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June 16, 1859.—ly.*

NATIONAL POLITICS.
A SPEECH
Delivered at the Cooper Institute, N. Y.
BY

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, of Illinois.

Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which at least three times as many lives were lost as at Harpers Ferry? You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was got up by Black Republicanism. In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary free men black or white supply it. The explosive materials are every where in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains.

Much is said by Southern people about the affection of Slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances. The gunpowder plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case, only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of Slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time.—Whoever much fears, or much hopes, for such an event, will be alike disappointed.

In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only.

The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution—the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from Slavery.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than in his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harpers Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against Slavery in this nation, which east at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling—that sentiment—by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it.—You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire, but if you

could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union, rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional right.

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right, plainly written down in the Constitution. But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well understood allusion to an assumed Constitutional right of yours, to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

This, plainly stated, is your language to us. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed Constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyers' distinction between dictum and decision, the Court has decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court has substantially said, it is your Constitutional right to take slaves into the Federal Territories, and to hold them there as property.

When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided Court by a bare majority of the Judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it; that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning; and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact—the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not distinctly and expressly affirmed in it. Bear in mind the Judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is distinctly and expressly affirmed there—"distinctly"—that is, not mingled with anything else—"expressly"—that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "Slavery" is to be found in the Constitution, nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or Slavery, and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person;" and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor due," as a "debt" payable in service or labor. Also, it would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and Slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this is easy and certain. When this obvious mistake of the Judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live"—the men who made the Constitution—decided this same constitutional question in our favor, long ago—decided it without a division among themselves, when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this Government, unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action?

But you will not abide the election of a Republican President. In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us?

That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what the robber demanded of me—my money—was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own; and the threat of death to me to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill

temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions or insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had any thing to do with invasions or insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: We must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them, from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches, we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural, and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only; cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly—done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated—we must place ourselves avowedly with them.—Douglas's new edition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with free State constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about Slavery." But we do let them alone—have never disturbed them—so that, after all, it is what we say, which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying

I am also aware they have not, as yet, in terms, demanded the overthrow of our Free State Constitutions. Yet those Constitutions declare the wrong of Slavery, with more solemn emphasis, than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these Constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary, that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding as they do, that Slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right, and a social blessing.

Nor can we justifiably withhold this, on any ground save our conviction that Slavery is wrong. If Slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and Constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality—its universality; if it is wrong they cannot justly insist upon its extension—its enlargement. All they ask, we could readily grant, if we thought Slavery right; all we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong as we do, can we yield to them? Can we east our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?

Wrong as we think Slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?

If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Dissension, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations of Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.

Mr. Lincoln's speech excited frequent and irrepressible applause. His occasional repetition of his text never failed to provoke a burst of cheers and audible smiles. The completeness with which Popular Sovereignty and its progenitor were used up has rarely, if ever, been equalled. At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Lincoln received the congratulations of a large number of his friends and the friends of Republicanism.

Democratic Stealing.
Parson Brownlow, of the Knoxville (Tenn) Whig, thus sermonizes, in his paper, upon "Democratic Stealing."

"For the life of us we can't see that the stealing of negroes, or property, by the Abolitionists, is any worse in a moral point of view, than the stealing of larger amounts in money by the Democracy.—All the negroes stolen in a year by the Abolitionists, sold at high prices in the South, would not amount to one half of the amount of money stolen from our Government by the party in power.—There is this redeeming trait in the Democratic ranks. They steal in every Custom House and every port in the Union. Their forgeries and robberies are in all the Land Offices, among all the contracts, pension claims, and Government works going on, both North and South. As thieves, robbers and plunderers, they literally know no North, no South, no East, no West! They are one glorious band of robbers, who everywhere act in concert, their hopes and aims being one!"

New Railroad Route.
A correspondent of the N. Y. Herald, from Richmond, Va., gives the following facts in relation to the opening of a new independent route between New York and the West:

A new route between New York and the West will soon be completed, which will materially facilitate transportation and travel to and from New York and the West. The Legislature of Virginia, at its late session, granted a charter to the "Panhandle Railroad," with the right to bridge the Ohio at Steubenville.

For ten years this charter has been sought for in vain, Wheeling having arrayed herself against it because of the injury which it threatened to her trade.—The grant of this charter is esteemed a matter of serious importance to New York. It insures the prompt completion of the line forty three miles between Pittsburgh, Pa., and Steubenville, Ohio, seven miles of which lies in the well known "Panhandle" of Virginia. The Monongahela river will be bridged at Pittsburgh, and, as already stated, the Ohio river at Steubenville. When this link is complete there will exist between New York and the West and the Southwest, the shortest and most unbroken line that can be constructed. It will run thus:—From New York via the New Jersey Central to Easton; thence to Harrisburgh; thence by the Pennsylvania Central, the Panhandle, Pittsburgh and Columbus and Cincinnati line, to all important Western and South-Western points.

Arrangements are already completed by which passengers and freight pass by this line from New York to Columbus, Cincinnati and Indianapolis, with but one change; and also to Louisville, St. Louis and Cairo, with but two changes of cars. These changes simply take place from car to car without any intermediate omnibusing or drivage.

An old criminal was once asked what was the first step that led to his ruin, when he answered:

"The first step was cheating a printer out of two hours' subscription. When I had done that the devil took such a gripe on me that I could not shake him off."—Delinquents reflect, ere it is too late.

How to Prevent Stock from being Unruly.—A correspondent of the Ohio Farmer gives it as his opinion, that the common practice of making animals jump over the lower rails of fences and bars tends to make them unruly; and says that if the top bar is left up, so that they are compelled to go under it, they will never learn to jump.

A Good Recipe for Vinegar.—Take forty gallons of rain water, one gallon of molasses, and for pounds acetic acid. It will be fit for use in a few days. Acetic acid costs twenty-five cents per pound.—This is the recipe by which most of the elder vinegar is made, which is sold in the country stores.

DIED.—At Rheims, a woman at the age of 102; having had 9 husbands, and bred up 26 children; she was attended to the grave by 170 sons, grand-sons, and great-grand-sons, many of the former going over crutches, or led along blind, and borne down with age. She had, herself, eight brothers and fourteen sisters, all of whom made good use of their time; so that the old woman was aunt to upwards of a thousand people.

"Heenan butter," is the latest novelty. Of course, it is very strong.

The Curculio.
Of all the insects that trouble fruit trees, the curculio is the most destructive to the plum. Their ravages have greatly increased of late years, and now it is almost impossible to raise a crop of this delightful fruit. Various methods have been tried to kill them, but none have met with much success. The following article upon the subject, from the Luzerne Union, we publish for the benefit of the fruit growers of this county.

Now is the time to commence the work of preparation to raise a good crop of that most desirable fruit, the plum. Open up at once a place around the tree, into which should be poured plenty of water during the dry seasons, and occasionally a good and full application of boiling hot soap suds. If you have good trees this is all that is necessary to raise a good crop of fruit, except for the destructive ravages of the curculio. To counteract these, it is necessary as soon as the blossoms begin to fall off, to commence shaking the tree every morning before sunrise into a sheet or an inverted open umbrella, in which you readily catch the little jokers, and can then take him and cast him into the fire, where he can do no further harm. In appearance they resemble very closely a dead end of the plum tree, and on being molested they feign death and lie perfectly still until all motion or agitation about them ceases, when they are up and off. If any of them perforate the plum and lay their egg in it, which it will be known by an elliptical cut in the outer end generally, the sooner that plum is taken off and immersed in boiling hot water, or thrown in the fire or to the bogs, the better.—The tree should be sprinkled every morning after shaking off the curculio, with a dust composed of ten parts of air slacked lime, two parts of sulphur, and one part of pulverized alum mixed with a little common salt. This composition is very distasteful to all insects, and prevents their ravages, if properly applied. Commence the shaking and application just as the plum is fairly formed, and continue for about two weeks—wet or dry weather. No effort should be intermitted on account of wet weather, if you wish success. An united effort upon the part of all persons interested, and one year's operation will put the curculio out of the way and insure a plentiful supply of plums.

The Bird Trade of New York.
"Harmony" writes to the mobile Register:

"Early this morning I started out to procure a pair of little green parrots. I found them scarce and high priced.—For a pair scarcely larger than Java swallows, \$8 was asked. I visited five large bird stores devoted to nothing else. Each contained thousands of Canary birds. Each bird has its own cage.—One bird store had at least 2,500 live Canary birds, each in its own little cage.—It would seem impossible to give seed and water to each one and its inmate.—Yet it is done, not precisely in the way that one thousand locks in the State prison are turned, and one thousand bolts shut at the same moment. The cages are tied together, and an adroit birds feeder will put seed in the box of each cage, and water in the jar very speedily. He will feed 1,000 birds an hour.

"These Canary birds are supposed by unsophisticated buyers to have come from Hartz Mountains, in Germany, via Havre, France, or down the Rhine to Rotterdam. I, however, am of the opinion that the millions are reared on the champagne districts of New Jersey. A good singer retails at \$1; the wholesale price is \$2.50. But they must be males and singers.—Females are sold at \$1 each. Java sparrows, parrots, mocking-birds, robin red-breasts, and rice birds, make up the main stock of the bird stores. You cannot get cages at the same place where the birds are sold. To get a nice cage you visit the regular bird cage stores, where you can procure a vast assortment.

"Java sparrows sell at \$1 each. A boy—proprietor now of the bird stores I visited this morning, and worth \$50,000—commenced his career peddling a pair of canaries.

"They will send to the Phillipian Islands for Birds of Paradise, to Charleston for a turkey-buzzard, or to Illinois for a white cow."

A Fund for Heenan.
The New York admirers of Heenan, the Benecia Boy, are engaged in raising money for him. A testimonial fund of from \$25,000 to \$30,000 is to be raised for him by subscription, and already a good proportion of it has been obtained.—When Heenan arrives, it is expected that he will be a greater lion than Jenny Lind, or Bill Pooler, or the Japanese Ambassadors. There will be a grand reception, and if the New York Authorities are consistent, they will give the hero of the Prize Ring the use of the Governor's Room in the City Hall for a levee.

Excellent Gingerbread.—Two cups of molasses, one of sugar, one of sour milk one of butter, five of flour, one teaspoonful of saleratus, and one teaspoonful of ginger.

A man in Philadelphia, the other morning, found a hvely little eel in his milk picher. The milkman hadn't strained his water.

LIFE.
How truly does the journey of a single day, its changes and its hours, exhibit the history of human life! We rise up in glorious freshness of a spring morning. The dews of night, those sweet tears of nature, are hanging on each bough in the refreshing morning. Our hearts are beating with hope, our frames are buoyant with health. We see no cloud, we fear no storm, and with our chosen and beloved companions clustering around us, we commence our journey. Step by step, the scene becomes more lovely; hour by hour, our hopes become brighter. A few of our companions have dropped away, but in the multitude remaining and the beauty of the scenery, their loss is unfelt. Suddenly we have a new country. The dews of the morning are exhaled by the fervor of the noon-day sun; the friends that started with us are disappearing.—Some remain, but their looks are cold and restrained; others have lain down to rest, but new faces are smiling upon us and new hopes are beckoning us on.—Ambition and fame are before us, but youth and affection are behind us. The scene is more glorious and brilliant, but the beauty and freshness of the morning have faded, and forever. Onward and onward we go; the horizon of happiness and frame recedes as we advance to it, the shadows begin to lengthen, and the chilly airs of evening are usurping the noonday. Still we press onward; the goal is not yet won, the heaven not yet reached. The orb of hope that had cheered us on, is sinking in the west; our limbs begin to grow faint, our hearts to grow sad; we turn our heads upon the scenes that we have passed, but the shadows of the twilight have interposed their veil between us; we look around for the familiar faces, the companions of our travels, but we gaze in vain to find them; we have outstripped them all in the race after pleasure, and the phantom has fled; and caught in a land of strangers in a sterile and inhospitable country, the night time overtakes us; the dark and terrible night time of death; and weary and heavy laden, we lie down to rest in the bed of the grave! Happy, thrice happy, is he who has laid up treasures for himself for the distant and unknown to-morrow.

When to Begin.
"That you may find success," said Rev. Charles Brooks, in an address to boys, let me tell you how to proceed:
"To-night begin your great plan of life. You have but one life to live, and it is immeasurably important that you do not make a mistake. To-night begin carefully. Fix your eye on the fortieth year of your age, and then say to yourself:—At the age of forty I will be an industrious man; an economical man; a benevolent man; a well-read man; a religious man, and a useful man—I will be such a one—I resolve and stand to it. My young friends, let this resolution be firm as adamant; let it stand like the oak, which cannot be wind shaken.

Relationship.
A Hoosier girl stepped on board a steamboat lying at a certain town on the Ohio River, and brawled out—
"Is the captain on board?"
The captain, who was standing among the crowd, responded—
"Yes; what do you want with him?"
"Oh nothing particular; he's a distant relation of mine, and I'd like to see him."
"A relation of yours?" inquired he somewhat surprised.
"Yes, a slight relation; he's the father of my first child."
You better believe the captain sloped in quick time, while the crowd enjoyed the sport to their heart's content.

A robber's cave has been discovered near Warloga, Ill. It is nine feet long, seven wide and five high. In it were benches, and a book case filled with valuable books, among them a quarto bible. Any number of burglars' tools were there, and also a pair of boots singular in their construction, the soles being on wrong end foremost—the heels being where the toes should be! They were undoubtedly placed so in order to baffie those who might wish to track the wearer. There were stolen articles in the care to the value of \$200, some of which were recognized as having been stolen some months since.

An itinerant phrenologist stopped at a rustic farm house, the proprietor of which was busily engaged in threshing.
"I am a phrenologist," said the visitor, "do you wish to have me to examine the heads of your children? I will do it cheap."
"Waal," said the farmer, pausing between two strokes, "I rather guess they don't need it—the old ooman combs 'em with a fine tooth comb once a week."

The following epitaph is copied from a grave stone out West:
"Here lies the body of Andrew Lear, whose mouth did stretch from ear to ear; Reader, tread lightly o'er his head, For if he gaps, by gosh, you're dead."

If a woman could talk out of the two corners of her mouth at the same time, there would be a good deal said on both sides.