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SPEECH OF HON. JOHN M. BOTTS,
Delivered at Richmond, Va., Dec. 6, in response to the following toast.

THE UNION!—Founded on equality, cemented by good will, covered in by the Constitution. It either fails irreparably, the edifice must fall, and ought to fall; has loosened the second, and threatened the last. Will the conservatives repair the wrong, and restore the edifice!

The Hon. John Minor Botts being called on to respond, said:

Mr. President: No higher honor could have been conferred on me than to call on me to respond to the sentiment of "The Union." Taken unprepared, as I am, Sir, not knowing until to day that I was expected here, having spent my time until night in the country, on my farm, and only having been notified within the last few minutes that I was expected to respond, yet it is a subject on which I am always prepared to speak. Permit me, before I proceed to respond to the sentiment, to indulge in a few outside remarks. There are three circumstances that have occurred in the last twelve hours that give me much gratification. The first is, that the unanimous electoral vote of this State has been given to Bell and Everett, and I say it in all honor to the gentlemen elected, and the Governor and the Attorney-General, and the six Breckinridge Electors, who have resigned, that they are entitled to our thanks for having set aside an example of the most pernicious character. Sir, there is no authority on the part of the Governor or Attorney-General to have rendered any such decision as was made in favor of those six Breckinridge Electors. But it was a species of technical quibbling which, to the honor of the State, was never before attempted, from its foundation to the present hour I take it upon myself to say, that there is not a human being who entertains the slightest doubt that the votes that were cast for Walter R. Staples were intended for Waller R. Staples; and if that precedent had been established, if that severe rebuke had not been given by these six Breckinridge Electors to the Governor and Attorney-General, there is no knowing its consequences in the future. All that would have been necessary would have been for one party to have imitated the electoral ticket of the other party, substituted one letter for another in the surname or given name of the Elector, to vitiate the whole election. It would depend upon whether John-on was spelled with or without a t or not, or whether Thomson was spelled with or without a p, whether John-on or Thomson would have been elected or not. Thank God, such a precedent has not been established. And, in this connection, I should like to inquire if this letter addressed to John Letcher or to Randolph Tucker were to be taken from the Post Office by the present Governor and Attorney-General, could they not, under such a precedent, be indicted for breaking open letters addressed to other people? Another circumstance has afforded me gratification, and it is to see our Douglas friends among us. It is not often I assume to speak for any but myself, but I am proud they have come here, and on behalf of the party I bid them welcome here. I am only sorry there are not more, for this is the proper place for them. We have but two parties in the State now, and they are the Union and the Disunion parties. I hope that here the corner-stone will be laid of a great and glorious Union party, that will forever in Virginia put this disunion spirit under our heels. Another circumstance which gratifies me, is to find so general a concurrence has been expressed on the views which I entertain myself, with the single exception of the gentleman last up. I come now to speak of the Union. What is the Union of the States? What is the Government of the United States? Is it a Constitutional Union? Is it a Constitutional Government? Is it true that those venerable men, whose names we have been taught to hush in infancy, and remember, almost in our prayers, as the fathers and the founders of this Republic, have given us a permanent and enduring system of Government? Or is it true that they were a set of old fogies, and that it is nothing at all but a mere Association of States held together by the toleration of each of the parties—that each one can stay in as long as he pleases, and when it becomes irksome, go out! Admit the proposition of gentleman that South Carolina can go, and the whole fabric of Government is destroyed at once. I wish, Sir, with all my heart, that South Carolina could go out and stay out, for she has acted the part of a disturber of the public peace for the last thirty years. But, Sir, have gentlemen reflected on the consequences of their proposition, that if South Carolina goes out, nothing is to be said, nothing to be done? That all the rest of this great Confederacy is to imitate the example of the venerable old la-

dy at the head of this Government, who has no mouth to speak and no arm to preserve the Union! Why, if South Carolina goes out, and her right is recognized and acknowledged, have you any Government, have you any Constitution, have you any law? Admit the right of any State to go out, and you admit the right of all to go out. Would you admit the same right in regard to the State of Delaware, of Rhode Island, or any other Southern State? Recollect, Sir, this Government has been supported twenty-five years upon loans and Treasury notes. Now, admit it is in the power of a State to break up the Government, to break down the Constitution, and destroy the Government of the United States, and there by cancel the debt and the obligation of the Government, and would this Government have credit for a dollar in any market? Who would hold bonds of the United States if the doctrine is once admitted and recognized by the Government that any State may go out when she thinks proper, and thus cancel the whole obligation, as South Carolina proposes now to cancel her debt? Who is left to pay it? Upon whom is the application to be made? When would the Government of the United States be at liberty to declare war against any Power that invaded our rights, insulted our flag, or trespassed upon us? It has been said, Sir, it is getting to be quite fashionable—I hear it on the streets—not from any friends of ours—that this is not a Government of force, that it was not made for force, and cannot be kept together by force. It is precisely for that reason that reason it can be kept together, by force. If this Government had been imposed upon the people by some tyrant, without first obtaining the will of the people, then it is perfectly true that any one of the States would have the right to throw it off at will. But it is because it was a free, untrammelled compact entered into by the States, each one to the other, and each to all the rest, that they are bound by the terms of the compact—that there is power to enforce the compact. I have had some experience in my early days that a debt contracted voluntarily may be enforced by law. Debts are not created and cannot be contracted by force; and it is for that very reason, because it was a free, voluntary act on the part of each State that the compact can be enforced. The Government is not a rope of sand. It cannot be broken up by any party when they think proper. If they think it is a just cause for the dissolution of the Union, that one man has been elected, it cannot be questioned that it would be equally good cause for dissolution that any other candidate was not elected. And, inasmuch as no instance has occurred in which any candidate has been elected who did not receive a nomination, it would be equally good cause that another had not been nominated. Let us take Seward, the chief man in the Republican party. Suppose Seward had had sufficient control over his party in the State of New York to have induced them to say that inasmuch as Seward was not nominated, and therefore could not be elected, they would go out of the Union. What would be the sentiment of Virginia? It would be the public sentiment of the Union. And yet it is just as fair as that any State should secede because Lincoln was elected. I was pleased to hear that distinguished gentleman who sat upon your left (Mr. Preston), say that he did not despair of the Union. I am another one of those who do not despair of the Union. I know that the clouds look black and threatening. South Carolina declared herself out of the Union, by ordinance, in 1833, and yet the Union was not dissolved. And if she were set up at auction, and all property of every description within her borders was sold, she would not sell for enough to compensate for the mischief she has already done by the depreciation of the value of property, and disturbance and derangement of the general business of the country. I am not one of those who despair of the Republic. We still have the Constitution; we still have patriotic men among us, conservative men of the North as well as of the South. I have every reason to believe that if a proper and judicious system is adopted, if reason can be substituted for bullyism and threats, and persuasion for crimination and re-primand, there will be no great difficulty in having all these obnoxious laws of the North repealed. It is not to be doubted for a moment. Vermont, it is true, has refused to repeal her Personal Liberty bill, and yet we see a considerable portion of her citizens who voted for its repeal. I have a letter from a gentleman in the city of Philadelphia, who attended a dinner given by the Republican party in that city, who says it was there urged to repeal these laws. *The Albany Journal*, edited by that gentleman who has been so vehemently denounced in the South (Thurlow Weed), has come out for the repeal of those laws. And let me tell you that Seward and Weed, and the Republican party in New York, will be there for their repeal. And if Pennsylvania and New York set the example, the smaller States will follow. I have the most reliable intelligence from gentlemen, assuring me that Lincoln is an old-line Henry Clay Whig, and will administer the Government on the same principles, as nearly as he can. And yet South Carolina shall drag Virginia into rebellion against the Government of the United States! But suppose the Northern States

did not listen to our remonstrance and advice, there is still a remedy. I have an abiding confidence that there will be a way found out by which it will be done. Congress can do it if the State refuse. It is in the power of the Congress of the United States, and by the present Congress—and if not by this, by the next—to do all that is required to preserve the interests of the South. I am not a defender of the course of the North. The North has aggressed, and so, too, has the South. But I believe it to be in the power of the present Congress to pass laws that will accomplish all that can be desired or demanded. We of the people of Virginia have no right to control the legislation of other States. The cannot control the Legislature of this State. No State can control the Legislature of another State. Our claim and demand is on Congress and on the President of the United States. Now, Sir, suppose that the present Congress were to pass a law, first of all, to relieve the fugitive Slave Law of that odious feature which I have referred to elsewhere, which will add rather than impair the efficiency of the law, and then accompany it with another act of legislation declaring it to be a felony of the highest grade for any citizen of any State to rescue, or attempt to rescue, a slave in the custody of the officer of the law, or after he has been restored to his master, and that if the Government of the United States should itself undertake the responsibility of paying for the slave that may be rescued, of satisfying the owner of the slave that it should be rescued and hold it in charge against the State that thus permits the violation of the law within her limits. Let Congress do this, pass a law proclaiming it to be a felony of the highest grade, and imposing a penalty on those who attempt or succeed in attempting to rescue a slave, and hold it a charge against the State. Then in regard to the Territories. Let them do what ought never to have been done. Let them establish the Missouri compromise line and extend it to the Pacific, and it will satisfy every State of the Union, except South Carolina, which does not mean to be satisfied. We apprehend nothing from South Carolina—She is not mad enough to go out of the Union by herself. A remedy is at hand. If South Carolina declare herself out of the Union, she would still be a State of the Union in a state of rebellion. Let the Old Public Functionary do what he thinks proper; and from a hasty reading of his message I think it would be hard to tell what he is going to do. He has a divided Cabinet, and a divided message—a portion of it to suit his own views and a majority of the Cabinet, and another not his own, but a minority of the Cabinet. He takes the ground, which I have taken heretofore, that under the articles of confederation the Union was perpetual, and that the object of the Constitution was to make a more perfect Union, and that the Constitution gave Congress the power to perpetuate itself; and he cites the laws of 1794 and 1807 to show that the power is given the Federal Government to preserve the laws. Yet, if South Carolina declare herself out of the Union, there is no power on the face of the earth to keep her in. Now, let Congress pass the laws that I have intimated; let the President of the United States, whoever he may be, transfer the Custom-House in the city of Charleston on board a ship in the harbor of Charleston; let him stop all cotton from going out, let him stop all the mail facilities and prevent all remittances from going in, and she would not only be a bankrupt, without the means of supporting her own citizens for twenty days, but you would have a revolution of the people there in less than time. There is less freedom there among the masses than in Austria or Russia. The people would begin to inquire why this was, and then South Carolina would have to commence war, and the United States would act on the defensive. But the President says he cannot execute the law, because the judge and marshal have resigned. In the name of heaven, why doesn't he appoint a judge? Where is Caleb Cushing? Where is Judge Black? They are both aspirants for the Supreme Court. Could not Caleb Cushing execute the law in South Carolina—be the President of the Charleston Convention? The President of the United States to assert to the people that he has no power to execute the law, because a judge has resigned and there is no marshal there! Let him appoint them. I am not much of an aspirant, but might accept the marshalship with Cushing to stand at my back as judge. But there is a peaceful remedy. I am against war if the Constitution and the Union can be preserved without force; but if the Constitution and the Union cannot be preserved without force, then I am for using force. Yes, gentlemen, if this were a case arising in any Northern State, we should all be in favor of enforcing the law. Now, I am for enforcing the law, fairly and impartially, and simultaneously in the North and in the South. If you ask that a distinction shall be made in favor of the Southern States, the North has an equal right to the same, and I am opposed to any discrimination being made between one State and another, because when you do, you destroy the equality of the States to which you are pledged, and for which you are clamoring. I am aware, gentlemen, that I am trespassing on

your patience. [Cries of "Go on."] I have said enough to indicate my views on the subject, views which I have entertained for the past thirty years, and which should I live so long, will remain unchanged for thirty years to come. Now, in reference to a Convention. There is one Convention that I think might be called with much propriety, and it is a Convention of the border States—as suggested by your President—Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, and Virginia, and North Carolina, if she chooses to be represented. We are the parties chiefly interested, and who stand between the extreme North and South, who have to bear the brunt of the battle, to do the fighting, while South Carolina evades the responsibility of her own acts. I have no objection to go into Convention with these States, and should be glad to see it. I am utterly opposed to a Southern Convention to which firebrands are to be sent. Because, unless we can have harmonious consultation and a disposition to compromise fairly with the North, we not only can accomplish no good, but would do much harm. I see no advantages to be derived from a National Convention, where the South will be in a deplorable minority and have no power, and open the door to have such amendments fastened upon us as the majority of the North might determine. But, most of all, I am opposed to a Convention in this State. In the present disturbed state of the public mind, Virginia is in no mood to act calmly, as the interests of the country demand. We have the best reason for supposing, because it was exhibited in the last Presidential election, that it would be a question of Democracy or Anti-Democracy, instead of Union or Disunion, and we would have simply a Democratic Convention, and I am afraid to trust those who have already brought us to our present extremity. I am afraid to put the interests of the State and the fate of the National Government in the hands of the Democracy of Virginia. I am not, therefore, for a State Convention. If my counsel are of any avail, if anything that I may have said or done in the past would entitle my counsels to any weight as to the future, I beg the people of Virginia to set their faces against a State Convention, in which all their interests would be involved. There is no reason to suppose there will be more wisdom exercised in such a Convention than in the election of a member of Congress; and how many of you would be willing to trust the existence of this Government in the hands of men who are now elected representatives to the Congress of the United States?—Therefore, I implore you all, not only set your faces against it, but do all you can to prevent it.

Secession in North Carolina.
From the Marlborough (N. C.) Patriot.
We believe in the inherent right of revolution, but at the same time it should never be resorted to until every other remedy has been tried, nor until, after a full and thorough investigation, it is ascertained beyond a reasonable doubt that the benefits to flow from revolution are of such a nature as to be more than an equivalent for the miseries and evils which rebellion which will necessarily bring upon the people. The idea of a revolution is to relieve the people from oppression, and to establish a new form of government to protect them in their rights. If, therefore, the people are not oppressed, if they are prosperous and happy, and if they are protected in their rights, they have no right to resort to revolution, and to do so would not only be mad and folly, but would be in the highest degree criminal, not only in sight of the civilized world but also in the sight of Heaven.
We do not believe that the people of North Carolina are, at this time, suffering oppression; we do not believe that the people of South Carolina, or the people of any other State, are oppressed, or that they have the slightest cause of complaint against the General Government; their rights have been in no way trespassed upon; their privileges have not been in the least circumscribed, but, on the contrary, they have, in the language of Mr. Stevens, an "exuberance of liberty and prosperity," while in point of privileges they are exalted up to heaven. It is impossible to conceive of a people more prosperous and happy; every man is at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; every man is at liberty to come and go as he may see proper; no one is taxed except by his own free consent; there is no position, however exalted, but what is within the reach of the most humble, so far as the Government is concerned; and they who would bring about revolution, can promise the people no more happiness, no more prosperity than they now enjoy, nor dare they promise them anything in return, for all the blood which must necessarily be shed, and treasure wasted, fields laid waste, and heartstrokes made desolate by a civil war, in which brother shall contend against brother, and the hearts of the children shall be hardened against their fathers.
Are we right, or are we wrong, when we say that the people of the Southern States have no cause for revolution? If we are right, then what an awful responsibility will rest upon certain restless and reckless spirits, should they succeed in bringing upon us all the untold horrors of civil war; and how deep and loud will be the curses heaped upon their heads by

fathers lamenting their children slain upon the fields of battle, and by mothers, as they behold their helpless babes dashed upon the stones. Awful as will be the responsibility resting upon these wicked and ambitious men for bringing upon a free and happy people so much misery and ruin, without any cause, yet but little less will be the responsibility, even admitting that there is cause, should they hastily and rashly precipitate us into the revolution without first trying every possible means consistent with honor, and in accordance with the usages of Christian and civilized nations, to have our grievances redressed, and proper guarantees for our future peace, happiness, and security. We would not be irreverent. Nothing, we know, can ever equal in baseness and ingratitude the act of Judas Iscariot in betraying our Savior; yet, in our humble opinion, there is nothing which so nearly approaches to it as the act of those who, rashly, inconsiderately, and wickedly, would inflame the public mind, and, without giving them time for reflection and consideration, would hurry a free and happy people like ours into a step which can never be retraced, and which must inevitably lead on to ruin, and to the destruction of all they hold most dear and sacred.
Believing, then, that the State of North Carolina has no right to secede from the Union, and believing that her people have no cause for a revolution; that they are neither oppressed nor deprived of any rights and privileges enjoyed by the citizens of the other States, but that on the contrary, are prosperous and happy; and believing moreover, that the General Government, is not only able but willing to protect them in all their rights and privileges, and being fully satisfied that nine-tenths of the citizens of the State are ardently and sincerely devoted and attached to the Union, and are earnestly desirous to share in the honors and participate in the blessings which can only be enjoyed and be secured to them by the Constitution of the United States, we are most decidedly opposed to any Convention of the people being called, at this time, to take into consideration the question of severing the ties which have so long held us together as a united, prosperous, and happy people.
We are opposed to secession—we are opposed to the State of North Carolina seceding. But in the event North Carolina does secede, then what! In that event we are opposed to North Carolina joining a Southern Confederacy with the Cotton States, and especially in any Confederacy in which South Carolina is a member. If this Union is to be dissolved, let the Cotton States form themselves into a Government, if they see proper, and let North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Kentucky form another Confederacy. The interests of these four States and the interests of the Cotton States are by no means identical. It is to the interest of the Cotton States, or at least to they contend, to open the African slave-trade—the opening of the African slave trade would be the ruin of North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, so far as their slave property is concerned.
Again, we are opposed to a Southern Confederacy, not because it would reopen the slave-trade, and thus render our slave property almost valueless, but because it would deprive us of all the Constitutional remedies which we now have to regain our fugitive slaves, and would bring us to the borders of a foreign country, to which our slaves would easily escape, and from which we would have no means to reclaim them; thus with a foreign country on our northern borders, and borders of wild Africans pouring into the States south of us, our slaves would in a short time become worthless, and North Carolina would necessarily become a Free State, having no interest whatever in a Confederacy of the Cotton States.
As to the Cotton States, secession which originates in selfishness, a desire to reopen the African slave trade, and thereby enable them to procure cheap labor, although in so doing they destroy the value of the slaves in the border States. In their selfishness, they are willing to ruin the border States, and yet, at the same time, have the coolness and effrontery to ask those States to aid in their own destruction; and unless they will do so, they are to be branded as submissionists. The effrontery of the Cotton States is truly astonishing—and yet strange to say, there are in our own midst those who think the greatest honor to which they can aspire is to be taken on to South Carolina. Although many good and wise men, influenced by appeals made to their passions, have been led astray, yet we are glad to be able to say that, as yet, in North Carolina there is not a single man of marked ability, or extensive influence, who has approved of the course of South Carolina. It is true, we have in the State some noisy disunionists—some who fair would be great men, but can't be under present circumstances.
In 1848, Gen. Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana Slaveholder was elected President following his inauguration the fire eaters—the very men who are now engineering Secession—waited upon him in a body and demanded that he should adopt such measures as they might be pleased to dictate or incur the hazard of civil war.—The old soldier heard them calmly, and then replied that their bluster in the Capitol somewhat startled him, for he was not used to it, but when they spoke of firing he was not disturbed for he had experience in that business. He prepared a proclamation against the fire eaters, but died before he had time to issue it.
In 1852, the Whigs, in National Convention, submitted to all the demands of the fire eaters, and so lost the election of Gen. Scott. Pierce was a pliant tool of the oligarchy, inasmuch that they were constrained to drop him at the end of four years and try a fresh candidate, who had a reputation for statesmanship.
In 1856, Mr. Buchanan was elected by a stupendous fraud at the ballot boxes of Pennsylvania. The slaveholders did not anticipate this result. Regarding the election of Fremont as certain, they prepared for rebellion. The guns which they propose now to attack Fort Monroe were procured at that time. Grand left the federal government in their hands, and they were appeased.
This year Lincoln is elected, and the storm howls in earnest. No one pretends that the election was unfair or illegal.—The Union is to be dissolved simply because a constitutional majority of the people refuse to let the locofocos continue in power. To make this the plainer the secessionists declare they will not wait for some act of the incoming administration infringing upon their rights. Knowing such an act will not appear, they make an election contrary to their wishes the only excuse for their conduct.
The Southern locofocos have instituted a Reign of Terror in their section as remorseless as that which prevailed in France in 1793. The Press is effectually muzzled. Freedom of speech is annihilated. Security of travel does not exist. The mob is supreme. Treason flaunts itself everywhere.
The Northern locofocos behave as badly as the Southern. All their journals, all their orators, all their statements, justify the madness and crime of the South. They goad the fire-eaters on to bloodshed. Their party has been beaten in an election—beaten fairly, beyond all pretence of complaint—and they choose rather to plunge the country into anarchy and civil war than submit. They say if the government belonged by prescriptive right to them; as if its honors and emoluments were theirs indefeasibly; as if they alone had any business to constitute the Constitution, to devise public measures, and to elect a President; and as if any man who differed from them on these points was an enemy to the Republic, and a fit subject for tar and feathers, if not for the gallows. What do northern locofocos expect to gain by this factious and criminal course? If they expect to frighten the republicans into relinquishing the advantages of their success, they may as well understand first as last that that cannot be accomplished. If they expect the republicans to succumb and remit power into the hands of the fire-eaters, they will weary of waiting before that expectation shall be fulfilled. If they seek to pull down the pillars of the government because they have been banished from the seats of authority they may possibly succeed. The signs of the times indeed indicate that they are to be the architects of ruin.

White Deer.

Two of these animals were killed a few days since on the Llanth river, by Mr. W. F. Shelton, of Big Bar. The Indians in this part of California regard the skin of the white deer among the most valuable of all earthly things, for the possession of which they will exchange all other species of wealth. The ownership of a white deer skin constitutes a claim to chieftainship readily acknowledged by all of the dusky race on this coast. Mr. Shelton realized for the two skins three hundred and fifty dollars.—*Humboldt Times.*

Wives Wanted in Oregon.

A correspondent, writing from Oregon, says: "Here, by the time a girl is fourteen, she is snapped in marriage, and yet in this region are living many bachelor farmers who would gladly marry if there were women here. I think one of your intelligence officers could make a profitable agency. The schoolmarm whom Governor Slade, of Vermont, sent out, were to pay a fine of five hundred dollars if they married under one year. Most of the girls paid the fine. Oregon and Washington still need schoolmarms. I have no doubt this country would prove a paradise to spinsters, if they would come well recommend-d."

The Hon. Henry M. Fuller died at Philadelphia on the 29th inst., aged 40. He was born in Bethany, Pa., educated at Princeton, studied and practiced law at Wilkes-Barre, joined the Whig party, was chosen by them to the Legislature, and to Congress in 1850; rechosen by the American party in 1854, and was their candidate for Speaker in the long struggle which ended in the election of Mr. Banks. Last October he was the Constitutional Union candidate for Congress in the 11th District, but was beaten by the Republicans. He had large interests in the coal regions of Pennsylvania, and was a warm friend of the cause of protection to American industry. He leaves a widow and a family of seven children.