. President, an independent Senator. The Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. BELL,] in the course of his remarks, referred to my position as a Democrat. If he intended to identify me, or if he supposes that I desire to identify myself, with that party which styles itself the National Democracy, and whose creed is obtained in the Baltimore platform of 1852, and whose Administration is now urging the repeal of the Missouri prohibition, he is greatly mistaken.—There are two parties in this country which claim to be Democratic. One is self-styled National Democracy; the other is the Independent Democracy. The creed of the former excepts the institution of slavery from the application of Democratic principles; the creed of the latter tolerates no exceptions. The policy of the former is to subordinate the rights and interests of freemen and free labor to the demands of the slave power; the policy of the latter is to establish freedom wherever the General Government possesses constitutional power to do so, and to place its legitimate influence on the side of liberty, rather than on the side of slavery. The former seeks the support of the extreme advocates of slavery, as indispensable to its party triumphs; the latter seeks no support, except from those, whether citizens of slave States or free States, who are willing to follow democratic principles whithersoever they lead, without any exceptions in favor of oppression. The Independent Democracy, Mr. President, is stronger, as yet, in principles than in numbers; and yet this party at the last Presidential election numbered in its ranks a little more than one-twentieth of all the voters in the United States. There are but three Senators upon this floor who are identified with this political organization—the Senator who has just taken his seat from Connecticut, [Mr. GILLET,] my friend from Massachusetts, [Mr. SUMNER,] and myself. It so happens that our number is a little less, in proportion to the whole number of Senators, than that of the Independent Democratic electors in proportion to the whole number of American voters.

The doctrines which guide our action in respect to this bill may be summed up in a few words. We insist upon the denationalization of slavery, and the decentralization of power. The National Government, in our judgment, should cease all interference with Slavery. It should uphold it nowhere. It should legislate for it nowhere. Only within the slave States, and so far as the institution is beyond the reach of the constitutional legislation of Congress, should slavery be permitted to exist. Within those States, slavery should be left to control, regulating, amelioration or abolition, by State law, according to the direction of the People.

### PERPETUAL DAYLIGHT.

The influence of the long summer day in the Arctic regions has long been described, but seldom with more force and beauty than in the following passages of Dr. Kane's description of the American expedition to the Arctic regions:

"The perpetual daylight had continued up to the present moment with unabated glare. The sun had reached its north meridian latitude some days before, but the eye was hardly aware of the change. Midnight had a softened character, like the low summer's sun at home, but there was no twilight.

"At first the novelty of this great unvarying day made it pleasing. It was curious to see the 'midnight Arctic sun set into sunrise,' and pleasant to find that, whether you ate or slept, or idled or toiled, the same daylight was always there. No irksome night forced upon you its system of compulsory alternations. I could dine at midnight, and sup at breakfast time, and go to bed at noonday; and but for an apparatus of coils and cogs, called

a watch, would have been no wiser and no worse.

"My feeling was at first an extravagant sense of undefined relief, of some vague restraint removed. I seemed to have thrown off the slavery of hours. In fact, I could hardly realize its entirety. The astral lamps, standing, dust covered, on our lockers—puzzled me, as things obsolete and fanciful.

"This was instinctive, perhaps; but by-and-by came other feelings. The perpetual light, garish and unfluctuating, disturbed me. I became gradually aware of an unknown excitant, stimulus, acting constantly like the diminutive of a cup of coffee. My sleep was curtailed and irregular; my meal hours trod upon each other's heels; and but for stringent regulations of my own imposing, my routine would have been completely broken up.

"My lot had been cast in the zone of lirioidenrons and sugar maples, in the nearly midway latitude of 40 degrees. I had been habituated to day and night; and every portion of these two great divisions had for me its periods of peculiar association. Even in the tropics, I had mourned the loss of twilight. How much more did I miss the soothing darkness, of which twilight should have been the precursor! I began to feel, with more of emotion than a man writing for others likes to confess to, how admirable a systematic law is the alterations of day and night—words that type the two great conditions of living nature, action, and repose. To those who with daily labor earn their daily bread, how kindly the season of sleep. To the drone who, urged by the waning daylight, hastens the deferred task, how fortunate that his procrastination has not a six-months' morrow! To the brain-workers among men, the enthusiasts, who hear irksomely the dark screen which falls upon their day dreams, how benignant the dear night blessing, which enforces reluctant rest!"

### A NEW FABLE MADE OF OLD MATERIALS.

ONE Sabbath morning, the pieces of money which had accumulated in a rum-seller's drawer the previous Saturday evening, woke up one after another. The eagles on the quarters, which had set all night with their heads beneath their wings, looked sharply about them, and after a vigorous flutter of their feathers, adjusted themselves to their regular official position. The heads of the pennies yawned, and winked their eyes lazily; and there was a general change of posture. Tenpence, addressing an adjacent Copper, remarked that the air of the place was bad, as it was filled with fumes of tobacco and brandy. The Copper, glancing rather scornfully at the recent date of its neighbor, replied that "he would get used to that before he became much older; so he need not hold his nose at it now."

This reply nettled the Tenpence a little, which muttered something about pennies being sometimes made of brass. The Penny, with increasing ill humor, said that "he was ten times as big as Tenpence, if he did not pass for as much; and that Silver had better not put on aristocratic airs there," and the head of Liberty was twitched in a threatening manner. A benignant Half-dollar interposed and made peace. "Comrades," said the figure of liberty, spreading out her hand oratorically, "Comrades, we are here in a new position. We meet without our own agency; we will soon be scattered. Let us spend our time in improving our minds, and by friendly converse lighten, if possible, the gloom of this horrible prison. I propose that each in turn tell how he came to so dismal a place."

A universal jingling testified a cordial consent; and shouts of "Half-dollar, Half-dollar," with a clapping from all that had hands, and a stamping from all that had feet, called upon the mover of the (plan) proposition, to begin. Thus urged, the Half-dollar, clearing its voice, began with silvery voice:

"Friends, I am made of the best Mexican silver, and have always deemed myself a little above standard weight. I came hither thus: Yesterday I was taken out of a drawer and cast upon the counter by a merchant tailor. A woman with a very pale, troubled face, took me and carried me home in her hand, grasping me very tightly, and sometimes looking at me with a sad smile. Being laid down upon the table, I looked around upon a little gloomy apartment, cold, cheerless, and almost without furniture. Four or five ragged children gathered about me, and looked at me with great delight, and I think I heard them say something about supper, or bread, if I remember aright. The woman, without taking off her bonnet, got a small basket, and was

apparently on the point of picking me up, and going out again, when a red-faced, brutish-looking man came in. The children shrunk into the corner, and stood in silence, clustered together. The woman sighed heavily, and then, recollecting herself, hurried to pick me up. The man saw her, and darting at me, wrenched me away by force. She wept, and entreated, and pointed to the hungry children, who were now crying, too, but he only shook his fist and swore at her, as he went out of the room. He came straight to this place. The landlord smiled as he handed him a bottle with one hand, while with the other he swept me into this drawer. Thus you have my story."

The Tenpence was then called upon, but politely declined for the present in favor of his friend, the Penny.

"Partners of my fate," said the Penny, hoarsely, "I was not always as rusty as I now am. In fact, when I was young, I was considered very bright. Yesterday a dead body was found in the river. It was a corpse of a young fellow who had fallen off the dock when he was drunk. He had lain in the water a long while, and the flesh was almost gone from his bones. At last an anchor hooked into the rags, and dragged him to the surface. At the coroner's inquest, some of the jurymen became very thirsty; and the coppers found in the pockets, of which I was one, were sent here for a quart. Thus I came among you. I trust that the Tenpence will pardon my ill humor, in consequence of my misfortunes."

Here a three-cent piece spoke up, in a thin, juvenile voice: "I am here because a dandy, with hair on his upper lip, paid me for a cigar." So saying, he dodged under a copper, and was out of sight in an instant. This brief speech was received with applause. The figures on the half dime thumped lustily with their staves; and the old-fashioned cent of 1804 swung the cap of liberty and cheered.

"Here's a bill rolled up in the corner," shouted a quarter with a very suspicious ring. "Bill," "Bill," "speech," "speech," resounded from all sides, amid a clapping of hands, and stamping of feet. The figure of Liberty on a waggish dime even went so far as to poke the unknown with her staff. At last, a Ten-dollar note slowly unrolled, and spoke thus through the portrait of the president of the bank:

"If you insist, I will tell you how I came here. Yesterday a gentleman well known in this community, came into this room. He looked around cautiously, and no one present but the landlord, laid me down on the bar, saying, in a low whisper, 'You know that I am a candidate for office; take this, and whenever you see a man of the right sort, do you give him a glass or two for me; but be sure you speak low when you tell him at whose expense he is drinking.'"

"Pardon my vanity," said the note. "When I say that I trust I shall never be found here again."

"What!" growled the rusty copper, "not a cent here honestly! If there be one, let us hear from him. All present were called upon in rotation, but the same story in substance was told. One coin, earned by a dutiful daughter, to support a drunken father, was seized by him, and spent for alcohol. Another had been stolen by a petty thief and paid for 'treats.'"

Most had come from the pockets of men whose families were in sore need. A committee was finally appointed to draw up resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting; but before they reported, the rattle of a key in the lock reduced all to silence. The rum-seller was about setting out for church, and came to get a little change to put into the plate. His minister that morning preached on the Deluge. He inferred from his subject that cold water was very destructive, and he therefore took occasion to warn his congregation against fanatical prohibitory laws, as equally opposed to interest and appetite, to say nothing of inspiration. The rum-seller expanded with joy under the sermon. He nodded a great many times, and smiled triumphantly at a temperance man whose eye he happened to catch. And when the plate came round, he placed thereon with a profound bow, the copper which had lain a month on the bosom of the dead, and then he leaned back and turned his eyes heavenwards, in a state of perfect bliss.—*N. J. Reformer.*

### THE WORKINGS OF THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION."

Not long since we had the sentence of Mrs. Douglas at Norfolk, Va., for the crime of teaching colored children to read and write. The learned Judge held that a great number of the white people in his district as well as in other parts of the State, could neither read nor write, and yet made good

citizens. And that laws existed in all the States, prohibiting the education of colored persons. That such laws were necessary to protect the existing "domestic" relations, and should be enforced. He then sentenced Mrs. Douglas to 30 days imprisonment, and to pay a fine of \$100 and costs.

### LIVING BEYOND OUR MEANS.

For the sake of appearance, to keep up a display and make a figure in the world, multitudes adopt the vicious habit of spending more than they earn. Pride and fashion exercise a merciless despotism over their purses. The rich in their abundance do not feel the burden; but when the same thing is attempted by those in moderate and humble circumstances, then "come the tug of war." In order to ape the attitudes of wealth, they exhaust all their resources, and even strain their credit until it is perfectly threadbare.

There is much in the habits and customs of society furnishing a strong temptation to this course—yet it is a serious evil. It is not right as between man and man; it is an extravagance that carries in its train a pecuniary injustice. He who lives beyond his means, must supply the deficiency from the pockets of his neighbors, very often upon the strength of a deceptive credit. His very display gives him an appearance of affluence that misguides the judgement of others. He knowingly passes himself off for more than he is worth, and what is this but a species of fraud!

There is of course an end to this habit somewhere; the commercial reputation of the individual must finally be swamped by the number of unpaid indebtednesses; yet the whole process is one of dishonesty. Even before this catastrophe reveals it, no Christian ought to be guilty of it. He not only disgraces himself thereby, but also jeopardizes the reputation of religion among men.

It is, moreover, a very uncomfortable habit. He who lives above his means, generally owes more than he can pay; and the farther he goes, the worse he makes his condition. He becomes a stereotyped borrower; pays one debt by contracting another; has a great many debts to pay—little, petty, annoying bills scattered in all directions, which he does not know how to meet. They are constantly haunting him with their unpleasant clamors; they sacrifice his reputation; and give the community the just impression that he is a poor pay-master. All this must be a source of great annoyance and perplexity, far too great to find an adequate compensation in a little meaningless parade. It would be far wiser, involve much less friction of the nerves, to shine less and enjoy more.

The temptations of the habit are both numerous and dangerous. It tempts a man to sacrifice his sense of honor, to place a light estimate upon his word, to be easy in promising, and very slow in fulfilling. His moral principles become loose, and pass into the state of decay. His wants bribe him, and he is likely, under the plea of necessity, to do what under other circumstances he would not think of doing. Sometimes he is led to contract debts, and then move away, leaving these unsettled and unpaid. Perhaps he runs his credit in one place till he runs out; and then does the same thing in another, till he finally runs himself out.

He is tempted to acts of meanness, not to say dishonesty, such as dodging his creditors; and making promises which he does not seriously expect to fulfill. His virtue is always taxed and sustained by his pride on the one hand, and the inconvenience of his extravagance on the other; and between the two, the path of plain and simple honesty is made very difficult. Sins seldom go alone; one form of wrong generally leads to another; and hence his whose proud heart requires what his conscience permits, is on the highway of temptation. What he may be led to do in certain crises made by his folly, he cannot tell. He may be so severely chafed and pinched, as to be guilty of the crime of murder.

And then again, he who consumes all and more than all, for the purpose of display, has not a penny for the office of charity; he can give nothing to aid the poor, to promote the public good, or to disseminate the knowledge of the gospel. He is always himself too poor for this work; and quite likely soothes his conscience and corrupts his heart with the plea of his own poverty. He would be glad to do something, but he cannot—he is so poor. Very true; but let him inquire into the reason of his poverty. He lives too fast; he spends too much on himself and family; he keeps up more parade than he can support; and this is the chief reason why he is unable to contribute to the interests of charity and benevolence.

How much more commendable in the sight of earth and Heaven is that man who is economical and frugal that he may be liberal; who restrains his own passions from excessive indulgence, that he may devote at least a portion of his substance to the cause of God and the interests of philanthropy. His is a rare and valuable virtue, and when it shall be more common in the church of Christ, it will be less difficult to find the means for sustaining and enlarging all her institutions of love.—*Evangelist.*