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aill attend promptly to all business entrusted a bis cure. March 28, 1860 .- 1y, pd. to his cure. ELLIS IRWIN & SONS,

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ROBERT J. WALLACE, ATTERNEY AT LAW, Clearfield, Pa., Office in Ehsw's Row, oposite the Jeurnal office.

SPEECH OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS Delivered in the United States eSnate, Thursday, January 3d, 1961. Mr. Douglas asked that the report of the Committe of Thirteen be taken up .--Mr. D. proceeded to address the Senate. He said no act of his public life ever gave him so much pain as to vote for the resolution. The Committee could not agree. In order to see the cause of the trouble, we must go back to the late election. We should assume that whenever Con-Union and enforce the laws to put down gress undertook to act on the slavery rebellion and insurrection, and to use all question, discord and agitation was sure the power conferred by the Constitution to follow. When Congress let the question alone there was peace. He referred for that purpose. But we must look the facts in the face. We must take notice to the time when the Missouri Comproof those things whose existence cannot be mise was enacted. The fearful agitation denied. History teaches us that rebellion of 1820 was settled by the establishment often becomes successful revolution ; and of the compromise line. So long as that the greatest republies and proudest mons adjustment was carried out, there was peace and quiet. Texas was adjusted archies have found it necessary to recogquietly under this rule, though there was nize the existence of a Government de facto great contrariety of opinion. But no in the rebellion of States and provinces .-one objected because it extended that Such was the condition of of the Ameriline. Again, California and New Mexico can colonies for seven years after the Decwere acquired, and the extension of the laration of Independence. At first, it line to the Pacific ocean was demanded. was rebellion, and rebellion was treason. The records show that he reported, as A few months afterwards, it was revolu-Chairman of the Committee on Territo- tion and a Government de facto at Philaries, a resolution to extend the line to the delphia, Mr. Hancock, President, and Washington, Commander of the armies. Pacific. This was adopted in the Senate, but when it was sent to the House it was Rebellion had ceased and revolution takrejected by Northern votes. That open- en its place. The American colonies ed the flood gates of the agitation of 1848, were in revolt, had Governments de facto which was settled by the Compromise of and Great Britain, proud as she was, was 1850. When we settle this question in compelled to recognize the existing state the Territories then we shall settle it en. of facts. The laws of nations, and all the * We laws of civilization demanded that the tirely. * * * * * come now to the consideration of that Government de facto be acknowledged. party which has plunged the country in. But the laws must be enforced. In our to a state of discord. It is folly for any system of Government the laws are to be man not to see facts which do exist. The enforced by civil authority, assisted by result of the recent election, in connec- the militia and posse comitatur, when the tion with all the circumstances with which Marshal is resisted. If the colonies, or a

it is surrounded, have led the people of State, revolt, the revolution is complete the South to form the convictions that it when the Federal authorities are expelled, is a fixed policy of the dominate party of and no one is left to acknowledge allegithe North to invade and destroy their ance to the United States. How are you constitutional rights, and they are ready going to enforce the laws then ? How are to rush, rashly I think, into all the hor- you going to do it in South Carolina? rors of revolution and disunion, rather She has passed an ordinance of secession. than to submit to what they think the I deny her right to secede but she has impending blow which hangs over them. done it. The revolution is complete .-The Senator from Ohio (Mr. Wade) ac- She has no human being in her borders to

tween eighteen States on one side and fifteen seceding States on the other, is to me a revolting thing. For what purpose is this war to be waged? Certainly not for the purpose of preserving the Union. I have too much respect for gentlemen on the other side of the chamber, collectively and individually, to believe there is one of them who does not know that war is disunion. You cannot expect to exterminate ten millions of people, whose passions are exhibited with the belief that you mean to invade their homes and light the flames of insurrection in their midst. You must expect to exterminate them, or subjugate them, or else, when you get tied of war, to make a treaty with them .-No matter if the war lasts one year, or, seven yers, or thirty years it must have an end at .some time. Sooner or later, both parties will become tired and exhausted, and when rendered incapable of fighting any longer, they will make a treaty of peace, and that treaty will be one of separation. The history of this world does not furnish an example of war of sections or between States of the same nation. where the war ended in reconciliation .-peace, and a final, ctornal separation. 1 don't understand then, how a man can claim to be a friend of the Uniou. New, the question must be met, and whatever concessions I am called upon to make I knowleged the existence of this conviction acknowledge our authority. This is all inthe minds of the Southern people, and wrong, but how are you going to help it? more pride of country than I. It hunbles my pride to see the authority of the Government questioned, but we are not the first nation whose pride has thus been humblee. Republics, empires, and kingdoms alike, in all ages, have been subject to the same humilitating fact, but when there is a deep seated discontent pervading ten millions of people, penetrating every man, woman, and child, and involving everything dear to them, it is time for inquiring shether there is not some cause for this feeling. If there be just cause for it, in God's name let us remove it. Are we not criminal, in the sight of Heaven and posterity, if we do not remove the just cause? If there is no cause, and yet they believe there is, so much the great. er the necessity for removing the misconception.

ed it, and I would rejoice now to be cor- fere with slavery in the States, why not pose is not to interfere with slavery in the seat of the disease which is exhausting rected, that it is the policy of this party put an amendment to the Constitution ; States. But, Mr. President, tell when or the vitals of our Republic. How to reto prohibit slavery in all the Territories so that they cannot do it. There must where a Republican meeting has been move it, God only knows. The expresof the United States now owned or here be a settlement of some sort now. It held, since the dawn of that party, where sion of sentiment, under our institutions, after acquired with a view to surrounding cannot be postponed. We are in a state the impression was not left, either by its cannot be suppressed, and can be slightthe slave States with a cordon of Abolit- of revolution. It is compromise or war. proceedings or in the language of the ora- ly restrained ; and I had reference to this ion States, and thus keep slavery confin- He preferred compromise. He said it tors, that in some way or other the Re. feeling mainly when I remarked, on the ed until the number increases beyond the seemed as though the Senators on the publican organization was the agency 11th ot December, that whatever remecapacity of the soil to feed them, and other side determined to act as a party. - through which slavery was to be abolish- dies were adobted ought to be complete thus force them to die of starvation, as a Let the people decide the question. No ed everywhere? This was not always and final, reaching the root of the disease, means of getting rid of the evil of slavery doubt the poople of Massachusetts are op done directly and in plain terms ; men and separating the question of slavery enin the name of humanity and christianity. posed to slavery extension, but he thought occupying the position of statesmen dare tirely from popular elections in the North, * * * * * No man if the question were submitted to hay of not do this; but they would talk about in order that the public mind may be at will go further than I to maintain the the resolutions of the Senator from Ken- an irrepressible conflict between the local rest, and that those men who are sincere. tucky, they would ratify them. There is institutions of the States. They would conscientious enemies of slavery-for a no other way of recourse left, to enforce say they did not expect the house to fall, large body of them are so-should feel the law in a seceding State, except to but they did expect it to become all one tmake war and bring the State into your thing or all the other, a'l slave or all free, possession first and then enforce the law and who could imagine that they intend. with it ; no responsibility to tear, and duafterwards. A war between eighteen ed to intimate that the States should all ties to perform. Thus separated, possibly State, except to make war and bring the become slave; Then, sir, they would talk they would cease their aggressions on their State into your possession first and then about hemming slavery in with a cordon enforce the law alterwards. A war be of fire, so that it might perish by its own blasting effects.

It is idle, Mr. President, it would be unmanly at a time like this, to close our eyes to the manifest effects of what men have said and done. This kind of mysterious teaching of the Republican leaders was necessary to draw to them the support of the old anti-slavery party of the North. Without that support, they could not succeed; and they could not get that support, without, to a greater or less extent, identifying themselves with the doctrines of abolitionism, and of aggression upon slavery everywhere, Now, sir, if these doctrines are not to be carried out, why not say so? Cannot men rise above the ordinary position of partizans, and say frankly and emphatically that they do not intend, either by direct, or indi rect means, to interfere with the rights of to them perfect equality-not only members of the Confederacy, but in the use tors, "let justice be done though the Hea-Such a war always ends in a treaty of vens fall;" let the South have her share weaker party, give her prompt and effis them. cient guarantees against future interference and against future aggression, as choose to make voluntarily, before blood peace again. Without it, without conces- political or moral evil in it that men

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themselves entirely separated from the institution; that they have no connection southern friends; er, perhaps, they would turn their attention to a wider field, and look to the elevation of the condition of the African in Cuba, where they could wage war, if war they must have, without making it upon their kindred and their brethren ; where there would be no com pacts to violate, and no fraternal blood to shed ; or to the still wider field presented in the native land of the African, and where they would find a still lower grade of degradation. Surely, when they shall have occupied those fields, and elevated the native African to the condition of the descendants of that country in the southern States, no one will object to their efforts to elevate and relieve the condition of the African slave in America. But it seems to me that true philanthropy and humanity require that they should take hold of the disease where it is worst. The skillful physician would do this. The philanthropist ought to exert himself in the Southern States, or attempt to deny the field where suffering humanity needs his aid the most. Then let them labor to bring the African in his native country or and enjoyment of our common Territo- in Cuba up to the condition of the southries ? Let the President elect say this, ern slave; and when they shall have done and the skies will brighten. Come, Sena- that, then let them turn their attention to the descendants of Africa in the North -the free negroes, a degraded and sufferof the common estate; and as she is the fering race, and see what they can do for

Sir, I do not wish to be understood as an advocate for African slavery. I am far as that can be done ; and we shall have not ; but I cannot see the cruelty or the is shed, and not afterward. No man has sion and compromise, our destiny is inev. on the other side attribute to it. They itable-dissolution, civil war, and anarchy do not intend to give the negro political juality in this country. They will not dare say they do ; nor do they intend him to have social equality. What then remains to him? Physical existence, and nothing else. Such liberty is a delusion and a fraud-the word of promise to the ear, to be broken to the hope. Suppose the proposition were submitted, at points in the North, where large numbers of free negroes are found, to appoint respectable and responsible white mon as guardiane for each family, to direct their physical efforts for an animal existence ; to see that their labor was properly directed, so that their earnings might be applied to the use of the family; to take care of the aged, and feed and clothe the young would that be a very cruel propositiou ! Certainly not : and yet stripped of occasional abuses of the institution by the violent separation of families, and the recognition of an unpleasant principle, and this is about all there is in the institution of slavery in the South. It is the application of a superior intellectual ability to direct the muscular efforts of these men to secure subsistence. But in God's name, if this agitation is to go on, if a party in one section of the country is to be organized and derive it. vital spark of existence from this agitation let us know what is to be accomplished what good end is to result from it ; what can be done for the white or black race dition of either to be improved? would you make the slaves free men? Unless you mean this you mean nothing. If free pose this were removed, and the southern people were to say, here are our slaves quences of war between two sections, and

DR. M. WOODS, having changed his loca tion from Curwensvills to Clearfield, res-retfully offers his professional services to the titizens of the latter place and vicinity. Residence on Second street, opposite to at of Crans, Esq. my 1 3156. J. Crans, Esq.

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said he did not so much blame them as You tell us we must enforce the laws he did that northern Domocracy, who am in favor of that. Laws must be enhad misrepresented and falsified the pur- forced according to the Constitution and pose and policy of the Republican party ; the laws. Under our Constitution. laws yet he advocates a policy which will not can only be enforced against criminals, relieve these apprehensions, but threaten and those of us who are in favor of the them with revolution and coercion, Constitution and the Union must be carerather than to give them security. It ful that we do not perpetrate the very matters not whether these dangers were things which we denounce as criminal in real or imaginary, if the Southern people these seceding State. And South Caroliar prepared to take a position which will na does not stand alone. We are told plunge us into disunion and discord for, that seven others will follow her, and we ever. I regret that any one on this floor have reason to apprehend that seven should have introduced party politics, and more States will follow them. The anendeavor to make party capital out of any swer is, we must enforce the laws. My question affecting the peace and safe- reply is you cannot enfore the laws in ty of this country. But, since the Sena- countries not in your posesion. 1 deny tor has attempted to make the Northern that we have a right to make war in order Democracy responsible for the revolution, to regain possession, in order to enforce I am forced to inquire whether the the laws. Are we prepared for war? I

charge is true. There is no man living do not mean in the sense of having soldwho would be better pleased to learn that lers, arms and munitious, but are we prehe had misrepresented or misunderstood pared in our hearts for war with our the policy of that party. I would like to Southern prethren ? While I affirm know whether that Senator will now say that the Constitution was intended it is not the policy of that party to con- to form a perpetual Union-while I fine slavery within its present limits by affirm the right to use all the lawful the action of the Federal Government ? | means to enforce the laws-yet I will not Whether it is not the policy of that par- meditate war, nor tolerate the idea, until ty to exclude slavery from the Territories every effort at adjustment has been tried we now possess, or any we may hereafter and failed, and all hope of the Union is acquire? Whether or not that party is gone. Then, and not till then, will I dein favor of returning fugitives to their liberate and determine what course my masters from whom they escaped ? In duty will require of me. I am for peace, short, I will give him the opportunity of to save the Union. War is disunion, Republic. I have been in the habit of as barbarians, and our institution talked saying now, whether it is not the policy certain, inevitable, final and irreversible. of that party to exert all the powers of Our own very existence fordids war.

the Federal Government, under the Constitution, according their interpretation compromise to war, and concessions to litical association so hostile to the instituof that instrument, with a view to its al- disunion. No compromise would be tions of another section of the country living in the daily practice of oppression tution as to the slave States. But suptimate extinction in the States, old as well available which does not carry the ques- that it could have no recognition and no and wrong. Now, sir," said he, "I cara

Mr. Wade (Rep., Ohio) All those ques- voted for the proposition of the Senstor necessarily be an agent of alienation and have a clear constitutional right in the we set them free; they must be clothed tions are most perfectly answered in the from Kentucky, [Mr. Crittenden] and hostility among the people. George Territories, and it ought to be recognized, and fed ; come and take them ; then what speech to which he is now professing to was ready to vote for it again. Why can- Washington and Andrew Jackson both but it is not a valuable right; nor have I would you do ? Nothing, gentlemen, ab-

Mr. Douglas-I did not expect an curses enough on his head for repealing will not do to say that it never was inten- tear of feeling ; it is the attempt at hu- ceive her quota of slaves in order to give equivecal answer. I know to well that it, to be glad to now re-establish it. He ded to be a sectional party; that it is ba. miliation and inequality in the Govern- them freedam. They could not be Senator will not deny that each of these had helped to support that measure until sed on great truths that can be and ought ment that has alienated me. I would brought North; and if such a thing were interrogatories does express his individu- he was compelled to abandon. He was to be universal. Sir, disguise it as we rather have," said he, 'relations with any possible, every same man must know that al policy and the policy of the Republi- willing to meet on terms of mutual con- may, the Republican organization has had other men on the face of the earth, than their condition would be infinitely werse. can party, as he understands it. The cessions. He had offered another propo- and has now, but one vital spark of exis- with those claiming to be my brethern They would not only be slaves, but miseharshest thing I have said of the Republi- sition, to leave the territories in st its quo tence, and that is prejudice and hostility and part of the same common Govern- rable, starving, degraded slaves. As was can party was they intended to use the until they have 50,000 inhabitants, and to admitted rights-to the institution of ment, who thus outrage my feelings and well remarked by the Senator from Virnower of the Government with a view to then settle the question themselves, and slavery-an institution recognized by the the ultimate extinction of slavery, not also provide for the removal of negroes, fathers. I know, sir, it is said, in mitigaonly in the Territories but in the States of if the Territory chose, to certain provinces tion, that they never intend to exercise

SPEECH OF HON. WM. BIGLER.

OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE SENATE, JANUARY 21, 1861.

The Senate having under consideration the oint resolutions (S. No. 54) proposing certain amendments to the Constitution, the pending question being on Mr. Bigler's amendment to the amendment of Mr. Clark.

. . Mr. BIGLER said :

against which George Washington warn. ly doing at that time; and yet, sir, for dosaying, sir, everywhere on the stump, that about as a twin relic of barbarism such an organization was inconsistent and pologamy, and we as men favor-He preferred with the peace of the nation; that a po- ing a lower order of civilization than men, how, when and where? You action beyond Congress. He said he had members in the assaulted section, must little about your territorial question ; we

the Union. I have said, and have believ- If the Republicans do not intend to inter- any unconstitutional right; that its pur- is too wide and too general. I say it is the

are before us. To my own mind, Mr. President, a still

greater source of evil, of alienation, and hostility, than all these, is the habit which prevails in the North of branding slavery and slaveholders with approbious cpithets, and denouncing slaveholders as barbarians and criminals, for doing that which it was agreed they might do. This is the exhaustless fountain from which flow the bitter waters of discord, which are poisoning all the channels of intercourse, commercial, political. and social, between the northern and the southern States, wielding an influence more poisonous and I lighting than the shades of the deadly upas. Southern men, from notions of pride and dignity, give less prominence to this idea; but no man who has ssociated with them as I have, could fail to discover its effect upon their feelings. A southern man, once a member of this body, but not now here, because his State claims to be out of the Union, touchingly remarked to me on this floor : "Look at our case; look at my State," said he; "the present generation there have had nothing to do with establishing slavery ; we inherited it; we believe it to be right; we do just what it was agreed we might Mr. President, the organization of a do at the time the Confederacy was made geographical party; that organization and what the northern States were mained his country, was the fatal day for the ing this thing, we find ourselves branded by it? In what possible way in the con ARRIMER & TEST, Attorneys at Law speech to which he is now processing to was ready to vote for it again. Why can was ingent and Andrew outcason out any fear of violence at the hands of north-to it. any fear of violence at th estimate me politically and morally as ginia, the other day, in tracing the conse beneath their position."

Unhappily, Mr. President, this feeling justly denying the right and possibility of

CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE ?