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The Measures of the Republican Party.
Remarks made by John D. Defrees, of Indiana.
Before the Washington City Republican Association, August 2, 1860.

REPUBLICANS OF WASHINGTON: In introducing me to you, Mr. Clephane was pleased to say that I reside in Indiana, which he termed the most doubtful State among those claimed by the Republicans as voting for them at the next Presidential election.

Now, I beg to assure my friend that, although such has been the fact, it exists no longer. Indiana, so long under the control of what is called Democracy, will just as certainly be redeemed in November as the election takes place. I know we shall have to work for it, but we expect to work as men always should do who feel themselves in the right.

The Republicans are denounced by the Democracy as the cause of the agitation of the public mind in relation to Slavery. History will place its responsibility upon themselves. Let us look at the impartial record.

Not satisfied with the extent of country already occupied by Slavery, they annexed Texas for the avowed purpose of its extension. Yet unsatisfied, they made war upon Mexico to secure a still further expansion! California declared for freedom, and they were foiled in that attempt to accomplish their purposes. They desired to plant Slavery in Kansas. The Missouri restriction prevented it. They broke down that barrier, erected by the Patriots of 1820. The people of Kansas, in defiance of the efforts of a Democratic Administration to the contrary, excluded Slavery. Not content with all this, they now claim that "Slavery exists in all our Territories by reason of the Constitution of the United States."

How false, then, is the charge that the Republicans are the agitators of this question. To prejudice the people against the Republicans, they are called "Abolitionists," and are denounced by the more cultivated and accomplished leaders, as "nigger thieves."

The people of the Southern States, influenced by such means, have become convinced that the Republican Party, if they obtain control of the National Government, will abolish slavery in all Slave States! Such is their deep-seated prejudice, that they refuse to inform themselves as to the real objects of that party. Indeed, discussion and investigation, the only methods of arriving at truth on any subject, are prohibited under penalty of Lynch law. In a land where we boast so much of freedom of opinion, its expression leads to banishment!

This same prejudice exists in this District. It has been engendered by those whose only desire is to hold their places as long as possible.

Now that a Republican President is about to be inaugurated, it may be well to see what measures are to become the policy of his Administration. The people then will be convinced that they have been deceived by those whose interest it has been to mislead them.

The Republicans simply propose, as announced at Chicago, as follows:

I. Non-interference with slavery in the Slave States—but opposition to its extension into Territories now free.

II. To procure a more efficient law for the suppression of the slave trade.

III. The admission of Kansas under her present Constitution.

IV. A revenue law, discriminating in favor of home industry, for the support of the Government.

V. A reform in the abuses, and a reduction in the expenditures of the General Government.

VI. A liberal homestead law for actual settlers on the public lands.

VII. The improvement of rivers and harbors wherever of national interest.

VIII. The speedy construction by the aid of the General Government of a railroad to the Pacific.

Let us examine each of these measures very briefly.

I. As to Slavery in the Slave States and its exclusion from the Territories

Within the provisions of the Constitution, States are sovereign and independent of each other. They have the right, therefore, within this restriction, to enact such laws as they may deem proper.—Hence it is, that the laws recognizing property in slave-labor in one State cannot be interfered with by a sister State, or by the United States. That is a question which cannot be affected by a National Administration, even were it disposed to do so, which we deny so far as the Republicans are concerned.

We claim that the Government of the United States has not only the right to acquire territory, but to govern it when acquired; otherwise we should be placed in the absurd predicament of owning property without having the right to control it.

Aside from this proprietary right, however, the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for their government is granted in the Constitution itself.

This power has been sanctioned and enforced by every department of the Government, from its very foundation until about ten years ago. In the compromise measures of 1850 its exercise was deemed unnecessary, and therefore inexpedient; but the power was not yielded by the great advocates of these measures. It may be that it will never again be exercised, as the Republicans only propose to use it whenever it may be necessary to prevent slavery in Territories now free.

However much the Republicans may regret the formation of any new slave States, yet if the people of a Territory, when they assume State sovereignty, determine to recognize property in slave labor, their admission into the Union will not be resisted for that reason.

We are told, however, by the Democracy that an act of Congress prohibiting slavery in the Territories would destroy the equal rights of the States.

The reasoning by which this conclusion is arrived at is unsound, and cannot, therefore, withstand the scrutiny of "inexorable logic."

They assume that to be which does not exist, and then reason from that assumption. They say that, "inasmuch as the Territories were acquired by the common blood and common treasure of the whole people of all the States, the citizens of these States have a right to emigrate thereto, and take with them their property" assuming it as granted that slaves are property within the recognized meaning of that term. This we deny. What is property!

When God created man, He gave him dominion over the earth and its fruits—over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the inhabitants of the great deep. These he may possess, may destroy, may reduce to property; but nowhere did He give man the right of property in man, nor can any human power rightfully give it to him. He cannot destroy man as he can other property, without being guilty of murder. In the States where slavery is recognized no property exists in men and women; it is in their labor, their services. That only is property and can only exist in the States where it is recognized by State law.

The laws of Kentucky have no existence, no validity, in Indiana, and therefore it is that the moment a slave is brought by the man who owns his service, his labor, into Indiana, he loses that right and the slave is discharged from owning that labor or service, and becomes free. The case is different if he comes into Indiana without the consent of the man who owns his service, because the Constitution of the United States comes in and says that this man, thus owning labor or service, shall be delivered up to the person from whom he may have escaped. In no other way is the existence of slavery recognized in the Constitution, except the representative clause and that in reference to the suppression of the slave trade.

Our Territories come to us free. The right of one man to own the labor of another man is not recognized by any law of these Territories, and does not, therefore exist.

These facts show that the property in the labor of man is of a peculiar character, and existing only by reason of local State laws, and is not recognized by the great charter of right to property as proclaimed by God himself when he gave man power on earth. When, therefore a resident of a slave State sees proper to leave that State for a new Territory, he forfeits his right to the labor of his slave, and must go precisely as the citizens of other States go to it, with just such property as is recognized by the law of property made universal by the dictum of the Almighty, the Supreme Court of the Universe, from which there is no appeal!

What is there in this that is wrong?—Where the injustice done any portion of the people? It places all the States upon the same equality, and was never complained of until it became necessary for party purposes and to achieve Democratic triumphs.

In regard to this whole question of slavery, the Republicans stand where a great majority of the people of all parties stood only a few years ago; and I appeal to all candid men for the truth of this assertion.

We are told, however, that, although this be true, public sentiment has undergone a great change, and especially in the slaveholding States; that, because slave labor has become more profitable, the rights of the slaveholder have become more enlarged.

The invention of the cotton-gin and the consequent increase in the value of slave labor cannot change constitutional law! Is it possible that our Constitution, of which we so often boast, was fixed up by our fathers on the sliding scale principle to be governed by the fluctuations in the value of negroes! And yet, according to Democratic construction such seems to be the fact.

Permit me to digress a moment to say a few words about Mr. Douglas and his supporters. Although that gentleman has declared that he did not care whether or not slavery be bolted into or out of the Territories, a great number of his friends in the Free States do care. Many of them are honestly opposed to permitting slavery in the Territories, and

think it would be prevented if the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty" were carried out.

But, this doctrine is repudiated by the very Convention which nominated Mr. Douglas. If it be doubted, read the following resolution then adopted.

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the Cincinnati Platform that, during the existence of Territorial Governments the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial legislation, over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be responded to by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government.

This resolution must have some meaning or certainly it would not have been adopted. What is that meaning? It is this, and no one will dispute it! The Supreme Court has decided, or will at some future time decide, that slavery exists in the Territories by reason of the Constitution of the United States, and cannot be touched by the people—but must be protected by every branch of the General Government.

The cry of "Popular Sovereignty," therefore, became the merest mockery—the scorn of all thinking men.

The truth is, Mr. Douglas and his followers present a very disagreeable bundle of contradictions on this subject, reminding us of the famous couplet of—
"First it will and then it won't,
Then it does and then it don't."

Will not those among them who really desire to preserve our Territories to free labor, unite with us in the only practical mode of accomplishing it! If it be said that the decision of the Supreme Court is ineffectual against Congressional as Territorial Legislative action, I answer that such decision is a mere expression of opinion on a question of public policy over which the Court has no jurisdiction, and that it cannot, therefore, enforce its dictum!

To this it may be said that the act of a Territorial Legislature may, therefore, exclude it. Not so; because the power is in the General Government, unless it has been previously given, in the act organizing the Territories, to the Territorial Legislature.

It is not denied that the doctrine of the Republicans in relation to the Government of the Territories, is the doctrine of the fathers of the Constitution. The old landmarks of government, established by wisdom and patriotism, should never be removed. Let us stand by and protect them! Do that, and the agitation of the slavery question, so unwisely forced upon us by the Democratic party, will cease, we hope, forever. No longer will one section of the country be arrayed against another; no longer will we hear the traitor's threat of a dissolution of the Union. We shall then, indeed, be a band of brothers, deserving the great inheritance left us by our fathers.

II.—To procure a more efficient law for the suppression of the African Slave trade.

It certainly requires no argument in this Christian age, among a Christian people, to show that the slave-trade ought to be suppressed. It was stigmatized by Jefferson, in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence, as a "piratical warfare, the approbrium of even infidel powers."

As a crime, it ranks with piracy and murder. No pen has yet described the horrors of what is called the middle passage of a slave. Hundreds perish by suffocation, and are thrown overboard. It is said that the sharks of the great deep know by instinct these infernal ships, and follow them to feed upon the miserable wretches who thus perish!

Of late years, since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the laws against the slave-trade have been more frequently violated than previous to that time.—Prominent men of the Democratic party in the South openly advocate a repeal of the laws, and some of the Democratic Courts in the same section have refused to enforce them!

It is for these reasons that the Republicans demand more efficient laws to suppress it and the possession of the Government to enforce them. Why shall it not be done!

III. The admission of Kansas.

Two years ago the Democratic Senate attempted to force Kansas into the Union with a Slave Constitution spurned by a majority of her people.

At the last session, the same Democratic Senate refused to admit her because she presented a Constitution which had been approved by a vast majority of her citizens, prohibiting Slavery forever!

Why was this done? Admitted, and three more votes would be given to the Republican electoral vote for President, and another Free State added to the Union! Can such an act be sustained by the people? Why should Kansas be longer rejected!

IV.—A Revenue Law discriminating in favor of American Industry.

The expenses of the National Government must be paid. There are only two modes of doing it: by direct taxation or by impost.

Direct taxation has been, of late years, a favorite theory of a portion of the Democratic party. If it has not yet been established, it is because that portion of the party has not had the ascendancy.

Those of the Democracy who favor raising a revenue by imposts, however, say it shall be done alone for that purpose, without regard to its effect upon the industry of the country.

The Republicans, like the Whigs of old, favor the policy of assessing a specific duty upon such articles as come most into competition with articles manufactured in this country, and upon the mere luxuries.

The reason for this discrimination is, that it operates as an encouragement to our own people to engage in manufacturing—thereby retaining among ourselves the money which would otherwise be sent out of the country, in payment for foreign manufactured goods.

Take, for instance, the article of railroad iron. We have in this country, an abundance of iron ore and coal—much more than is possessed by Great Britain; and yet we send to that little island for nearly all our railroad iron, and are this day indebted to her for that article alone, millions of dollars, which must be paid in gold.

Other great interests might be mentioned, but this alone is sufficient to satisfy reflecting minds of the necessity and wisdom of this measure of Republican policy.

IV.—A reform in the abuses and a reduction in the expenditures of the General Government.

It has been the experience of the world that men long in power become corrupt and extravagant. History bears proof of this on every page. Those who control the affairs of this nation are not exempt from this common frailty of mankind.—That a continuance of power in the hands of the Democratic party so long has produced this result, will be admitted by all candid, intelligent men. Frequent changes are necessary for the purification of the body politic.

I shall not detain you with a detailed statement to show the lavish and wasteful expenditure of the public money, nor shall I charge specific acts of corruption in high places. As to the first, it is enough that the official records show that our expenditures have so far increased over our revenues as to get us into debt about \$17,000,000 each year for the last three years. And as to the other, the report of the Naval and the Corode Investigating Committees are sufficient on that point.

The very men who control our Government—the priests within the "Temple of Liberty"—are thus corrupt and corrupting! They have become the mere "changers of money" as did the priests who were driven by our Saviour from the Holy Temple!

It is not time that the "Temple" at Washington be purified by driving from its precincts those who have made it "a den of thieves" and the abode of political vampires!

The time is at hand. It is the will of the people that it be done, and done, too, by one coming from the pure and uncorrupted West; one whose whole life qualifies him for its performance.

VI.—A liberal Homestead Law for Actual Settlers on the Public Lands.

The rapid settlement of the vast domain West of us will augment the aggregate wealth of the nation. If a free home of 400 acres of land were secured to every settler it would contribute greatly to such a result. That is the object had in view by the Republicans. It is opposed by the Southern Democracy, because they say it will fill our Territories with the liberty-loving Germans and others from the Free States, who will, when they come to form State Constitutions, forever exclude Slavery. They regard such a measure as more fatal to the extension of Slavery than a Congressional enactment against it. Admit this to be true, and it adds but an additional reason in favor of the policy.

At the last session of Congress a Homestead law was passed. It was not such a one as the Republicans desired, but the best they could get; and yet it was vetoed by the President. So long as the Southern Democracy control, this measure will never be established.

VII.—The improvement of Rivers and Harbors wherever of National Interest.

Ever since the Democratic party commenced the agitation of the Slavery question, the improvement of Rivers and harbors has been neglected. Indeed, every great interest has been shamefully sacrificed to promote the peculiar institution of the Southern Democracy who have ruled us. They want to extend Slavery, and that is all they care about. Engaged in very little commerce themselves, they do not seem to wish to make even that little more secure. This great interest of the whole country should be prompted by wise, national legislation; but it never will be until there is a change in our rulers, now at hand.

VIII.—The speedy construction, by Government aid, of a Railroad to the Pacific.

Little need be said of the importance of this great enterprise. The mighty empire, so rapidly extending itself on the shores of the Pacific, must be attached to us by mutual interests and intimate intercourse, or the day may come when it will set up for itself. Nothing will contribute so much to prevent such a result as the speedy construction of this railroad. To say nothing about it as a mere question of the profitable investment of capital—nothing of its becoming the highway of nations—nothing of the immense

wealth of the Indies which must pass over it, this alone is consideration enough to demand its immediate completion.—Why should it not be done!

The "eternal negro" which the Southern Democracy continually force upon the country prevent it, and always will prevent it until we have a Republican President and a Republican Congress. It is true that both wings of the Democracy have resolved in its favor, but they have been long in power and have done nothing for it. They cannot be trusted.—These resolves were made to deceive voters.

Having thus very briefly spoken of the measures proposed to be established by the advent of the Republican party to power, what is there in any of them to which a reasonable objection can be made? We find in them nothing about placing the negro upon an equal political and social footing with the white man, as demagogues rant about. Nothing about the "abolition" of Slavery in the Slave States—nothing of the violation of any of the rights of the States.

A few words about our candidate.—Raised amid the hardships and privations of a new country, Mr. Lincoln was early taught the great lesson that complete success can only be accomplished by manly exertion and self reliance, of which his own history is an eminent illustration. Possessed of great good common sense, of industrious and temperate habits, of unimpeachable character, no better selection for the Presidency could have been made.

But our opponents say that he is an obscure man, without a "national reputation." Very well. Let us see about what is called a "national reputation."—What is it worth, and how is it made!

A "Yankee" who had a "notion" to make a fortune without hard work (a rare thing among such folk) mixed together some rain water and molasses, flavored with cherry juice, and "Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry" soon had a "national reputation" as an infallible remedy for every ill that human flesh is heir to. How did it get that reputation! By puffing! Newspaper puffing and nothing else.

A gentleman manages to get himself into Congress. He begins to put on airs and look wise! About the second session he employs some professional speech-writer to fix him up a speech, much after the fashion machine poetry is made. It is delivered to empty benches! The newspapers puff it, and the man who rehearsed it (not the writer) gets a "national reputation!" In a short time little paragraphs appear in the papers, intimating that this very man ought to be President. The "outsiders," regarding him as the very embodiment of all that is great and wise in statesmanship, begin to throw up their caps for him. And thus it is that men are often given "national reputations" who have not ability enough to make a respectable Justice of the Peace in Spencer County, Indiana, where "ABE LINCOLN" was "brought up."

Of course I do not pretend to say that all the men in Congress make reputations in this way, because many men of sterling worth and great ability are to be found there. I only speak of it to show that there is very little in what is called "national reputation," and to ridicule the idea that a man must have this kind of reputation before he can aspire to position.

And what is the prospect of the election of this "obscure" man without a "national reputation!" Let us look at the signs of the times and judge. The Democratic party, once so powerful, and harmonious, and united, is now divided, disheartened, and almost disbanded!

The cause of this is apparent. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise agitated a new Slavery question, and the work is accomplished. The "Old Man of the Sea," astride the shoulders of Sinbad the Sailor, could not be shaken off. So, the "Eternal Negro," the favorite of the Democracy, has at length fastened himself on the back of those who have conjured him up, and no human effort can cast him from their shoulders! He is there, and on to everlasting destruction he urges his unwilling victims. They know the fate that awaits them, and, like good Christian philosophers, as they are presumed to be, are preparing for the last solemn moment. Already are they turning their voices to sing the appropriate lines:

"Hark! from the tomb a doleful sound:
My ears attend the cry—
Ye living men, come view the ground
Where you must shortly lie!"

A few desperate men, however, willing to grasp at any shadow, pretend to think that the election may go into the House and thus cheat the people of their choice. There is not the remotest probability of the success of such a scheme, and all true lovers of the country ought to rejoice that it is so. Who desires to see the election of a President become the subject of the bargains and the corruptions which would be the ease if made by the House! It is said, again, that, constituted as the House now is, an election cannot take place, and the Senate would elect Gen. Lane Vice-President, who would thus become the President in fact! Who wishes a man elected to the Presidency, in effect, who is not a candidate for it! This is all the merest speculation. There is nothing real about it.

Let us look at the reality before us.—

The States which voted for Fremont are certain for LINCOLN. No sane man doubts that fact. The Free States which did not vote for him are Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California. Oregon has since been admitted. In each of these States, the Democratic party will have two electoral tickets. If there were but one, there might be some doubt as to the result; but, divided, as the vote will be, no man, in his sober moments, doubts the result. One hundred and fifty-two electoral votes will elect—Mr. LINCOLN will receive the vote of every Free State, except California, giving him 179—27 more than sufficient to elect him.

These facts are the prelude to a bright and glorious day for our country. That day, indeed, is already breaking; the beams of light are already bursting upon our vision.

It is said, however, that Col. Lawrence M. Keitt of South Carolina, and a Mr. Yancey of Alabama, intend blowing the "Union sky high" (as John Randolph used to say), if Mr. LINCOLN should be elected; and that he should not be inaugurated.

No doubt these gentlemen are very great men—at least in their own opinions, but it is nevertheless true that greater men sometimes have made fools of themselves. How far these gentlemen have succeeded in that respect, let the Southern public themselves judge.

This is a Government of law. No matter who may be legally elected, the patriotism and loyalty of the people of all sections will see that the inauguration shall take place. Any threats to the contrary are too silly to be seriously noticed.

But the Disunionists say that Mr. LINCOLN will be unable to carry on the Government, because no gentleman in the Southern States will accept office at his hands. There need be no fear on that account. Even the Democracy of that section of the country, so affected with the officeholding mania as they are, would not refuse!

A few days after the inauguration of Gen. Jackson, a procession of office-seekers was formed in this city to wait upon him for office. Major NOAN—then a portly gentleman, whose appearance indicated that he lived upon the fat of the land—opposed being placed at the head, because, he said, it would make the impression on the old General that they did not need office. He insisted that it should be led by Amos Kendall, a lean, Cassius sort of man!

Soon after the 4th of next March, the people of Washington may look out for a long procession of office-seekers from the South, more numerous than the locusts which infested Egypt. Look at them as they come across the Long Bridge, headed, it may be, by Parson Brownlow, (another lean Cassius), singing as they come (with but a slight alteration) a favorite hymn of that distinguished divine, commencing:

"O'ffice! O the joyful sound,
What pleasure to our ears!
A sovereign balm for every wound,
A cordial for all our fears."

Seriously, there will be no trouble on that point. Mr. LINCOLN will not only select a portion of his Cabinet from the South, but will find good and true men all over the Union to hold and to perform the duties of all the local offices.

So far and just will be the new Administration to all portions of the country, that all opposed to Democratic policy, everywhere, will be its supporters.—It will be a revival of the era of good feeling which characterized the Administrations of the early Presidents, and the croakings of the Disunionists will be heard no more in the land forever!

Look Out for the 'End of the World.'

The Millerites commenced their religious services, it is claimed, in North Wilbraham, Mass. The sect now numbers 59,000 in the United States and the Canadas, and they gather in camp meeting from nearly every State in the Union. A portion of the brethren look for the Millennium before the last of March, 1861; others are confident that the world will last ten years and two months longer, while others still predict a universal overthrow in about sixteen weeks.

Body found in the Delaware.

On the 16th inst., the body of a man was found in the Delaware River, near Wyker's Mill, at the foot of Linn's falls. The body had no clothing on except a pair of boots and a shirt; the shirt was considerably torn. There was also a leather belt around the body, such as is usually worn by laborers. The deceased was about 40 years of age, about 5 feet 8 inches high, with dark hair, slightly intermixed with grey—the head a little bald. There were several wounds upon the body, which appeared to have been inflicted before it got into the water.—*Easton Journal.*

A Library Three Miles Long.

The Library of Harvard College, Mass., obtains 91,500 volumes, which occupy more than three miles of shelf room.

TOADYISM.—Some dirty water left by the Prince of Wales in a basin in his apartments, at Quebec, was bottled and sold at four shillings a vial to some of his toadying admirers.