

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

EBENSBURG, AUGUST 10, 1854.

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Select Poetry.

THE EVENING SKIES.

By Amelia B. Welby.

Soft skies! amid your halls to-night,
How bright beams each starry sphere!
Beneath your softly mellowed light,
The loveliest scenes glow lovelier;
How high, how great the glorious Power
That looks down from above!
How low, how low the fallen flower,
And how the blue sky over all!

I love to glide in these hazy hours
With ease and thought and fancy free,
When twilight, but stars, and waves and flowers,
May give me their sweet company!
When far below the waves are laid,
Oh! how they seem to glide!
When with me lie—some silent o'er head
Are beating beautiful and blue.

Oh, what a heavenly hour is this—
The green air seems in Eden's home—
And yet I find my bliss
For purer bliss yet to come!
How can my spirit gaze so high
Upon your deep blue sky,
And float to those far realms so soft,
And never wish to flutter through!

And this spot, so still, so lone,
Seems formed to suit my mortal mood—
The far the leafy fern all my own,
And all this lovely solitude!
A voice seems whispering on the hill
Soft as my own, and in the sea
A living spirit seems to thrill
And thrill with mine deliciously!

Yet thy thoughts from cars seem free,
And a soft joy pervades my breast,
That makes me almost feel indeed
That hearts on earth are sometimes blest!

There is a spell in these hazy skies—
A something felt in the air,
That makes me feel so glad
With longings for—'t know not what!

Beneath such skies I sometimes doubt
My heart can e'er have dreamed of sin—
The world seems all so calm without,
And all my thoughts so pure within!
Such dreams as these my faded lid
Such heavenly visions meet my view!
I almost seem to glimpse
The angel bands, in angelic too!

Miscellaneous.

SPEECH

OF HON. S. A. DOUGLASS, OF ILLINOIS,

At the Democratic Celebration of the Anniversary of American Freedom, in Independence Square, July 4, 1854.

The Hon. S. A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois was introduced by the Hon. John L. Dawson, and great cheering. Mr. Dawson said he had the honor of presenting the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas of the United States Senate. Judge Douglas, as you will know, represents with high distinction in the councils of the nation, one of those noble characters of States in the Ohio valley, whose transition from the condition of primeval solitudes to that of populous and flourishing empires, is one of the marvels of the times. His presence among us on this occasion is an agreeable monitor of the extent of that glorious march of republican liberty, which began three quarters of a century ago under the banner of Independence, first reared upon the very spot on which we are now gathered. Conspicuous for his high abilities and indomitable energy, which have won for him an honorable fame at an early age, his patriotism has been illustrated by the sternest trials, and to borrow the language of another in reference to a brother Senator, upon a very different occasion, I may say, without fear of exaggeration, that he would have done for a Senator of Rome what Rome survived.

Mr. Douglas then spoke as follows:
Mr. President and Fellow Citizens!

While I am profoundly grateful for the generous enthusiasm with which you have received the kind remarks of my friend General Dawson, I know not whether I ought to make my acknowledgments to him for having created in your minds expectations which it is impossible for me to fulfill. I feel that it is good for us to be here on this day. The day and the place are consecrated to liberty. It is a hallowed spot. I enter Independence Square—I approach Independence Hall on the Fourth of July, with feelings akin to those of the Pilgrim when he approaches the holy place. It is the birthplace of American Liberty. Here the Declaration of Independence was first promulgated—here the Constitution of the United States was formed. On this very spot, words proclaimed in that Declaration and embodied in that Constitution these glorious principles of civil and religious freedom, which our fathers have transmitted to us as the most precious of all earthly blessings. (Great applause.)

In these days, when efforts are being made to stir up sectional strife, and organize political parties on geographical lines—when religious intolerance and persecution are being practiced through the agency of secret associations—and when men in high places sacrilegiously deny all obligation to carry into effect the plain and imperative injunctions of the constitution which they have sworn to support, it is well for good men and true patriots to assemble on our national birth-day, at the birthplace of our liberties, and unite their efforts to preserve our republican institutions by perpetuating the principles upon which they rest. (Applause.)

On the 4th of July, '76, from the place where I now stand, our forefathers declared that "These Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." That was the starting point. Thirteen British colonies were on that day converted into thirteen independent American States. The language is clear and explicit. The colonies which led to the separation, and the instructions which the several colonies gave to their delegates in the Congress, prescribing the conditions upon which the declaration of independence was to be made, clearly show why this emphatic language was used. The colonies did not in the first instance demand independence. They were willing to acknowledge their allegiance to the British crown, provided they were left free to manage and regulate their own internal affairs and domestic concerns in their own way, without the interference of the Imperial Government. They were willing to recognize the right of Great Britain to grant colonial charters, like the organic laws of our Territorial Governments, by which the people of the colonies might make their own laws through their representatives in their local legislatures, but they solemnly protested against the right of the Imperial Parliament, in which they had no representation, to make laws, affecting their persons and property without their consent. Upon this point the separation took place, and the Declaration of Independence which you have just heard read, declared the thirteen colonies to be "free and independent States." But before the Declaration was made, the colonies gave instructions to their delegates, prescribing the conditions, upon which each would consent to such a declaration. These instructions all prescribe the fundamental condition—that each colony shall have the right to manage their internal affairs and domestic concerns as to them shall seem best and proper. (Great applause.)

The instructions which Pennsylvania gave to her Delegates as to the condition upon which they were to vote for the Declaration of Independence contained this emphatic clause:
"Resolving to the people of this colony the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and fabric of the same." (Cheers and applause.)

The Constitution of the United States was formed and adopted by the people of these thirteen States, each acting for itself and upon its own responsibility, as distinct and independent sovereignties. By the Constitution this form, and under which we now live, each State was left entirely free to regulate its own domestic institutions in accordance with the great fundamental principle of self-government, asserted in the declaration of independence, and in violation of which all the battles of the Revolution were fought. (Applause.)

We are frequently told by the abolitionists that the Constitution of the United States is an anti-slavery instrument. I desire to let the people of Missouri see the extent of African slavery, and of extending and extending it where it was found to exist. Those who make this statement furnish conclusive evidence that they do not understand the principles of the Constitution, nor the history of the times, when it was adopted. At the period of the adoption of the Constitution, there were twenty-two States in which it was found, were slaveholding States. It is reasonable to expect us to presume, on mere assertion and without evidence, that these twelve slaveholding States devised and ratified the Constitution with the views of destroying a domestic institution which was interwoven with their whole social and political system, as one of the legitimate elements of political power in the federal representation? Why that clause in the federal constitution providing for the surrender of fugitives from service, if it was the object of that instrument to abolish slavery, and release the slaves from bondage? The provisions of the Constitution in this respect are rendered, preposterous by the terms of the Constitution itself. The idea of either establishing or abolishing—extending or curtailing slavery by the Constitution of the United States or by the action of the federal government, never entered the brain of the framers of the Constitution. African slavery, whether in the States or in the Territories, was at that time existing in twelve of the thirteen States. The institution was planted by the British government in each of the thirteen colonies without their consent and against their remonstrances. The war of the revolution converted the dependent colonies into independent States, without changing, or lessening the rights of the master of the man of color. Slavery existed to exist in the States, but still remained in all the others, Pennsylvania included, at the time the Constitution of the United States was formed.

With the few exceptions expressly provided for in that instrument, it was the design of the Constitution to recognize and protect whatever institution each State might wish to establish or abolish or regulate. The people of each State were left entirely free to choose for themselves what kind of domestic institutions they would have, and so soon and so long as each State should thus determine, it became the duty of the Federal government, under the Constitution, to protect such institutions in the several States, as they should be found to exist. For instance, Pennsylvania was a slaveholding State at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and remained so more than a quarter of a century before the institution closed under the decree of her own people. So long as Pennsylvania continued to legalize slavery by her own laws and Constitution, the Constitution of the United States recognized and protected the institution of slavery within her limits, as solemnly and imperatively as it now recognizes and protects the prohibition which Pennsylvania has imposed on slavery within her own limits. The same remark is applicable to New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. Each of these States established slavery within their limits at the time and for a long period subsequent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution—and each of them has abolished and prohibited slavery without the consent or interference of Congress. No man denied the right of each of these States, under the Constitution, to retain the institution of slavery, so long as they chose to do so—no man denied the right to abolish it at the time it was abolished in each by voluntary action of their own people—and I presume that no man will now deny the right of each of these States to introduce slavery, provided their own people should deem it just and wise to do so by the modification of their local Constitution and laws. If I bring concealed into the original States, one and all, have the undoubted right under the Constitution, to introduce or enslave slavery at pleasure, with what reason can it be contended that a different rule may or should be applied to the new States? It hardly requires an argument to prove that each State of this Union must be equal in respect to its rights and powers to every other State. The States are sovereign and independent in all things except where the Constitution of the United States has imposed limitations. These limitations apply alike to all the States of the Union, new and old, slaveholding and non-slaveholding. No other limitation upon the sovereignty of a State can be

imposed than those contained in the constitution—none can be imposed by act of Congress—none by any branch of the federal government—none by any earthly power, except the Constitution of the United States. Entire and perfect equality, therefore, amongst all the States of the Union in respect to their rights of legislation and sovereignty, is a cardinal and fundamental principle in our republican system. Indeed, the moment you impose upon the rights of any one State a limitation which the Constitution has not enjoined upon all the States, such State ceases to be a STATE, within the meaning of the Constitution. Such limitation produces, inferiority where the Constitution has provided for perfect equality. Under the clause of the Constitution providing for the admission of "new States," as a general thing, Congress is invested with a discretion to admit or reject, in the exercise of new States, into the Union, it must be in a State, with all the powers and rights of a State under the Constitution, and on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever. Therefore, whatever powers are possessed by any one State—old or new—in respect to slavery, whether, under the constitution, be exercised by each and every State. In pursuance of this sovereign right, which is common to all the States, sixteen of the States of the Union have abolished or prohibited slavery, while two other fifteen States have recognized and protected it within their limits. The great principle of equality and self-government is guaranteed in the compromise measures of 1850.

The acts for the admission and organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah, each contains the stipulation that when said territories or any part thereof shall be admitted into the Union as States, they shall be received with or without slavery, as their constitutions shall provide at the time of admission. The Nebraska Bill, which has passed Congress at this session, also carried into effect the same principle in the precise language of the compromise measures, which I have just quoted. (Great applause.)

In 1820 Congress passed an act to authorize the people of Missouri, as far as they pleased, to form a constitution preparatory to their admission into the Union as a State, on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatsoever. The 30th section of the act declared that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the territory acquired from France north 36 deg. 30 min. and not embraced by the Missouri law of 1820, and that the prohibition never went into practical operation, for the reason, that the country was filled with slaveholders, and set apart by law and treaty as an Indian territory, from which all white men were excluded by severe penalties. Hence the prohibition of the Missouri act, which relates to slavery, has remained a dead letter on the statute book for thirty-four years, having no civilized people for it to operate upon, and its application to the Indians being necessarily impeded by acts of Congress known as the Indian Intercourse laws. On the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, therefore, the question arose whether the prohibition of the Missouri act, as far as it related to the territory of Nebraska, was to be applied to the Indians being necessarily impeded by acts of Congress known as the Indian Intercourse laws. On the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, therefore, the question arose whether the prohibition of the Missouri act, as far as it related to the territory of Nebraska, was to be applied to the Indians being necessarily impeded by acts of Congress known as the Indian Intercourse laws. On the introduction of the Nebraska Bill, therefore, the question arose whether the prohibition of the Missouri act, as far as it related to the territory of Nebraska, was to be applied to the Indians being necessarily impeded by acts of Congress known as the Indian Intercourse laws.

Why should the people of Nebraska and Kansas be permitted to raise this question of slavery for themselves, as you did in Pennsylvania, and as we did in Illinois? Are they not capable of self-government? Who are they and where did they come from, that this mark of inferiority should be stamped upon them? Did they not go and are they not now going by the thousands to the East, to the West, to the South, and to the North—from all the States of the Union, old and new, free and slaveholding? Were they not as well qualified to decide the question correctly before they started, as you are who were their neighbors and kindred? Do you think that they lost any considerable portion of their intelligence by the way, so that they were unable to compare and perform as they do now? If they arrived in the new Territories with their wives and children? Suppose you, who are listening to me with such kind attention, should conclude to emigrate to those fair lands, do you think that when you should have arrived at your new homes, and have become familiar with the country, its resources, condition, and wants, you would raise the same question of slavery for yourselves, as you did in Pennsylvania, and as we did in Illinois? Are they not capable of self-government? Who are they and where did they come from, that this mark of inferiority should be stamped upon them? Did they not go and are they not now going by the thousands to the East, to the West, to the South, and to the North—from all the States of the Union, old and new, free and slaveholding? Were they not as well qualified to decide the question correctly before they started, as you are who were their neighbors and kindred? Do you think that they lost any considerable portion of their intelligence by the way, so that they were unable to compare and perform as they do now? 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