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"Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys!"

UNION RATIFICATION MEETING.

Independence Square Alive with Freeman

"The Union must and shall be preserved."

Under the call of the National Union Executive Committee, a general meeting was held in Independence Square, in Philadelphia, on Saturday evening, September 10th, to ratify the National Union nominations. The immense assemblage was addressed by Hon. Simon Cameron, Hon. John Cessna, and a number of others. In the Philadelphia Press of Monday, September 12th, 1864, we find the following report of

HON. JOHN CESSNA'S SPEECH.

Mr. President and fellow Citizens:— Since the polls were closed on the first Tuesday of November, 1860, I have very rarely appeared before my fellow citizens as a political speaker. Nor do I expect to change that habit to-night, because, although this is to a great extent a political meeting, yet in what little I shall say to my fellow citizens, no matter what others may say on the subject, I do not wish to be understood as making a strictly political address. So far, however, as what I have to say here to-night may partake of a political character, I shall ask the indulgence of those who may hear me, to believe me when I say that it will in no degree vary in principle from the political addresses which I have delivered within the last four years, or at any former time. I am fully sensible, however, of the fact that to-night I appear before many of my fellow-citizens with whom I have never heretofore politically acted in harmony. My position in appearing before you, so far as relates to my personal feelings, and so far as relates to the attachment of my friends, is one of a somewhat painful character; yet I hold that these are times when no man is justified in yielding to the selfish considerations of political position or personal feeling. It is but natural to desire the good opinion of all our fellow-citizens, and to regret when we are compelled to differ with those with whom we have long acted; but as I have already said, there are duties devolving upon us which are of far more weight and influence than the mere considerations of personal comfort, and it is the influence of those duties upon my mind, upon my conscience, and upon my judgment which has brought me here to-night. [Applause.] Although there are many painful considerations in connection with my appearance here to-night, there are those of a different nature. In the first place, those men and those political journalists with whom I formerly acted, and who, if they notice our proceedings to-night, will doubtless most rudely and extensively denounce me, are those who, for the last four years, have been the loudest, most eloquent, and most persistent in advocacy of the right of free speech and the emancipation of individual opinion.— In the next place, these men and these papers who will denounce me as a renegade and a traitor for what I may say to you, may be improved thereby, for I know that I have not, and I believe you have not, heard many of them say anything about the renegades and traitors that live in another part of the country. [Applause.] If, when they get their hands in, they should tire of abusing and denouncing me and others who have been Democrats all our lives, but who have been unable to swallow the platform lately erected at Chicago, and will turn their attention for a short time to Jeff Davis and his fellow rebels, I think we will have accomplished something in the interest of our common cause. And if any one of them, whether he be a public speaker or a public writer, should be bold enough or patriot enough to speak out against the enemies of our country, I think that Barnum will be able to make a fortune by transporting him around the country as a kind of curiosity. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my fellow-citizens, I have said that what little I may say to you to-night will not differ in its political character from anything I have ever said before the people of my native State. I am here to-night as the partisan of any man, or the advocate of any party. I am here in no such capacity. I have for two, three, or four years past earnestly desired to stand by the Democratic party, and while it was possible, have done so to the best of my judgment and ability. I am not here to denounce that party nor any of my friends who differ with me on the present issue, but I am here because I believe that the best men of that party, and the best men of all parties, are called upon by the condition of our country, by the exigencies of the times, and the probability of the overthrow of civil and religious liberty in this land and throughout all the nations of the earth, to rise above party and to stand by the country, the country's cause, and the country's flag. [Cheers.] I have always

been taught to believe it to be part of the creed of the great party to which I have always been proud to belong to stand by the Union, to stand by the Constitution, and to uphold the flag. But at the National Convention of that party held at Charleston, there were men who came there determined to divide and distract the party. They came there, and with the aid of men in the Pennsylvania delegation, and in many other Northern delegations, they succeeded too well in their nefarious purposes. If the election of Abraham Lincoln, in 1860, was a national calamity, I charge it home that they are the men who did it. We stood there patiently for days and for weeks. Went to Baltimore. They followed us, some of them, and some of them went to Richmond, where they established their own platform. We came home; and those of us, although in a majority in our own party, who stood by the regular nominees, were ridiculed, abused, denounced, insulted, and driven into the rear ranks of the Democratic party. This merely because we would not follow the beck of such leaders. We stood it then, in 1861, when the Democratic party took ground in favor of a prosecution of the war. In 1862 they did the same, and I stood by them. I was with them in the campaign, and supported their ticket because I believed them to be honest in their professions.— In 1863 they ignored the war policy of the country. I entreated them to reflect upon the consequences of their unwise position, and to adhere to their former policy in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, as sustained by them in 1861 and 1862. I told them, and others told them, that so sure as they repudiated that policy and adopted the doctrine of Vallandigham and his co-laborers of the Northwest, just so sure the people would rise in their might, and the party would be overwhelmed at the ballot-box. [Great cheering.] For this reason, I went home from the convention at Harrisburg in sadness and in silence, and remained silent during the campaign. The people of Ohio, by more than 90,000 majority, verified and fulfilled the prediction that I had made to the Democratic leaders at the convention in 1863. Still I remained silent, hoping almost against hope that our Democratic leaders at Chicago would return to the faith of our fathers, and to the true doctrines of the Democratic party, as proclaimed by Jefferson, Jackson, and all the best men of that party from that day to this.

My fellow-citizens, no man in Pennsylvania more anxiously or more earnestly hoped even against hope, that he might be able to sustain the nominees of the Chicago Convention than did the individual who now stands before you. I waited even until the Convention had concluded its labors, and the proceedings were officially proclaimed and sent forth to the world, and I stand here to-night to say to you that if that Convention had endorsed the doctrine of the Democratic party, and had declared for the Union, the Constitution, the prosecution of the war—against secession and in favor of suppressing the rebellion—and had placed before the people national candidates, in whom we might have confidence, I would have supported the nominees of that Convention. But the same men that went to Charleston, and broke up the Convention there, the same men that went to Baltimore to continue the business, the same men that have been trying to break up the Union and the party, both together, went to Chicago, and unfortunately obtained a controlling influence of that Convention.— They have sent forth to the country a platform which I shall not attempt to describe, for I have not time, and, besides, you all understand its contents, but I will say here, before the world, I would rather that my right arm should fall from my shoulder, that any calamity should befall me, the loss of friends, party associates, property, all that I am, and all that I hope to be, in this life—that all these should perish, before I will support the Chicago platform, or any man that stands on it. [Long and continued cheering.] I take this stand because I believe my country demands that sacrifice. My fellow-citizens sacrifice their lives upon the battle-field, and why should not I sacrifice my political position, my personal standing, my prospects before the country, and with my friends, rather than that flag should go down, as I believe it will, if the nominations and platform at Chicago are sustained by the American people.—

[Great cheering.] I believe that the only safe remedy for all true Democrats is to unite in defeating the nominees of the Chicago Convention, in rebuking those who destroyed the party in 1860, and who continue to keep it in a false position before the nation and before the world in 1864. If they will not listen to our advice, nor heed our entreaties, we must in self-defence, and in the discharge of our duties, assist in teaching them that they cannot, and shall not, use us as instruments for the accomplishment of their unworthy purposes. If you succeed in convincing them that they cannot be successful in foisting false doctrines upon the American people they will, perhaps, in the future listen to our appeals. For the present they have taken from us every remedy but this one—to openly oppose them in their endeavors. The American people have solemnly determined that this nation shall not be divided.— They have resolved this upon their knees and in their closets, and if the rebels in arms will not submit to this decision the military power of the rebellion must and

will be overthrown. The Chicago platform contains no such declaration,—not one word against the doctrine of Secession or against the rebellion, and nothing in favor of its suppression. For this reason the American people will not endorse it. Pretended peace commissioners from the South may suggest at Niagara theories for a Democratic platform—members of Congress who openly advocated the heresy of Secession, and hoped the rebel armies might be victorious and the Union armies defeated, and other members of Congress who assisted in retaining those members in their seat may go to Chicago and submit to the dictation of such peace commissioners—the proceedings of the Convention may be endorsed in Nova Scotia—Richmond traitors may long for the triumph of the theories thus expounded—foreign enemies of the American Republic may re-echo the hope—Lindsey, Roebuck, and their friends in England; Louis Napoleon and John Slidell in France, and the enemies of civil and religious liberty every where may join in the issue, but the American people will rise in their might and overwhelm them all in one common ruin. The friends of this platform cannot reasonably hope for its success. The candidate nominated upon it for the highest office in the gift of the people has been unable to stand upon or endorse it without material alterations, corrections, and additions. This being the fact, it is asking too much to expect that the American people shall do that which the candidate cannot do himself. We sincerely believe that the people will overthrow it at the ballot-box. It has already received several heavy loads. The first was a large supply of shot and shell from the army of General Sherman. The next was a cargo of earth from the Green Mountains of Vermont. The next will be a layer of lumber from the forests of Maine. And so it will continue until the second Tuesday of October, when Pennsylvania will tumble upon it such a large cargo of iron and coal as will sink it so deep that the hand of resurrection will never be able to reach it. The people of the nation will re-inforce the victorious armies of Grant and Sherman.— They will continue the fight until the rebel horde of Lee and the flying remnants of Hood shall be overthrown. The unity and integrity of the nation shall be preserved, and peace shall be restored throughout her borders. [Renewed cheers.]

My fellow-citizens, allow me to call your attention to the issues of the present crisis. They are most momentous—none greater have ever stood forth in the history of the country. Is man capable of self-government? To establish this proposition was the great object of the American Revolution. At that time there were many unbelievers in the doctrine, and, notwithstanding the result of that revolution, and our remarkable and unexampled prosperity as a nation, there are and have always been among us men who have no faith in the doctrine, and who constantly predict the ultimate success of the present rebellion. In this they are heartily joined by the tyrants and the aristocracy of the world. The unprecedented progress of our nation has created an intense interest throughout the world. If we can survive the present shock, suppress the rebellion, and return to our former path of progress, the example cannot and will not be resisted by the other nations of the earth. The success, or rather the continuance of civil and religious liberty, not only in our own country, but throughout the world, depends upon the result of the present conflict. Our failure now would rejoice the enemies of liberty and make glad the hearts of tyrants in every land, and bring additional grief and sorrow to the down-trodden and oppressed of every clime. The destruction of our Republic would do more to perpetuate despotism, to roll back the tide of progress, and check the advance of civilization than any event which has occurred in the history of the human race. Words cannot describe nor language measure the importance and magnitude of the present struggle.— It becomes, therefore, the paramount duty of every patriot to use his utmost exertions to secure its favorable termination. The present civil war was inaugurated by those who maintain the doctrine of secession. It requires no argument to show that the admission of this principle in any one case leads inevitably to dissolution, disintegration, and final anarchy. Admit the possibility of Northern and Southern Confederacies, and you thereby concede the establishment of an Eastern and Western or a New England and Border State, an Atlantic and Pacific, a Mississippi Valley, or any other Confederacy or number of Confederacies which the discontent or ambition of individuals may require to suit their unworthy purposes.

The history of our country during the Revolution is too well known to require repetition. The Articles of Confederation and their inadequacy to subserve the ends and purposes of the nation are matters of history known to all. Our forefathers—those to whom we owe our existence as an independent nation and our continuance as a Government—speedily superseded those Articles of Confederation by a written Constitution, in order to prevent, for all time to come, the practice of secession, and to strengthen the arm of the central power. This doctrine of secession is not only without warrant in the Constitution, but must lead to the widest confusion in the working of our political system—a system without a model in all the ages of the past—a perfect structure, distributing the powers of

the Government in such way as to make them a check upon each other while working in unity and harmony in the promotion of all the great objects of its creation. The separate States may become great in territory, great in population, great in resources, but the germ of their greatness consists in their being parts of a greater whole—members of one great family. Our nation can only live and accomplish the purposes of its creation, and protect and uphold the cause of civil and religious liberty on this continent and throughout the world, by adhering to one Constitution, one Union, one Government, one set of laws, one destiny.— One flag, and that the stars and stripes, should ever be permitted to float over any portion of our land; and silent be the tongue and palsied the arm of him who would dare to utter a word against or attempt to lower from its proud position the flag of our country. [Cheers.] To preserve our unity as a nation, to prevent dissolution, disintegration, and final anarchy may, and no doubt will, require many and fearful sacrifices in addition to those already made; but the more that flag is crimsoned with the blood of heroes, the dearer it becomes to the hearts of patriots.

The right of self-preservation on the part of the Government has at all times in its history been clearly maintained by the ablest statesmen. George Washington did not hesitate to enforce the law against those who attempted to resist it in the collection of taxes on whisky. In his message to Congress, soon after the occurrence, the Father of his Country says:—"Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 20th of September last. While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name or interrupted the tranquility of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substantial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity rests on solid foundation by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty, that they feel their inseparable union; that notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain their authority of the laws against licentious invasions as they were to defend their right against usurpation. It has been a spectacle displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to behold the most and least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, pre-eminently distinguished by being the army of the Constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains, by the approach of an inclement season, or any other discouragement."

These are the words of the first President of the Republic. Had his penetrating eyes scanned the future and beheld the present condition of his native land, he could not have used language more completely and conclusively establishing the right and duty of self-preservation existing in the Government. As early as 1786, Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Monroe, declared "there never will be money in the treasury till the Confederacy shows its teeth. The States must see the rod, perhaps it must be felt by some of them. I am persuaded that all of them would rejoice to see every one obliged to furnish their contributions"— In another letter, written in 1787, Mr. Jefferson says; "But with all the imperfections of our present Government, it is, without comparison, the best existing, or that ever did exist. Its greatest defect is the imperfect manner in which matters of commerce have been provided for.— It has been so often said as to be generally believed, that Congress have no power, by the Confederation, to enforce anything, for example—contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly: they have it by the law of nature. When two parties make a contract there results in each other a power of compelling the other to execute it."

Thus spoke the author of the Declaration of Independence and the father of followers and admirers in the South obeyed his teachings and practiced his theories, the present crisis would not now be upon the nation. In 1832, James Madison, in speaking of the Virginia Resolutions, written by himself, used the following language: "The essential difference between a free government and a government not free is, that the former is founded in compact, the parties to which are mutually and equally bound by it. Neither of them, therefore, can have a greater right to break off from the bargain than the other of others have to hold him to it; and certainly there is nothing in the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 adverse to this principle, which is that of common sense and common justice."

It is remarkable the nullifiers, who make the name of Mr. Jefferson the pedestal for their colossal heresy, closely shut their eyes and lips whenever his authority is clearly and emphatically against them. In his letters to Monroe and Carrington he speaks of the power of the old Congress to coerce delinquent States, and states his reason for preferring for the purpose a naval to a military force, also remarking that it was not necessary to find a right

to coerce in the Federal Articles, that being inheritance the nature of a compact.

In 1832 the States of South Carolina attempted to inaugurate the heresy of secession. At that time Andrew Jackson occupied the Executive chair of the nation. His views and opinions are fully and clearly set forth in his proclamation of that date, in which, among other truths, he declares that "the Constitution of the United States forms a government, not a league; and whether it be formed by compact between the States or in any character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the States; they retained all the power they did not grant.— But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States, a single nation, cannot, from that period, possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league but destroys the unity of a nation and any injury to that unity is not only breach which would result from the contravention of a compact but it is an offence against the whole Union."

Thus speaks Andrew Jackson in 1832. His action correspond with his words, and it is fortunate for the nation and for mankind that General Jackson then occupied the Executive chair of the United States. The views entertained by these statesmen have been fully endorsed and affirmed on repeated occasions by the Supreme Court of the United States. I might refer particularly to the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall on the subject, but I have not time to do so. The same voice comes to us from the tombs of Mount Vernon, Monticello, the Hermitage, and the grave of Madison. Ashland and Marshfield poured forth their unsurpassed eloquence in defence of the same vital principles, and all the great men of our land, of all parties, have at all times, in the Cabinet, in Congress, and on the bench, agreed upon this question.

Now, my fellow-citizens, our enemies attempt to dishearten the people by portraying to them the magnitude of our national debt. This debt has been variously estimated, but it is now officially declared to be less than two thousand million of dollars, and no well-informed man will calculate a greater increase than one thousand millions per year. But figures cannot estimate the value of the Union—it is beyond all price. However, for those who worship the almighty dollar, and those who are too mean to pay their taxes if they can escape their payment, I will occupy your attention for one moment on this subject. At the end of the Peninsula war the debt of England was about five thousand millions of dollars.— It is now a little less than four thousand millions of dollars. Her last war loan in that war was sold at fifty three cents on the dollar, payable in depreciated paper. But not a single bond of the United States is below par, and nearly all command a premium. The income of our treasury for the past year, in the very midst of the war, was nearly three hundred millions of dollars. The increase in the value of our real and personal property from 1840 to 1850 was sixty-four per cent; from 1850 to 1860 it was one hundred and twenty-seven per cent. The income of our productive labor for 1860 was nearly two millions of dollars.

We have rich public lands, and almost enough of these alone, at one dollar per acre, to pay our debt at the end of the war. We have more than 30,000 miles of Railroad, finished at a cost of \$1,200,000,000. Fifty thousand vessels of the Republic whiten every ocean. The increase in the tonnage on our Western waters in eight years, was 320 per cent. Our exports of grain have reached, in a single year, \$500,000,000. Agriculture gave the nation, in 1860, \$1,600,000,000; and when our fertile lands are well cultivated, this sum will be multiplied a hundred fold. Our territory is nearly as large as all Europe, with its forty different empires. The increase of our population since 1790 has been six times greater than that of England, and ten times greater than that of France; therefore the burden of our debt will sit but lightly upon a nation whose home is a continent, whose soil embraces the product of every land, whose people, by their industry, thrift and skill, multiply their resources an hundred fold, and whose population grows with a rapidity which is without parallel in history. As I said before, it is the purpose of our enemies to dishearten the people with rumors of our inability to pay the National debt; but they have not examined the question and do not wish to examine it; they only desire to draw away from their allegiance the friends of the Union, and induce them to accept an ignominious peace upon the terms of dissolution.

But the hour is growing late, my fellow-citizens, and I find myself compelled to curtail my remarks. When the proud old flag of our fathers shall again float in triumph over the walls of Fort Sumpter, and over every inch of territory belonging to our ancient inheritance; and when all the people of the land shall live in peace and amity, and treason shall no more raise its wicked head, then will the most skeptical and timid be constrained to admit that this noble Government of our fathers is not destined to premature decay, but that the noble old Republic still lives, and shall live forever. Long continued cheering.

Mr. Lincoln's prospects of election are growing brighter every day.

Peace!

From the Richmond Enquirer, Oct. 16, '65
Save on our own terms we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday rather than yield an iota of them, and our terms are:

Recognition by the enemy of the independence of the Confederate States.

Withdrawal of the Yankee force from every foot of Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missouri.

Withdrawal of the Yankee soldiers from Maryland until that State shall decide by a free vote whether she shall remain in the old Union or ask admission into the Confederacy.

Consent on the part of the Federal government to give up to the Confederacy its proportion of the navy as it stood at the time of secession, or to pay for the same.

Yielding up of all pretensions of the part of the Federal government to that portion of the old Territories which lies west of the Confederate States.

An equitable settlement on the basis of our absolute independence and equal rights of all accounts of the public debt and public lands, and the advantages accruing from foreign treaties.

These provisions, we apprehend, comprise the minimum of what we most require before we lay down our arms.— That is to say, the North must yield all,—we nothing. The whole pretension of that country to prevent by force the separation of the States must be abandoned, which will be equivalent to an avowal that our enemies were wrong from the first, and, of course, as they waged a causeless and wicked war upon us, they ought in strict justice to be required, according to usage in such cases, to reimburse us the whole of our expenses and losses in the course of that war. Whether this last proviso is to be insisted upon or not, certain we are that we cannot have any peace at all until we shall be in a position not only to demand exact, but also to enforce and collect, treasure for our own re-imbursement out of the wealthy cities in the enemy's country. In other words, unless we can destroy or scatter their armies, and break up their government, we can have no peace, and if we can do that, then we ought not only to extort from them our own full terms and ample acknowledgment of their wrong, but also a handsome indemnity for the trouble and expense caused to us by their crime.

Hon. William M. Hiestor of Reading, Pa., a life-long Democrat, who was Secretary of State under Gen. Packer, having been nominated for Congress in old Berks, by the Unionists, responded as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: I have been apprised of your nomination by the deputation who have waited upon me. As I understand it, such nomination has not proceeded from you either as Republican or Democrat, but from you as a Union Convention, from the good and true men of all parties, who are resolved to maintain and perpetuate that Union which we all hold most dear—of men who are determined to crush out a wicked Rebellion, and to let our glorious banner once more wave from California to Maine. Your choice has fallen on me, and I accept it, and, for the reason assigned, to show we esteem right all we venerate. While I regard peace with all its attendant blessings, and hold war to be a calamity, with all its direful consequences, yet I am not for such a peace as was proposed by the traitorous band at Niagara. War has been waged against us, not by the much abused Abolitionists who never raised their voice or took possession of any of our forts, or aided in the overthrow of the best government on earth, but by Southern men whose only object has been to dissolve that Union for which our forefathers bled and died. In the struggle for its maintenance, every man has an interest at stake, in the integrity of our Union, we are all alike interested, and in the re-nomination of our President, Abraham Lincoln, we have a duty to perform, and an honor to sustain, of which history will bear the record.— However much his character or acts have been assailed, we will sustain him. He has been a tried man, and no one could have done more than he has tried to do in the emergency in which he has been placed. I thank you for the unsolicited nomination, and trust it will redound to your satisfaction."

A Yankee Bull!

"Away down East" is a town called St. George. In this town lived a man by name of Andrew Johnson. Andrew's reputation was not so good but that it might have been better. Once upon a time he went to Thomaston in his fishing-boat to sell some fish, and was espied by the sheriff. Andrew seeing the sheriff come on board his boat, supposed him to be a customer for fish, and answered question with all the confidence imaginable.

"I believe your name is Andrew Johnson," said the sheriff.

"Yes," said Andrew, "my name is Andrew Johnson; she world over, and I don't care who knows it."

"Then," said the sheriff, "you are my prisoner."

"Ah, but stop a moment," said Andrew; "not quite so fast; you have made a slight mistake in your man. It's my brother Ben whose name is Andrew."