Richard Morgan



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.

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Political.

From Putnam's Magazine. AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS.

An Individual masked under the vulgar name of Sam, furnishes just now a good deal legislators and journalists are fed. Whether he is a mythical or real personage—a Magus or a monkey—nobody seems to know, but we are inclined to regard him as real, because of his general acceptance among Dalgetty poli-ticians. and because of the irresistible merriment his occasional "coming down" on something or other affords the newspapers. We saw a paunchy old gentleman the other day, with a face like the sun, only more red, and blue and spotty, and a dismally wheezy voice, who came near being carried off with a ponderous apoplectic chuckle, when somebody 'casually observed that "Sam was pitching into the police," and he was only relieved and this old gentleman unquestionably a real disciple of his, we are at a loss to account for the reality of the phenomena thus exhibited.

But whether real or mythical, it has been impossible for us to raise our admiration of

nor by an oligarchy, nor by any class such as the red-haired part of the inhabitants, or the blue-eyed part; nor yet a government for any other end than the good of the entire nationbut the democratic republic, pure and simple. This is the political organism which individualises us, or separates us a living unity from all the rest of the world.

Atl this, of course, would be too elementary to be recounted in any mature discussion, if recent events had not made it necessary to an adequate answer of our second question-who, then, are Americans? Who constitute the people in whose hands the destinies of Amer-ica are to be deposited?

The fashionable answer in these times is "the natives of this Continent to be sure !" But let us ask again, in that case whether our old friends Uncas and Chingachgook, and Kag-ne-ga-bow-wow-whether Walk-in-thewater, and Talking-snake, and Big-yellowthunder, are to be considered Americans har excellence? Alas! no: for they, poor fellows! are all trudging towards the setting sun, and soon their red and dusky figures will have faded in the darker shadows of the night! Is more than half the pabulum wherewith certain legislators and journalists are fed. Whether he is a mythical or real personage—a Magus or a monkey—nobody seems to know, but we ica be as we have shown more than the soil of America, we do not see how a mere cloddy derivation from it entitles one to the name of American. Clearly, that title cannot enure to us from the mere argilli cious or sillicious compounds of our bodies—clearly, it descends from no vegetable ancestry—and it must dis-dain to trace itself to that simple relationship to physical nature which we chance to enjoy. in common with the skunk, the rattlesnake, and the catamount. All these are only the natural production of America-excellent, no from the fatal consequences by a series of des-perate movements, which resembled those of a seventy-four getting-under-weigh again af-ter the sudden stroke of a typhoon Now, if Sam was not unquestionably a real personage, and to the divine affections, which lift his politics out of the slime of state-craft, into the air of great humanitary purposes.

The real American, then, is he-no matter whether his corporal chemistry was first igni-Sam to the popular pitch. After due and dil- ted in Kaunschatka or the moon-who, abanligent inquiry, we have arrived at only a mo-derate estimate of his qualities. In fact, con-sidering the mystery in which he shrouds his heart to the impulses and ends in which and ways, we are disposed to believe that he is by which it subsists. If we have arrived at more of a Jerry Sneak than a hero The as- years of discretion-if he produces evidence sumption of secresy on the part of any one, of a capacity to understand the relations he naturally starts our suspicious. We cannot undertakes—if he has resided in the atmossee why he should resort to it, if he harbors only just or generous designs. We associate darkness and night with things that are foul, the true and best sense of the term. Or, if not an American, pray what is he? An Englishman, a German, an Irishman, he can no longer be ; he has cast the slough of day, which sculks behind corners, and wriggle his old political relations forever : he has asserted his sacred right of expatriation (which the United States was the first of nations to sanction) or been expatriated by his too ardent love of the cause which the United States represents ; and he can never return to the ancient fold. It would spurn him more incontinently than powder spurns the fire. He must become, then, either a wanderer or a nondescript on the face of the earth or be received into our generous republican arms. It is our habit to say that we know of no race or cordially accept. He is said to have said that creed, but the race of man and the creed of "America belongs to Americans"—just as democracy, and if he appeals to us, as a man his immortal namesake, Sam Patch, said that and as a Democrat, there is no alternative in " some things could be done as well as oth- the premises. We must either deny is claims ers,"-and we thank him for the concession. altogether-deny that he is a son of God and It is good, very excellent good, -as the logi- our brother-or else we must incorporate him cal Touchstone would have exclaimed, provi- in due season into the household. It is not ed you put a proper meaning to it. What is America, and who are Americans? enough that we offer him shelter from the rain—not enough that we mend his lopped It all depends upon that, and, accordingly as and windowed raggedness-not enough that you answer, will the phrase appear very wise or very foolish. If you are determined to consider America as a thing more than the two or three million square miles of dirt, in-cluded between the Granite Hills and the Pa-any one, not himself a brute, would willingly cific, and Americans as those men exclusively extend to a horse found astray on the common. Shall we do no more for our fellows? it, we fear that you have not penetrated to Have we discharged our whole duty, as men the real beauty and significance of the terms. to men, when we have avouched the sympa-The soul of a muck-worm may very naturally thies we would freely render to a cat? Do we, in truth, recognize their claims at all, when we refuse to confess that higher nature it will soon be resolved, but the soul of a man, in them, whereby alone they are men, and unless we are hugely misinformed claims a not stocks or animals? More than that: do loftier origin, and looks forward to a nobler we not, by refusing to confess a man's manhood, in reality heap him with the heaviest injury it is in our power to inflict, and wound him with the bitterest insult his spirit can receive. We can easily conceive the justness with which an alien, escaping to our shore from the oppression of his own country, or voluntarily abandoning it for the sake of a better life, abandoning it for the sake of a better life, might reply to those who receive him hospita-bly, but deny him political association : "For your good will, I thank you—for the privilege of toiling against the grim inclemencies of my outcast and natural condition, which you ofthe first time amid the cannon volleys of Bun-ker Hill, and gave its first peep when the old State House bell at Philadelphia rang out "hberty to all the land." Before that pe-riod, the straggling and dependent colonies which were here were the mere spawn of the alder nations,—the eggs and embryos of America, but not the full-fledged bird. It was not until the political Constitution of '89 had been accepted by the people that Ameri-ca attained a oomplete and distinctive exis-tence, er that she was able—continuing the figure with which we began—to spread her "sheeny vans," and shout a cock-a-doodle to the sun.

with us as to compel either the exclusion or the extrusion of our alien residents. They are not such a violent interpolation, as when grains of sand, to use Coleridge's figure, have got between the shell and the fiesh of the snail—that they will kill us if we do not put them out and keep them out. A prodigious bue and cry against them wakes the echoes of with us as to compel either the exclusion or the vicinage just now, such as is raised when a pack of hungry foxes stray into the honest hen roost, but the clamor is quite disproportionate to the occasion. The foxes are by no tionate to the occasion. The loxes are by no means so numerous or predacious as they are imagined to be, and there is no danger of them for the future that we need to be trans-fixed with fright, or scamper away in a stamp-ede of panic terror. The evils which our past experience of Naturalization has made known to us-for there are some-are not unmanageable evils, requiring a sudden and spasmodic remedy, and menacing a disastrous overthrow unless they are instantly tackled. death—the instant and universal excitement— The most of them are like the other evils of the elevation of a bully of the bar-room inte The most of them are fixe the other evens of our social condition—mere incidents of an in-fantile or transitional state—of a life not yet arrived at full maturity—and will be worked off in the regular course of things. At any fantile or transitional state—of a life not yet arrived at full maturity—and will be worked off in the regular course of things. At any rate they solicit no head-strong, desperate as-sault; only a consciousness, of what and where our real strength is, and patient-self control. On the other hand, it is a fixed conviction of ours, in respect to this whole subject of aliens,-that there is much less danger in accepting them, under almost any circumstances, than there would be in attempting to keep them out. In the latter case, by separating them from the common life of community,them from the common life of community,— making them amenable to laws for which they are yet not responsible,—taxing them for the support of a government in which they are not represented,—calling upon them for purposes of defence when they have no real country to defended—we should in effect erect them into a distinct and subordinate class, on which we had fastened a very positive stigma or degra-dation. How lamentable and inevitable the

consequences of such a social contrast. The reader, doubtless, has often seen a wretched oak by the way-side, whose trunk is all gnarled and twisted into knots; or he may have passed through the wards of a hospital, where beautiful human bodies are eaten with ry residence. ulcers and sores ; or he may have read of the Pariahs of India outcasts, who live in hovels away from the citics, and prey on property like rats and wea-sels; or again chance may have led him through the Jews' quarters, the horrid ghettos of the old continental town, where squalor accompanies ineffable crime: or, finally, his inquiries may have made him familiar with the free blacks of his own country, with their hopeless degradations and miseries! Well, if these experiences have been his, he has discerned in them the exponments—in some, the symbols, and in others, the actual effects of the terrible spirit of exclusion, when it is worked out in society. For, it is a universal truth, that whatever thing enjoys but a partial participation of the life to which it generally belongs, get, to the extent of the deprivation. diseased. It is also a universal truth, that apply with equal force. the spread of that disease will, sooner or later, affect the more living members. Make any class of men, for instance, an exception in society; set them apart in a way which shall exclude them from the more vital circulations of that society ; place them in relations which shall breed in them a sense of alienation and become either blotches, or parasites, which corrupt it; or else a band of conspirators, more or less active, making war upon its integrity. Let us suppose that some ruler, a Louis Napoleon or Dr. Francia, should decree that degradation at the same time-and they must Let us see for a moment. all the inhabitants of a certain country, of ob-lique or defective vision, should be rigidly confine! to one of the lower mechanical occupations, would not all the squint eyed and short-sighted people be immediately degraded in the estimation of the rest of the community? Would not the feeling of that debasement act as an perpetual irritant to their malice—lead them to hate the rest and to prey upon them— weak-between straoismic families and those of a more legitimate ocularity? In the same way, but with even more certainty and viru-lence of effect, any legal distinctions among a How many of them will live to be over fortylence of effect, any legal distinctions among a people, founded upon differences of birth or race must generate unpleasant and pernicious relations, which, in the end, could only be maintained by force. Say to the quarter mil-lion of foreigners who annually arrive on our shores, that, like the metoikoi and perioikoi of the Greeks, they may subsist here, but noth-ing more; that the privileges of the inside of the city, suffrage, office, equality; ambition, the city, suffrage, office, equality, ambition, are closed to them; that they may sport for our amusement in the arenas, look on at our courts, do our severer labors for us, and rev- est, but to all the rest it would be a fata morerently admire our greatness; but that they shall have no part nor lot in that political life which is the central and distinguishing life of which is the central and distinguishing the of the nation, and so forth; you convert them, infallibly, into enemics—into the worst kind of enemies, too—because internal enemies, who have already effected a lodgment in the midst of your eitadel. Coming as an invading army—these thousands—with avowed unmake the full-fielded bird. It is the opticital Constitution of '85 male control is consection in the construction of the field construction. There is the construction of the field construction of the consection is consection is consection in the construction of the consection is consection is consection in the construction of the consection is consecting in the constructin or constru

head. No causes were more potent, in sunown country now—scarcely except slavery— more subtile or formidable than the danger which lurks in those ill suppressed hatreds of organized-the bitter taunts and encounters these are marks of a soreness which needs only to be irritated to suppurate in social war. Our statesman at Washington are justly sensible of the dangers of sectional divisions but no sectional divisions which it is possible to arouse are half so much to be dreaded as an inflamed and protracted contest between natives and aliens, or Catholics and Protes-tants. The divisions which spring from terri-torial interests appeal to few of the deeper passions of the soul, but the divisions of race and religion touch a cord in the human heart which vibrates to the intensest malignity of hell. Accordingly, the pen of the historian registers many brutal antagonisms-many last-ing and terrible wars, but the most brutal of all those antagonisms, the most lasting and terrible of all those wars, are the antagonisms

of race, and the wars of religion. It will be replied to what we have hitherto urged, that our argument proceeds upon an assumption that aliens are to be totally excluded from political life, whereas nobody propo-ses such a thing, but only a longer preparato-

We rejoin, that the persons and parties who are now agitating the general question, because they propose the exclusion of adopted citizens ce, do, in effect, propose a total political disqualification of foreigners. All their invectives, all their speeches, all their secret assemblages, have this end and no other. They agree to ostracise politically every man who is not born on our soil ; they conspire not to nominate to any preferment, not to vote for any candidate who issborn abroad; and these agreements and conspiracies are a pres-ent disfranchisement, so far as they are effective, of every adopted citizen, and a future anathema of every alien. Whether the aim anathema of every alen. Whether the all be accomplished by public opinion, by secret conclave, or by law, the consequences are the same; and the general objections we have al-leged to the division of society into castes We rejoin again-in respect to the distinction made between a total exclusion of foreigners, and a change in the naturalization laws-that it is a distinction which really amounts to nothing; for, firstly, if the probation be extended to a long period—say twenty one years, as some recommend—it would be equivalent to a total exclusion : and, secondly, Firstly, as to the term of twenty-one years: We say that, inasmuch as the majority of for-eigners who arrive on our shores are twentyfive years of age and over when they arrive, when their faculties and their interests in hu-man affairs will have begun to decline.-Whether they will care to solicit their right at that period is doubtful, and, if they do, they of the emigrants might possibly benefit by the hope of one day becoming citizens, and look forward to it with some degree of intergana, and the protracted test virtually an in-Secondly, as to any shorter novitiate—say ten or twelve years—it would not be more effective, in the way of qualifying the pupil, than the existing term. As the law now stands, an alien giving three years notice of intention, must have been five years nouse of tively a resident of the United States, and one year a resident of the State and county in

The case must be one so clear as to leave no doubt of it, as an absolute case of self-defence. Now, there is no such overruling necessity History is full of warnings to us on this the exclusive association among themselves for so many years longer, in which they would be kept—while they would lose, as we shall show more fully, hereafter, the best means of fitting themselves for good citizenship, in le-sing the educational influences of actual po-litical life.

It is true, in respect to the present laws of naturalization, that our courts have shown a baneful laxity in enforcing their conditions, and that our leading parties, corrupt everey where, are nowhere more corrupt than in their where, are nowhere more corrupt than in their modes of naturalizing foreigners; but there is no reason to expect that either courts or par-ties will grow more sincere under more strin-gent laws. They will have the same motives, ties will grow more sincere under more strin-gent laws. They will have the same motives, nd be just as eager to license fraudulent vo-ters then as they are now; and the few days before a great presidential election will exhibit the same disgraceful scenes of venality and falschood. No simple change in the time of the law, at any rate, can work any improve-ment. Nor will such a change render it any more difficult for the dishonest alien to procure the franchise. He can just as easily swear to a long residence as a short one, while it will have much happen that the rarer we make the privilege, the more we increase the difficulties of access to it, the longer we postpone the minority, the greater will be his inducements to evade the law. In proportion as a prize becomes more valuable, the temptations to a surreptitious seizure of it increase, but where an end is easily achieved, the trouble of waiting till it be obtained in the regular way is preferred to the hazards of a clandestine or criminal at-

tempt to carry it off. Besides, it is a puerile piece of injustice towards the alien to inflict him with a disability because of our own laches. We have failed to administer our laws as they should be, and, experiencing some injury in consequence, we turn round to abuse the foreigner, like a foolish and petulent by who kicks the stone over which he stunded. The more magnanmous as well as sensible course would be to amend our faults. Let us make the five years of probation what the courts may easily make them, by rigidly exacting the criterions of the law—an interval of real preparations for citizenship-and the present term will be found long enough. But whether long enough or not, the question of time-that is, whether it shall be five or ten is a simple constion of internal policy, not of lasting principles, to be determined by the facts of experience, and by no means justifying the virulent and whole-sale denunciations of foreigners, it is the fash-

given him a European as well as American reputation for his accurate scientific acquire ments. The London Lancet on the first ap-pearance of the Scalpel, claimed the credit of originating "this glorious journal," in seven pages of extracts, alleging "that if there had been no Lancet in Europe, there would have been no Scalpel in America;" the London News and the Times followed, and declared that the journal had all the charms of a ro-mance, with the highest moral and scientific tone. Several other works, on practical sub-jects, have originated from Dr. Dixon's pen, and have proved his varied capacity for severe investigation of the more abstract principles of his profession. His practice, however, is surgeon."

Dr. Dixon's social habits are most agree Dr. Dixon's social habits are most agreea-ble; no man can be in his company without catching the mirthful contagion of his warm impulsiveness. The social reunions at his house are rendered peculiarly delightful by the refined yet genial receptions of a wife and daughter, whose charming naturalness of man-ner render them universally beloved and ad-mired amongst the intellectual circle by which the removed of the monitors of the social circle by which mired amongst the intellectual circle by which they are surrounded. He requires and takes much exercise on foot; until of late years, twenty or thirty mile walks in the country, were of semi-weekly occurrence; at present he may be seen striding through the streets, and rushing into shops and printing offices, like some wiry and high-strung race-horse. He has a powerful muscular system, and not a pound of fat on his body, nor ever will he have; he is too active. have; he is too active.

A peculiarity of Dr. Dixon's is the extra-A peculiarity of Dr. Dixon's is the extra-ordinary retentiveness of his memory, especi-ally for the more classic productions of the poets. We have heard it related of him, that on occasion of a long ride to one of the watering places, in company with the Henor-able Robt. J. Walker, and St. George Camp-bell, of Philadelphia, the conversation was chiefty on Poetry when the Doctor graded so chiefly on Poetry, when the Doctor quoted so freely from Chaucer down to our living poets, that a wager was made the next evening, that by no means justifying the virulent and whole-sale denunciations of foreigners, it is the fash-ion with some to fulminate. BYOGRAPHY. Edward H. Dixon, M. D, the well known surgeon of this city, is one of those men whose originality and force of character is well cal-culated to arrest the attention of American wanth. If we were called on to measure the the ladies carried it by acclathe quotations were poured forth like a water-fall. The interest was greatly heightened by ted, or to draw upon his own memory and reading for the titles. Our informant remarks, that he never saw the feelings of an audience so played upon by any dramatist on the public stage. Several bundred verses were re-peated, amid tears and shouts of laughter of the audience, and it was voted nem. con, that the Doctor was entitled to the thanks of the house for his inimitable entertainment. On several occasions Dr. Dixon has addressed the young men of this city on physical and intellectual culture, and given ample proof by his masterly control of the audience, that he might have taken the highest rank as legal orator or a statesmen. He takes, howlegal orator or a statesmen. He takes, how-ever, no part in politics, and the writer has heard him say, he never in all his life was present at a political meeting. There is not an actor of any note who has appeared upon our boards for twenty years preceding the last ten, of whom the Doctor cannot give a graphic impersonation in voice and manner; but his extensive professional duties and journal now absorb his entire attention, se that he is rarely seen at places of amasement. river to Fort Washington on the New York side, by a file of Hessian soldiers; but he re-fused to give the least information, and was returned by the indignant Briton, who became ashamed of his conduct from the lofty tone of his prisoner. None who have read the inci-dent as told by Dr. Dixon, or followed him through the pages of his journal, will be sur-prised at the following sketch of his profes-sional career; the inherits the boldness and love of liberty of his progenitors. It will be seen that he is as celebrated in health, are equal in eloquence to any we have ever read, and will do more to elevate the the use of the actual scalpel, as that inky one which has gained him so much reputation : his operations on the eye, and in all the more delicate departments of his profession, have given him deserved celebrity. We have heard it said, that his first operation was the ex-traction of the Cataract, and that it was done successfully with a common lancet! Such a thing could only be true of one who was born for an operator, for the operation is conceded to he the most delicate one known to surgeons

and we admire the saying, that twilight even. though a favorite with lovers, is also faverable to thieves. Schemes which shrink from the themselves into obscure and crooked places, aro not the schemes we love at a venture -And all the veiled prophets, we apprehend, are very much like that one we read of in the palace of Morou, who hid his face, as he pretended to his admirers, because its brightness would strike them dead, but in reality because it was of an ugliness so monstrous that no one could look upon it and live.

There is an utterance, however, imputed to this impervious and oracular Sam, which we ded you put a proper meaning to it.

whose bodies happened to be fashioned from be contented with identifying itself with the mould from which it is bre l, and into which destiny.

America, in our sense of the word embraces a complex idea. It means, not simply the soil with its coal, cotton, and corn, but the nationality by which that soil is occupied, and the political system in which such occupants are organized. The soil existed long before Vespucci gave it a name, --as long back, it may be, as when the morning stars sang together, -- but the true America, a mere chicken still, dates from the last few years of the eighteenth century. It picked its shell for the first time amid the cannon volleys of Bun-

youth. If we were called on to present a mation, that he must proceed. Peculiar strong example of what may be called the ex-ecutive temperament, we should find it difficult fire and pathos, and inimitable quaintness as ecutive temperament, we should find it difficult to discover a more distinctive one than the subject of the present sketch; as a surgeon he has been long colebrated for the extraordinary delicacy and success of his operations in all the more difficult departments of his profession ; it is only of late years the public has been called on to criticize his efforts as a pioneer in the cause of medical reform. He has demanded and received so large a portion of attention both here and in Europe, for his celebrated journal, the Scalpel, now in the seventh year of its existence, that we conceive our readers will be interested in a slight biographical sketch of its editor and originator : it is furnished by a friend intimately acquain-ted with the domestic habits of this extraor-

dinary man. He descended from English and French parent-age, and his ancestors were amongst the earliest inhabitants of this city. He was born on the first day of January, 1809, and is now in his 47th year. He is a man of iron nerve, and will unconquerable. A very beautiful page of his family history may be found in the last August number of his Scal-pel; it details with touching simplicity the noble conduct of his maternal grandfather, when summoned to betray General Washing-ton, who was his guest at Fort Lee in 1776. He was seized at midnight by General Knyp-hausen, the day after the evacuation of Fort Lee, and conveyed from his home across the river to Fort Washington on the New York

It will be seen that he is as celebrated in the use of the actual scalpel, as that inky one

