Whole No. 2549.

A NEW STOCK

# Cloths, Cassimeres THE MOUNTAINEER'S FAREWELL.

### VESTINGS.

Has just been received at the Lewistown Emporium of Fashion, which will be made up

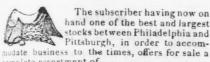
to order by experienced workmen. Gentlemen are requested to call.

Lewistown, April 21, 1859.

Removed to the Stand lately occupied by Kennedy & Junkin

A BABIN CHANCIN IFOR BARGAINS!

A Year's Credit to Responsible Men!



hand one of the best and largest stocks between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, in order to accom-modate business to the times, offers for sale a omplete assortment of saddles, Harness, Bridles, Collars, Trunks,

Whips, Hames, Valises, Carpet Bags, other articles in his line, which will be

ed of, when purchases are made to the of \$10 or more, on the above terms for ved paper. Among his stock will be found some highly shed sets of light Harness equal to any man-

Let all in want of good articles, made by exerienced workmen, give him a call.
JOHN DAVIS.
Lewistown, April 7, 1859.

New Fall and Winter Goods. P. F. ELLIS, of the late firm of McCoy th a choice assortment of

Dry Goods and Groceries, sted with cars and purchased for cash, shich are effered to the public at a small ad-ance on cost. The stock of Dry Goods em-

FALL AND WINTER GOODS suitable for Ladies, Gentlemen and Children, with many new patterns. Ilis

#### Groceries

races all descriptions of

comprise Choice Sugars, Molasses, Java, Rio and Laguyra Coffee, superior Teas, &c. Also, Boots and Shoes, Queensware, and all other rucles usually found in stores—all which e customers of the late firm and the public peral are invited to examine.
R. F. ELLIS.

Des lish, Salt, Plaster and Coal always on untry Produce received as usual and the

market price allowed therefor. Lewistown, Sept. 22, 1859.



SOUTH SIDE OF MARKET STREET LEWISTOWN, PA.

II AS just received and opened at his es-tablishment a new supply of

Clocks, Watches, Jewelry, ML Ver aplated ware

Fancy Articles, &c., he will dispose of at reasonable prices. e invites all to give him a call and examine s stock, which embraces all articles in his and is sufficiently large to enable all to tions who desire to purchase.

FREPAIRING neatly and expeditionaly amiled to, and all work warranted. Thankful for the patronage heretofere reeved, he respectfully asks a continuance of same, and will endeavor to please all who ay favor him with their custom.

EDWARD FRYSINGER. REOLESALE DEALER & MANUFACTURES

# CIGARS, TOBACCO, SNUFF,

&c., &c., LEWISTOWN, PA. Orders promptly attended to. jel6

GEO. W. ELDER, Attorney at Law,

Office Market Square, Lewistown, will at-end to business in Mifflin, Centre and Hunting-on counties. JNO, R. WEEKES. Justice of the Peace, Strivener & Surveyor, FFICE West Market street, Lewistown, next

oor to Irwin's grocery. REMOVAL. BR. S. S. CUMMINGS gs leave to announce that he has re-ved his office to Mrs. Mary Marks' nd Variety Store, on east Market street, Post Office has also been removed to the mh31 :

# Wanted! Wanted!

).()()() PERSONS of both sexes to Make money by buying cheap Baskets, Tubs, Buckets, Churns, Brooms, Brushes, &c. &c. at ZERBE'S.

decl5 by the gallon, for sale by A. FELIX. THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1860.

New Series--- Vol. XIV, No. 17.

# THE MINSTREL.

## I have come from the mountains of the old Granite

I have left kindred spirits in the land of the blest When I bade them adien for the far distant West. O, the mountains, O, the valleys, In my own native State!

O, thy hills and thy valleys are sacred all to me,
No matter in what lands of others I may be:
I may view scenes so sunny, so fair and so smooth,
Then I'll think of my cottage that stands in the grove.
O, my childhood, O, that homestead,
In my own native State!

When I think of the fair one who once was my pride, As she roved among the mountains, so closely by my

side.

Then I sigh for the days that never will come back—
For she sleeps on the shores of the bold Merrimac.

O. that loved one, O, that grave-yard,
In my own nature State! A mother dear I've lost—she has gone to the grave— She was the dearest blessing that God ever gave; Now I go to the spot where buried is the loved. And I seem to hear her singing with the angels above. O, my mother, I bless her ashes, In my own native State!

# POLITICAL,

## Douglas and Popular Sovereignty.

#### A SPEECH BY CARL SCHURZ, OF WISCONSIN.

Delivered at Springfield, Mass., January 4th.

When great political or social problems, difficult to solve and impossible to put aside, are pressing upon the popular mind, it is a common thing to see a variety of theories springing up, which purport to be unfailing remedies and to effect a speedy cure. Men, who look only at the surface of things, will, like bad physicians, pretend to remove the disease itself by palliating its most violent symptons, and will astonish the world by their inventive ingenuity, no ess than by their amusing assurance. But a close scrutiny will in most cases show that the remedies offered are but new forms of old mistakes. Of all the expedients which have

been invented for the settlement of the slavery question, Mr. Douglas' doctrine of Popular Sovereignty is certainly the most remarkable, not only by the apparent novelty of the thing, but by the pompous as-surance with which it was offered to the nation as a perfect and radical cure. Formerly compromises were made between the two conflicting systems of labor by separating them by geographical lines. These compromises did indeed produce intervals of comparative repose, but the war commenced again with renewed acrimony, as soon as a new bone of contention presented itself. The system of compromises as a whole proved a failure. Mr. Douglas' doctrine of Popular Sovereignty proposed to bring the two antagonistic elements into immediate contact, and to let them struggle hand to hand on the same ground for the supremacy. In this manner, he predicted the slavery question would settle itcli in the smooth way of ordinary business. He seemed to be confident of success; but hardly was his doctrine, in the shape of a law for the organization of territories, put upon the statute-book, when the struggle grows hercer than ever, and the difficulties ripen into a crisis. This does not disturb him. He sends forth manifesto upon manifesto, and even during the State campaign of last fall, he mounts the rostrum in Ohio, in order to show what he can do, and like a second Constantine he points his finger at the great principle of Popular Sovereignty, and says to his followers: In this sign you will conquer. But the tendency of events appeared unwilling to yield to his prophecy. There seemed to be no charm in his command; there was certainly no victory in his sign. He had hardly defined his doctrine more claborately than ever before, when his friends were routed everywhere, and even his great party is on the point of falling to pieces.

There certainly was something in his theories that captivated the masses. I do not speak of those who joined their political fortunes to his, because they saw in him a man who might be able some day to scatter plunder and favors around him. But there were a great many, who, seduced by the plausible sound of the words 'Popular Sovereignty,' meant to have found there some middle ground, on which the rights of free labor might be protected and secured, without exasperating those interested in slave labor. They really did think that two conflicting organizations of society, which are incompatible by the nature of things, might be made compatible by legislative enactments. But this delusion van ished. No sooner was the theory put to a practical test, when the construction of the Nebraska bill became no less a matter of fierce dispute, than the construction of the Constitution had been before. Is this proslavery, or is it anti-slavery? it was asked. The South found in it the right to plant slave labor in the territories unconditionally, and the North found it the right to drive slavery out of them. Each section tion of the country endeavored to appropriate the results of the Nebraska bill to itself, and the same measure, which was to trasfer the struggle from the halls of Congress into the territories, transferred it from the territories back into Congress, and there the Northern and Southern versions tion depends upon the settlement of the

Of all men, Mr. Douglas ought to be the first to know what the true intent and meaning of the Nebraska bill and the principle of popular sovereignty is. He is said to be a statesman, and it must be presumed that his measure rests upon a positive idea; for all true statesmanship is founded upon positive ideas.

In order to find out Mr. Douglas' own definition of his own 'great principle,' we are obliged to pick up the most lucid of his statements as we find them scattered about in numerous speeches and manifestoes. tution of the United States, or under the laws thereof, nor by virtue of any federal territories by virtue of the Constitution of the United States, then it becomes the imperative duty of Congress, to the performance of which every member is bound by his conscience and his oath, and from which no consideration of policy or expedience can release him, to provide by law such adequate and complete protection as is essential to the enjoyment of an important right secured by the Constitution; in one word, to enact a general slave code for the territories.' But Mr. Douglas is not satisfied with this. In order to strengthon his assumption, and to annihilate Mr. Buchanan's construction of the Nebraska bill still more, he proceeds: 'The Constitution being uniform everywhere within the dominions of the United States, being the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitutions or laws of any of the States to the contrary notwithstanding,why does not slavery exist in Pennsylvania just as well as in Kansas or in South Carolina, by virtue of the same Conand to the same extent as South Carolina

positive, he cannot deny us the privilege of making a few logical deductions from his own premises. We expect him to proceed in the following manner: 'Since a 'slave is held under the laws of a State, the Montechi and Calpuletti of the Demo-'and not under the Constitution or laws of the United States, slavery exists only by 'virtue of local law,' or, as the court of appeals, of Kentucky, expressed it, ithe 'right to hold a slave, exists only by posi-'tive law of municipal character, and has ino foundation in the law of nature or the 'unwritten or common law.' If slavery cannot exist except by virtue of local law of a municipal character, it follows as an irresistible consequence, that a slaveholder cannot hold a slave as property in a Territory where there is no local law of a municipal character establishing that right of property. And further, the right to hold a slave having no foundation in the law of nature or the unwritten and common law, we are forced to the conclusion, that a slave brought by his owner upon the soil of a Territory, before the territorial legislature has enacted laws establishing slavery, becomes of necessity free, for there is no local law of a municipal character under which he might be held as a slave. This principle is recognized by the decisions of several Southern courts. Having gone so far, (and, indeed, I cannot see how a logical mind can escape these conclusions from Mr. Douglas' own premises) Mr. Douglas would be obliged to define his popular sovereignty to be the right of the people of a Territory, represented in the territorial legislature, to admit slavery by positive enactment, if they see fit, but it being well understood that a slaveholder has not the least shadow of a right to take his slave property into the Territory, before such positive legislation has been had. This definition would have at least the merit of logical consistency.

Just so. Mr. Douglas having been so

and Kansas?'

But what does Mr. Douglas say? 'Slaery,' so he tells us in his Harper Magazene article, 'slavery being the creature of 'local legislation, and not of the Gonstitu-'tion of the United States, it follows that 'the Constitution does not establish slavery in the Territories, beyond the power of the 'people to control it by law.' The Constitution does not establish slavery in the Territories beyond a certain something What does that mean? If slavery is the creature of local law, how can the Constitution by its own force permit slavery to go into a Territory at all?

Here is a dark mystery, a pitfall, and we may well take care not to fall into the trap of such sophistry. Why does he not speak of the admission of slavery by positive en-

fought each other before. What does the zine (and it is indeed true, what Judge invent, the dilemma stares him in the face, Constitution mean in regard to slavery? Black intimates, that that article is one of That question remains to be settled. What Black intimates, that that article is one of dges the Nebraska bill mean? This ques- cian ever attempted to befog his followers); but we may gather Mr. Douglas' real opinion from another manifesto preceding this. In his New Orlcans speech, delivered after his recent success in Illinois, he defined his position in substance as follows: 'The Democracy of Illinois hold that a slave-'holder has the same right to take his slave 'property into a Territory as any other man has to take his horse or his merchan-

What? Slavery is the creature of local law, and yet the slaveholder has the right to take his slave property into a Territory before any local law has given him that right? A slave does not become free, After multifarious cruisings upon the sea of platforms and arguments, Mr. Douglas on the soil of a Territory, where no posihas at last landed at the following point: tive local law establishing slavery exists? 'A slave,' says he, in his famous Harper How is this possible? How can even the Magazine article, 'a slave, within the mean- elastic mind of a democratic candidate for ing of the Constitution, is a person held the Presidency until these contradictory 'to service or labor in one state—under assumptions? [Applause.] And yet the laws thereof,"—not under the Constitute it stands, and nothing that Mr. Doug-And yet las ever said can be more unequivocal in its meaning. And here again we may 'authority whatever, but under the laws claim the privilege of drawing a few logiof the particular State where such service cal deductions from Mr. Douglas' own pre-'or labor may be due.' This is clear, and mises. If, as Mr. Douglas distinctly and with his eyes firmly fixed upon the people of the North, he goes on: 'If, as Mr. right to take his slave as property into a Buchanan asserts, slavery exists in the Territory, and to hold him there as property, before any legislation on that point is had, from what source does that right arise? Not from the law of nature-for the right 'to hold a slave is 'unfounded in the law of 'nature, and in the unwritten and common 'law;' little as he may care about nature and her laws, he will hardly dare to assert that the system of slave labor is the natural and normal condition of society. It must then spring from positive law. But from what kind of positive law? Not from any positive law of a local and municipal character, for there is none such in the Territory so far. Where is its source then? There is but one kind of positive law to which the Territories are subject, before any local legislation has been had, and that is the Constitution of the United States. If. therefore, Mr. Douglas asserts, as he does, that a slaveholder has a right to take his slave as property into a Territory, he must at the same time admit that, in the absence of local legislation positively establishing slavery, the Constitution of the United stitution, since Pennsylvania is subordinate to the Constitution in the same manner must be the source of that right. What else does Mr. Buchanan assert, but that slavery exists in the Territories by virtue of the Federal Constitution? Where is, then, the point of difference between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Douglas? Why all this pomp and circumstance of glorious war? Whence these fierce battles between

cratic camp? Are ye not brothers? Mr. Douglas is a statesman, (as they are | irresistible pressure of the free State moveall, all statesmen,) and pretends that the ment in Kansas, and opposed the Lecompthe territories, 'beyond the power of the people to control it by law.' What does that mean? It means that a people of a territory shall have the power, not to exclude slavery by law, for Mr. Douglas never uses that expression, but to embarrass the slaveholder in the enjoyment of his right by 'unfriendly legislation.' The right to hold slaves, says he, in another place, 'is a worthless right, unless protec-'ted by appropriate police regulations. If 'the people of a territory do not want sla-'very, they have but to withhold all pro-'tection and all friendly legislation.' In-

deed, a most ingenious expedient! But alas! Here is one of those cases where the abstract admission of a right is of decisive importance. Supposing, for argument's sake, a slave might escape from his owner in a territory, without being in actual danger of a re-capture, would that in any way affect the constitutional right of the slaveholder to the possession and enjoyment of his property? 'If,' says he, 'slavery exists in the territories by virtue 'of the Constitution,' (that is, if a slave-'holder has a right to introduce his 'slave 'property" where there is no other law but 'the Constitution) then it becomes the im-'perative duty of Congress, to the performance of which every member is bound by 'his oath and conscience, and from which 'no consideration of policy or expediency 'can release him, to provide by law such 'adequate and complete protection, as is es-'sential to the enjoyment of that important

And Mr. Douglas having emphatically admitted the right of property in a slave, where that right can spring from no other law than the Constitution, then dares to speak of unfriendly legislation? Where is his conscience? Where is his oath? Where is his honor? [Applause.]

But Mr. Douglas says more: 'The Constitution being the supreme law of the land in the States as well as the territories, then slavery exists in Pennsylvania just as well as in Kansas and in South Carolina, and the irrepressible conflict is there! Aye, the irrepressible conflict is there, not only between the two antagonistic systems of labor, but between Mr. Douglas' own theories; not only in the

(and here I put myself on his own ground.) either slavery is excluded from the territories so long as it is not admitted by a special act of territorial legislation, -or if a slaveholder has the right to introduce his slave property there before such legislation is had, he can possess that right by virtue of no other but the only law existing there, the Constitution of the United States. Either slavery has no rights in the territories, except those springing from positive law of a local or municipal character, or, according to Judge Douglas' own admission, the Southern construction of the Constitution and of the principle of popular sovereignty is the only legitimate one; that the Constitution by its own force carries slavery wherever it is the supreme law of the land; that Congress is obliged to enact a slave code for its protection, and that popular sovereignty means no laws against it.

There is no escape from this dilemma. Which side will Mr. Douglas take? Will he be bold enough to say that slavery, being the creature of local law only, is excluded from the territories in the absence of positive law establishing it; or will he be honest enough to concede that according to his own proposition in his New Orleans speech, slavery exists in the territories by virtue of the federal Constitution? He will neither be bold enough to do the first. nor honest enough to do the second : he will be cowardly enough to do neither. [Applause.] He is in the position of that Democratic candidate for Congress in the west, who, when asked: 'Are you a Buchanan or a Douglas man?' answered, 'I am.' [Great laughter and cheers.] If you ask Mr. Douglas, 'Do you hold that slavery is the creature of local law, or that a slaveholder has the right to introduce his slave property where there is no local law?' he will answer, 'I do.' [Continued laughter

and applause. Such is Mr. Douglas' doctrine of popular sovereignty. But after having given you Mr. Douglas" own definitions in his own words, I see you puzzled all the more, and you ask me again: 'What is it?' I will tell you what judgement will be passed upon it by future historians, who may find it worth while to describe this important attempt to dally and trifle with the logic of things. They will say: 'It was the dodge of a man who was well aware that, in order to be elected President of the United States, the vote of a few Northern states must be added to the united vote of the South. Knowing by experience that the Democratic road to the White House leads through the slaveholding States, he broke down the last geographical barrier to the extension of slavery. So he meant to secure the South. But in conceding undisputed sway to the slaveholding interests, he saw that he was losing his foothold in the Northern States necessary

Constitution does not establish slavery in ton Constitution. So he sayed his Senatorship in Illinoise, as the champion of free labor. But the South frowned, and immediately after his victory he went into the slaveholding States, and admitted in his speeches, that slavery may go into the territories without a special act of territorial legislation. Believing the South satisfied, and seeing his chances in the North endangered, he wrote his Harper Magazine essay, assuming that slavery can exist only by virtue of local law. The South frowned again, he endeavored to make his peace with the slaveholders by declaring that he would submit to the Charleston Convention, and instructing his nearest friends in the house to vote for the Administration candidate for the Speakership. So he endeavored to catch both sections of the Union successfully in the trap of a double faced sophistry. He tried to please them both in trying to cheat them both. But he placed himself between the logic of liberty on one and the logic of slavery on the other side. He put the sword of logic into the hands of the opponents, and tried to defend himself with the empty scabbard of 'unfriendly legislation.' [Applause.] Unfriendly legislation, which in one case would have been unnecessary, in the other constitutional-the invention of a mind without logic and of a heart without sympathies; recognized on all sides as a mere substitute, behind which the moral cowar-dice of a Presidential candidate entrenched itself.' [Cheers.]

Such will be the verdict of future historians. They will indulge in curious speculations about the times when such doctrines could be passed off as sound statesmanship, (a statesmanship indeed, the prototype of which may be found, not in Plutarch, but in Aristophanus,) but they will be slow to believe that there were people dull enough to be deceived by it. [Applause.]

Leaving aside the stern repudiation which Mr. Douglas' popular sovereignty has received at the hands of the people at the last State elections all over the Union, it is a characteristic sign of the times, that even one of his political friends, an anti-Lecompton Democrat, recently went so far as to declare on the floor of Congress that he would not vote for Mr. Douglas, if nomof the Nebraska bill fight each other with the same fury with which the Southern and Northern versions of the Constitution have

The same fury with which the Southern and Northern versions of the Constitution have

The same fury with which the Southern and Northern versions of the Constitution have

The struggle of the colonies against the usurple of the colonies against the usurple of the re-affirmation of the less a clear and unequivocal construction ambiguous expressions Mr. Douglas may were affixed to the re-affirmation of the less a clear and unequivocal construction are fixed to the re-affirmation of the less a clear and unequivocal construction are fixed to the re-affirmation of the less a clear and unequivocal construction are fixed to the re-affirmation of the less as the sun, as broad as the sun, as broad as the sun, as broad as the world, as common as the air of heaven.

The struggle of the colonies against the usurple of the colonies agains

Cincinnati platform. A wise precaution indeed! But whatever construction might be given to the Cincinnati platform, what will that gentleman do with the double faced platform, which Mr. Douglas has laid down for himself? What will the abstract pledge of a convention be worth to him, if Mr. Douglas' own pledges are worth nothing? What will he do with a man, who when pressed to take an unequivocal position, is always ready to sneak behind a superior authority, declaring that 'these are questions to be settled by the courts? [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Douglas's situation is certainly a very perplexing one. On one side he is ostracised by the administration democracy for his il-logical and unconstitutional doctrine, that the egislature of a territory has control over slavery; and on the other hand, one of his near-est friends, Mr. Morris of Illinois, in his recent speech on the President's Message, de nounces the doctrine that slave property may be carried into the territories, just like other property, as an atrocious 'abomination.' Was Mr. Morris not aware that this 'abomination' is the identical doctrine advocated by Mr. Douglas in his New Orleans speech? Let Mr. Morris examine the record of Judge Douglas, and he will find out, that whatever abominations Mr. Buchanan brings forward in his message, he advocates none that is not a direct logical consequence of Mr. Douglas' wn admissions.

I see the time coming, when those who rallied around Douglas's colors because they be-lieved in his principles, will, from his most devoted friends, become his most indignant accusers. They are unwittingly denouncing his doctrines when they intend to defend him; ther will not be sparing in direct denunciahave been deceived and how ignominiously they were to be sold. We might indeed feel tempted to pity him, if we had not to reserve that generous emotion of our hearts for those who are wrong by mistake and infortunate without guilt. [Applause.] Mr. Douglas' ambiguous position, which makes it possible for him to cheat either the north or the south, without adding a new inconsistency to those already committed, makes it at the same time necessary for him to put his double faced theories upon an historical basis, which relieves him of the necessity of expressing a moral conviction on the matter of slavery either way. To say that slavery is right, would cerdisplease the north; to say that slavery is wrong, would inevitably destroy him at the south. In order to dodge this dangerous dilemma, he finds it expedient to construe the history of this country so as to show, that this question of right or wrong in regard to slavery had nothing whatever to do with the fundamental principles upon which the American Republic was founded. Dealing with slavery only as a matter of fact, and treating the natural rights of man and the relation between slavery and republican institutions as a matter of complete indifference, he is bound to demonstrate that slavery never was seriously inconsistent with liberty, and that the black never was seriously supposed to possess any rights, which the white man was bound

to respect. But here he encounters the declaration of independence, laying down the fundamental principles upon which the republic was to deto his election; he availed himself of the itself; he encounters the ordinance of 1787, the practical application of those principles; both historical facts, as stern and stubborn as they are sublime. But as Mr. Doug-las had no logic to guide him in his theories so he had no conscience to restrain him in his historical constructions. To interpret the declaration of independence according to the evident meaning of its words, would certainly displease the south; to call it a self evident lie would certainly shock the moral sensibilities of the north. So he recognizes it as a ven erable document, but makes the language, which was so dear to the hearts of the north, express a meaning which coincides with the ideas of the South.

We have appreciated his exploits as a lo gician; let us follow him in his historical dis coveries.

Let your imagination carry you back to the year 1776. You stand in the hall of the old colonial court house of Philadelphia. Through the open door you see the continental congress assembled; the moment of a great de cision is drawing near. Look at the earnest faces of the men assembled there, and consider what you may expect of them. The phi losophy of the 18th century counts many of them among the truest adepts. They welcomed heartily in their scattered towns and plantations the new ideas brought forth by that sudden progress of humanity, and, med itating them in the dreamy solicitude of virgin nature, they had enlarged the compass of their thoughts and peopled their imaginations with lofty ideals. A classical education (for most of them are by no means illiterate men) has put all the treasures of historical knowledge at their disposal, and enabled them to apply the experience of past centuries to the new problem they attempt to solve. See others there of a simple but strong cast of mind whom common sense would call its truest representatives. Wont to grapple with the dangers and difficulties of an early settler's or, if inhabitants of young uprising cities, wont to carry quick projects into speedy execution, they have become regardless of obstacles and used to strenuous activity. The constant necessity to help themselves, has de veloped their mental independence, and in-ured to political strife by the continual de-fense of their colonial self government, they have at last become familiar with the idea, to introduce into practical existence the principles which their vigorous minds have quietly built up into a theory.

The first little impulses to the general upheaving of the popular spirit, the tea tax. and stamp act drop into insignificance; they are almost forgotten; the revolutionary spirit has risen far above them. It disdains to justify itself with petty pleadings; it spurps dip-lomatic equivocation; it places the claim to independence upon the broad basis of eternal rights, as self evident as the sun, as broad as