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THE NEW YORK PLATFORM.

The Seymour Democracy and the Public
Lands.

Speech of Hon. Geo. W. Julian, De-
livered at Shelbyville, Indiana, on the
5th August.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I begin that I
have to say to-day with the remark that
our party platform are very instructive
memorials of the past. This is their chief
value. They mark the shifting and ever-
varying phases of American politics, and
often bear witness to the waywardness or
positive infidelity of our public men.
This is forcibly illustrated in the National
Democratic Convention recently convened
in the city of New York. I take it for
granted that the essential truth in politics,
as the builders of the platform understood
it, the substance, and not the shadow of
Democracy, is here embodied. Every
Democrat in the United States now sub-
scribes to this latest and most authorita-
tive confession of National political faith.
And yet, if we are to try this document by
the ancient tests of Democratic orthodoxy,
we shall find it to be a weak invention,
which the fathers of Democracy would
disown. This will be found true, whether
we consider the platform in its negative
or its positive character. For example,
the Democratic principle of the right
of secession, which has long been a
fundamental article of faith, is uncondi-
tionally abandoned. It has been "retired
for all time to come by the way, and is
never to be mentioned, or mentioned."
It has an unimpaired and unimpaired
constitutional right of the States to
secede, and sweep into oblivion the ever-
lasting gospel of the resolutions of 1798,
as assembled wisdom at New York failed
to explain. The divine institution of
slavery, which was sacredly guarded also
by the Constitution, is likewise abandon-
ed forever. The war, which four years
ago was branded as a failure, has retired
"for all time to come by the way, and is
never to be mentioned, or mentioned."
It is a common grave with its "twice
retired" rights of secession, but I submit
that if both the war and the pro-
clamation of emancipation were uncon-
stitutional, the logic of para and "unretired"
Democracy should have demanded
compensation for the slaves thus wantonly
set free.

Was trade another time honored
principle of Democracy. It is not, how-
ever, even mentioned in the New York
platform, nor is the policy of protection
mentioned. On the contrary, the plat-
form has a strong savor of the old Whig
doctrine of a tariff for revenue, with in-
cidental protection to American manu-
factures. Democratic newspapers and
politicians have not been sparing of their
denunciations of the high tariff policy of
the past six or eight years; but these denun-
ciations, found no voice in the New
York Convention. Hard money was an-
other great Democratic principle. It has
been forgotten, and the platform does not
remember the marshaling of the
Democratic hosts under Jackson and
Benton in their grand battle for gold and
silver, and in opposition to irredeemable
paper money. And who would have
doubted that the men who denounced
greenbacks as unconstitutional during the
war, would stand by the old hard money
flag after the war had ended? But here,
again, the war has not been a "failure."
Of all earthly blessings, greenbacks, and
of all mercenary abundances, are now most
coveted in the judgment of Democrats,
while gold and silver should be retired
from sight or use as far as possible. Kind-
red observations apply to the ancient
Democratic dogma of a "white man's
Government." No one could have supposed
it possible for the Democratic party to
live, without teaching constantly, as a
most vital truth, the inferiority of the
negro, and the danger of political and social
equality with him. But the New York
platform utters no word on this subject,
although negroes now actually vote, and
may hold office in all the States lately in
rebellion. This most abominable and high-
handed rascality to saving Democratic
ideas and traditions has surprised the
whole country, and can only be accounted
for "by the war, or the voluntary action
of the Southern States, in Constitutional
Convention assembled."

If we turn from the negative to the
positive side of the New York platform,
we shall find quite a little relief for our
Democratic friends. They demand the
"immediate restoration of all the States to
their rights in the Union," but fail to tell
us what they mean by this demand, and
why the Democrats in both Houses of
Congress unitedly vote against restoring
the rebel States to their rights, save those
of secession and slavery, which have been
consolidated by the war. They de-
mand "amnesty for all past political of-
fenses," when nobody has been punished,
or stands the least chance of being pun-
ished, for any such offenses. They de-
mand the abolition of the Freedmen's
Bureau, which will expire by law on the
first of next January, and which law was
opposed by the Democrats of both Houses.
They condemn the doctrine of immutable
allegiance, as to which no man or party
in the country takes any issue with them.
They assert the right of the States to
regulate the question of suffrage, which
is expressly denied by the Republican
party; while the demand for "reform of
abuses in the Administration," and "the
expulsion of corrupt men from office,"
will be heartily seconded by every Rep-
ublican in the Union, and if carried out
would at once relieve the nation from the
infernal brood of Democratic thieves and
villains who are preying upon its life,
from Andrew Johnson inclusive down to
the meanest political scoundrel and pro-
vost who have found favor in our
eyes.

But I pass from these general matters.
They are exceedingly suggestive, and in-
vite a more extended criticism, but I

One Indiana American.

"THE UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS."

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BROOKVILLE, IND., FRIDAY, AUGUST 21, 1868.

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dismiss them to-day for the purpose of
noticing, with some degree of particularity,
and emphasis, a still more remarkable
and novel feature of this very remarkable
and novel platform. It is as follows:
"That the public lands should be dis-
tributed as widely as possible among the
people, and should be disposed of either
under the pre-emption or homestead laws,
or sold in reasonable quantities, and at
none but actual occupants, at the mini-
mum price established by the Govern-
ment. Where grants of the public lands
may be deemed necessary for the encour-
agement of important public improve-
ments, the proceeds of the sale of such
lands, and not the lands themselves,
should be so applied."

This is most excellent Republican doc-
trine. From my earliest recollection with
politics I have constantly contended for
the policy of reserving the public lands
for actual settlement and tillage. For
twenty odd years I have publicly advocat-
ed the homestead principle, and the Rep-
ublican party now stands ready to ad-
vocate it beyond this, by reserving the
lands for the sale of the public lands
shall cease, except as provided for in the
pre-emption and homestead laws. A bill,
embodying this provision, has been re-
ported from the House Committee on
Public Lands, and is now pending, while
its principle has already been sanctioned
by the House in the form of a resolution
adopted in March last, which further pro-
vided that all proposed grants of land
and the construction of railroads, or
for other special objects, should be care-
fully scrutinized and rigidly subordinated
to the paramount purpose of securing
homes for the landless poor, the settle-
ment and tillage of the public domain,
and the consequent increase of the Na-
tional wealth. In pursuance of this
later provision a bill has passed the
House regulating all future land grants
for railroad purposes, and declaring that
the alternate sections granted shall be
sold to actual settlers only, in quantities
not greater than one hundred and sixty
acres, and for a price not exceeding two
dollars and fifty cents per acre, thus se-
curing the settlement of the country,
while building the roads with "the pro-
ceeds of the sale of such lands, and not
the lands themselves." This bill, as I
understand, passed the Senate just before
the late adjournment. These radical and
wise reforms in our land policy, which
constitute an essential part of the Republi-
can gospel, and are the ripe fruit of Rep-
ublican ascendency, are stolen and ap-
propriated by the Copperhead
Democracy in their National Convention.
By far the best plank in their platform
is obtained from their political opponents
by organized thieving; and with a kua-
very perfectly unscrupulous, an impud-
ent, and a thoroughly unscrupulous, and
selfishly and absolutely transgressional,
they ask the honest masses of the
people for their support!

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.
Gentlemen, in the light of these ugly
facts, I trust I shall be pardoned if I an-
ticipate the political consciousness of these
so-called Democrats, and pitilessly strike
with the excellent timber
which they have sought to procure
from us by theft. It may do them good,
and also serve as a warning to others
against the use of false pretenses. Since
ancients speak louder than words, let
me examine the Democratic record on the
land question. I believe it is Waldo
Emerson who says that the strength of a
man stands behind it. If more
professions would make the men silent
willfulness would long since have been
unshaken. I do not deny the possibility
of a death-bed repentance, or an instan-
aneous conversion. When the cup of a
miserable repentance has been made full
to overflowing, a sudden spasm of remorse
may reveal to him his true character and
open the way for a new life. Having no
evidence whatever that any such mercy
has visited the Democratic consciences, we
are compelled to judge the party to-day
by its fruits. What are these fruits?

THE LAND GRANT SYSTEM.
I begin with what is called our land grant
policy, which, in brief, is this: For the
purpose of aiding the construction of a
proposed railroad or canal, Congress
grants the alternate odd-numbered sec-
tions along the line of the work, within a
margin of six, ten or twenty miles on
either side of it; and if any of the lands
within this belt shall have been disposed
of by sale or otherwise, the deficiency
shall be made up within a certain spec-
ified distance beyond it. The lands thus
granted are taken charge of by the com-
pany which undertakes the work, and be-
come at once a complete monopoly. No
time is fixed within which the lands shall
be sold by the Government, which may avail
itself of other resources, and hold them
for twenty or forty years for a rise in
price. Congress made a large grant of
lands to the Illinois Central Railroad
eighteen years ago, and a considerable
portion of them remains unsold to-day.
Sales, however, occasionally occur at from
thirty to forty dollars per acre, there be-
ing no price fixed beyond which the com-
pany shall not go. The theory of this
policy is that the Government will be
fully compensated for the odd-numbered
sections granted, by the enhanced price of
the even numbered sections which are re-
served; but this does not cure the vicious
principle to which I refer. The lands
granted are still a ruinous monopoly in
the hands of the Company. Besides, the
principle of alternate sections has fre-
quently been disregarded by Congress. In
several instances the even numbered sec-
tions have been granted, and the odd-
numbered ones had been exhausted. I
believe the first grant of lands ever made
by Congress, in alternate sections, for any
work of internal improvement, was in 1827,
in aid of the construction of the Wabash
& Erie Canal. Two additional grants
were subsequently made for this work, the

announced by the party as a scheme of
"Demagoguery," of "Agrarianism," of
"Free Soilism," and not even "Abolition-
ism" itself was more bitterly loathed and
execrated. This was logically inevitable.
The slave power owned the Democratic
party, body and soul, but the slave power
itself could not live without the aristocratic
tyranny of large landed estates. A
policy, therefore, which recognized the
honorability of toil, and the common
and equal rights of the millions on the
lands of the Government, must of neces-
sity be fatal to slavery, if sanctioned. The
steps taken could never be retraced.
The leaders perfectly understood, and the
rank and file faithfully followed them.
Repeated efforts to carry the homestead
policy were renewed during the Adminis-
trations of Pierce and Buchanan, but in
every instance, as the Congressional record
will show, they were defeated by Demo-
cratic opposition. A homestead bill did
finally prevail in both Houses toward the
close of the Thirty-sixth Congress, a suf-
ficient number of the bareheaded Demo-
crats joining the Republicans to accom-
plish the purpose, but the act was vetoed
by one James Buchanan, whose chosen
beneficiaries were such men as Davis, Floyd
and Thompson, and who gloried in wal-
lowing in the mire of Democratic deprav-
ity, while bending his cowardly back un-
der the lash of his Southern drivers, just
as often as they saw fit to command him.

At last, under a Republican adminis-
tration, the homestead law of 1862 was
enacted; and the only honor that can be
accorded to the Democratic party, is that
its opposition, which was shown on the
final vote in both Houses, had gradually
grown smaller and smaller, as the supremacy
of slavery in the United States contin-
ued to be threatened. Such is the ugly
and damaging record which history must
write down for the party whose lead-
ers at New York have added to their other
sins that of the most transparent demog-
uery in dealing with the question of
our public lands.

THE SOUTHERN HOMESTEAD BILL.
But the Democratic record on the
homestead question does not end here. At
the close of the rebellion, there remained,
in the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisi-
ana, Arkansas and Florida, about forty-
six millions of acres of surveyed, unsold
public lands. Just as soon as the land of-
fices in these States could be got in run-
ning order, the whole of these lands would
be liable to be bought up by the speculators
by rebel speculators and monopolists. The
men who had secured a monopoly of
swamp lands, and whose greed and rap-
acity remained as untamed by their de-
feat as their hatred of the negroes and
their contempt for the poor whites, would,
of course, spare no opportunity in the
way of their further aggrandizement. One
of the first duties of the 39th Congress
therefore was to deal with the practical
question thus presented, and a bill was
accordingly reported from the House Com-
mittee on Public Lands extending the
Homestead law over these regions in eight-
yearly allotments and forbidding, abso-
lutely, all further sales. The effect of this
would be to dedicate to actual occupancy
and tillage the whole of these millions of
acres, in the interest of the landless poor,
black and white, and in the interest of
the nation as a whole. The effect of this
bill was to break up the monopoly of
575,000 homesteads to that many heads
of families; and allowing each head of
a family to represent, on an average, five
persons, these lands would give homes and
shelter to 2,875,000 people, who must also
be the mere applicants for such favors as
a relentless landed aristocracy may see fit
to bestow. If we suppose, one-half of
these lands unfit for cultivation, there
would still remain enough to supply nearly
a million and a half of the homeless
poor in these States; and I think I am
safe, therefore, in saying that of all the
measures that have been proposed in any
quarter looking to the regeneration of these
blasted regions, this may fairly be
regarded as one of the most beneficent
and far reaching. It would lay the founda-
tions of a true democracy, and a genuine
civilization, where the curses of chattel
slavery on the one hand, and wages
slavery on the other, have so long weid-
ered their baleful power through the mon-
opoly of the soil. It would furnish a
blessed outlet through which the helpless
poor could escape from the threatened suf-
focation and death, and at the same time
point the way to other measures of relief,
still more prophetic of a new heaven and
a new earth in these latitudes. Founded on
the ruins of the past. The bill passed
the House, and in a modified form went
through the Senate; and greatly to the
general amazement it was signed by An-
drew Johnson, who just at that time seems
to have been "clothed and in his right
mind," or, at least not quite so drunk as
he had been on other occasions. Under
this law, the poor of the South, whether
white or black, are selecting their home-
steads, building their cabins, putting up
their fences, and thus slowly but surely
winning out their way to independence,
while becoming the natural allies of the
public good. They have already reclaim-
ed and settled many thousands of acres,
and their progress will be more and more
rapid as the rebel element of the South
shall be subdued. The policy of the law
has been, and doubtless will continue to
be, obstructed; but it will be carried out;
and just so far and so fast as this shall be
done, it will annihilate the great landed
aristocracy which brought on the war, and
is now the only obstacle to lasting peace.

Gentlemen, what is the Democratic
record on this most righteous and perfectly
unobjectionable measure, proposing to
save forty-six millions of acres of land
from the clutches of rebel monopolists,
and set them apart in small homesteads
for productive wealth, and as homes for
the poor?
In the House of Representatives, on the
7th of February, 1866, Mr. Taber, a

Democrat from New York, moved so to
amend the bill as to allow its benefits to
be pardoned rebels, in common with loyal
men, and in contravention of the Home-
stead law of 1862. The yeas and nays
were ordered on this motion, and result-
ed: yeas, 37, all Democrats save six, and
nays, 104, all Republicans.
The next day, on the passage of the
bill, the yeas and nays were again order-
ed, and the Democrats having signally
failed to have rebels included in its pro-
posed benefits, the vote stood yeas, 112,
all Republicans, and nays 24, all Demo-
crats but two. What a beautiful and
blessed record for the party which resolves
its Seymour platform, "that the public
lands should be distributed, as widely as
possible, among the people, and should be
disposed of either under the pre-emption
or homestead laws, or sold in reason-
able quantities, and at none but actual
occupants." If our Democratic leaders
were not completely outwitted all sense of
shame, I hope I may be able to rekindle
it by holding up this Democratic vote on
the Southern Homestead law as a commen-
dation on their New York resolutions.

LAND GRANTS TO SOUTHERN RAILROADS.
Gentlemen, let me now follow the Demo-
cratic record one step further, for I de-
sire to expose the utter hollowness and
mockery of the National Democratic plat-
form respecting the land policy of the
United States, I deem it at once a pub-
lic duty and a public service, and should
rejoice myself were I to shrink from its
performance to the extent of my ability.
In the year 1856, Congress granted to
the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisi-
ana and Florida, land amounting in the
aggregate to nearly five millions of acres,
to aid them in building sundry railroads,
and gave them ten years within which to
comply with the conditions of the grant.
These States, not long afterward, created
corporations for the purpose of accepting
the grants and performing the work as to
several of the roads, but little, in fact;
was done, prior to the breaking out of the
rebellion. This event, of course, put a
stop to all further movements, but it did
not cause these corporations, for every
one of them, on the initiation of civil
war, promptly exposed the rebel cause,
and contributed all their resources to the
work of dismembering the Union. They
are therefore not only inexorable, but in
common with the States which created
them, are criminally recreant to their
obligations, for they not only failed to
perform their engagements, or even to at-
tempt it, but signalled their bad faith by
treason. The expiration of these grants
by limitation caused the forfeiture of these
lands to the United States; but without an
act of Congress declaring the forfeiture,
they must remain tied up in the hands of
rebel corporations, and could not be made
available for settlement by loyal men.
These lands are among the most fertile
and desirable in the entire South. The
New Orleans, Opelousas and Great West-
ern Railroad Company alone holds to-day,
as a frightful monopoly, nearly a million
of acres, on which the landless poor of
Louisiana are sitting for the privilege of
securing homesteads. In other sections
the lands are, perhaps, still more valuable
having been selected along the lines of
military roads on paper, where no attempt
has been made to build them, and no pur-
pose to do so ever entertained. Every
man can comprehend the mischief of these
land grants, unaccompanied by any per-
formance of their conditions, and aggra-
vated by the treason both of the States
and people intended to be benefited by
them. They not only converted five mil-
lions of acres of choice lands into a wick-
ed monopoly, but hindered settlements
on the corresponding even numbered sec-
tions to an equal amount, and, to some
extent, on the lands adjacent to the belt
comprising the odd and even sections.
That these monopolies should be broken
up, independent of the question of their
treasonable character, is most obvious.
That multitudes of the landless poor of
these States are hungering and thirsting
for the opportunity of acquiring homes
upon them, is perfectly well known. That
the Southern homestead law should at
once be extended, and applied to them,
in the interest of that class of people, is
morally self-evident. That five millions
of acres would give homesteads of eighty
acres each to sixty-two thousand five hun-
dred heads of families and support a pop-
ulation of three hundred and twelve thou-
sand five hundred, is as true as arithmet-
ic. In the clear light of these facts,
what was the duty of Congress? No loyal
man will hesitate for an answer. It was
to wrest these lands from rebel mono-
polists, and extend over them the
Homestead law of June 21, 1866. I will
feel under great obligations to any man
who will give me a single valid reason
why this should not be done. No
such reason has been given, or can be
given, either in Congress or out of it. So
believing, I introduced a bill of the char-
acter indicated at the July session of Con-
gress, now over a year ago. It was de-
bated at some length during the past win-
ter, and finally passed the House, the
Senate not having found time to consider
it prior to the late adjournment.

Gentlemen, do you need that I should
tell you how the Democracy of the House
recorded their vote? The record is not
new before me, but my distinct recollection
is that while the measure received the
general support of the Republican
side of the House, it encountered the hos-
tile vote of every Democrat who was pres-
ent. True to the traitors of the South
during the war, true to the vanquished
rebels since its close, and true to the in-
fernal spirit of monopoly and plunder,
this last set of principles was the histor-
ical picture which I hold, "as a mirror, up
to nature," and in the light of which I
impute the Democratic leaders on the very
plank they have plagiarized from the Rep-
ublicans. And thus, in a word, have I
nailed to the pillory the hypocritical pre-
tense of Democratic orthodoxy on the
land policy of the Government, and Demo-
cratic sympathy for the landless and la-
boring poor.

The Presidency.

Seymour and Blair nullification.
"I propose to move immediately upon
your works." - E. S. Gross.
Hendricks says that Blair is generous.
With ahimsa or lemons and whisky?
Dix to Seymour: "I have troops enough
to take care of the mob, and you too."
A friend suggests that the name of the
Democratic candidate be spelled "Horseshoe
& Moore." After November next his
friends will all spell it "Horseshoe
& Sighmore."