

LINCOLN AND LIBERTY !!

Tract No. 13.

New York, Sept. 11th, 1860.



For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
Of Illinois.
 For Vice-President,
HANNIBAL HAMLIN,
Of Maine.

State Nominations.

FOR GOVERNOR, EDWIN D. MORGAN.
 FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, ROBERT CAMPBELL.
 FOR CANAL COMMISSIONER, S. H. BARNES.
 FOR STATE PRISON INSPECTOR, JAMES K. BATES.

For Electors at Large,
 WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT,
 JAMES O. PUTNAM.

For District Electors

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. John A. King. | 18. Henry Churchill. |
| 2. Edward W. Fiske. | 19. James R. Alliben. |
| 3. Andrew Carignan, | 20. B. N. Huntington. |
| 4. James Kelly. | 21. S. D. Phelps. |
| 5. Sigismund Kaufman. | 22. G. D. Foote. |
| 6. Frederick Kapp. | 23. Hiram Dewey. |
| 7. Washington Smith. | 24. Samuel L. Voorhis. |
| 8. William A. Darling. | 25. Wm. Van Martin. |
| 9. Wm. H. Robertson. | 26. John E. Seeley. |
| 10. George M. Grier. | 27. Frank L. Jones. |
| 11. Rufus H. King. | 28. J. S. Wadsworth. |
| 12. Jacob E. Carpenter. | 29. Ezra M. Parsons. |
| 13. John T. Winslow. | 30. Charles C. Parker. |
| 14. John H. Ten Eyck. | 31. E. S. Whalon. |
| 15. N. Edson Sheldon. | 32. John Grennie, Jr. |
| 16. Robert S. Hale. | 33. James Parker. |
| 17. Abijah Beckwith. | |

ISSUED BY THE

Young Men's Republican Union,

OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Campaign Reading Room, Stuyvesant Institute, No. 659
 Broadway; open daily, from 8 A. M. to 11 P. M.

*"Let us have faith that right makes might,
 and in that faith, let us to the end, dare to do
 our duty, as we understand it."*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The Annihilation of Douglas.

BY CHARLES SUMNER.

It was proposed to repeal the old prohibition of slavery in the Missouri territory, established as a part of the Missouri compromise. But, instead of doing this openly and precisely—saying in so many words that this provision was repealed—language was devised by which to mystify the whole question. Then appeared that "stump speech in the belly of the bill," according to Col. Benton, declaring that the intent was to leave the people "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the constitution of the United States." As the fatal bill containing these words passed in the gray of the morning, Gen. Cass, rising from his seat—I remember well the scene—exclaimed, "This is the triumph of squatter sovereignty." The old prohibition of slavery was overthrown, and his Nicholson letter was vindicated.

And now note well the trick. The slave masters who voted for these words rejected with scorn the idea that the handful of squatters could exclude slavery. According to them, slavery went with the Constitution, and was beyond the control of the squatters. But the formal assertion of this dogma would have caused trouble, and it was accordingly disguised in these familiar words, "Subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana, in his recent speech, let us behind the scenes. He tells us that at a caucus of Senators, "both wings of the democracy agreed that each should maintain its particular theory before the public—one side sustaining squatter sovereignty and the other protection to slavery in the territories, but pledging themselves to abide by the decision of the Supreme court, whatever it might be." Such was the secret conspiracy—concealed for a long time from the public, and only recently revealed. *And Mr. Douglas was a party to it.*

Had the popular sovereignty of Mr. Douglas been a reality and not a sham; had it been a sincere recognition of popular rights instead of a trick to avoid their recognition, he could not have been a party to such a deception. But this is not all. While professing popular sovereignty, what does his bill really confer upon the people? Not the right to organize their own government, determining for themselves its form and character; *for all this was done by act of congress.* Not the right to choose the executive; *for the governor and all other officers in this department were sent from Washington, nominated by the President.* Not the right to nominate the judiciary; *for the judges were also sent from Washington, nominated by the President.* Not even the right completely to constitute the legislature; *for even this body was placed in many important respects beyond the popular control.* Thus in each of the three great departments of state—the executive, the judicial and the legislative—*was popular sovereignty disowned.*

Search the *Congressional Globe* for the month of February, 1854, and you will see with what sincerity Mr. Douglas guarded the much-vaunted rights of the people. Mr. Chase moved to allow the people to elect their governor and other

Freedom of Public Lands to Actual Settlers.

Free Speech. Free Press. Free Soil. Free Men.

Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

officers. On the vote by ayes and noes *the champion of popular sovereignty voted No.* Mr. Chase, whose effort to unmask this hypocrisy was indefatigable, made a further motion, which put Mr. Douglas still more to the test. After the words of alleged popular sovereignty in the bill he moved to add, "under which the people of the territory may, through their representatives, exclude slavery if they choose." Here was a plain proposition. On the vote by ayes and noes *Mr. Douglas and his associates again voted No.*

The bill was passed; and then came other opportunities to test the sincerity of the present knighterrant of popular sovereignty. Under its provisions commenced at once a race of emigration into the new territories, and the free labor and slave labor grappled. Lovers of freedom from the North were encountered by the partisans of slavery from the South, organized by blue lodges in Missouri, and stimulated from every part of the land of slavery. The officials of a government established under pretended safeguards of popular sovereignty, all ranged themselves on the side of slavery, or, if their allegiance became doubtful—as in the case of Governor Reeder—they were dismissed, and more available tools sent instead. I spare details. You cannot forget that winter and spring preceding the presidential election of 1856, when we were alternately startled and stunned at the tidings from Kansas; when a body of strangers from Missouri entering by hundreds, seized by force the polls, and by pretended forms of law, set up a usurpation, which proceeded by formal legislation to establish slavery there, and to surround it by a code of death. The atrocity of Philip II. when by violence and through a "council of blood" he sought to fasten the inquisition upon Holland, was renewed. Outrage, arson, rapine, rape, invasion, murder, the scalping-knife, were the agents now employed; and to crown this prostration of popular rights. Lawrence, home of New England settlers and microcosm of New England life, was burnt to the ground by a company of profane and drunken ruffians, stimulated from Washington. What then was the course of the champion of popular sovereignty? Did he thunder and lighten? Did he come forward to defend those settlers who had gone to Kansas under the pretended safeguards of his bill? Oh, no! But he openly ranged himself in the Senate on the side of their oppressors—mocked at their calumnies—denounced them as "insurgents"—insulted their agents, and told them they must submit—while the distant Emigrant Aid Society in Massachusetts was made the butt of his most opprobrious assaults. All this I saw and heard myself.

Then came another scene, with which, owing to my own absence from the Senate, as an invalid, I have less personal familiarity; but it is known to all of you. The senatorial election in Illinois was at hand, and Mr. Douglas then suddenly discovered that popular sovereignty was something more than a name. He opposed the Leocompton constitution; but my distinguished colleague will tell you that even there he was kept from the most bare-faced apostacy only by the stern will and indomitable principle of the lamented Broderick.

If you follow Mr. Douglas in his various speeches, you cannot fail to be shocked by the heartlessness of his language. Never in history has any public man insulted human nature so boldly. At the North he announces himself as "always for the white man against the nigger;"

but at the South he is "for" the nigger against the crocodile." It was natural that such a man who thus mocked at a portion of God's creation, made in the Divine image, should say, "Vote slavery up or vote it down." He knew well that under his device the settlers could only vote it up, and that they were not allowed to vote it down. But this speech attests his brazen insensibility to human rights. Not so spoke the fathers of the Republic, who taught us all never to miss an opportunity to vote slavery down. Not so spoke Washington, who declared that to the abolition of slavery, "*his suffrage should never be wanting.*" And such is the whole political philosophy of this presidential candidate, except that a man is thus indifferent to the rights of a whole race, is naturally indifferent to other things which make for justice and peace.

Again, he cries out, that the slavery question is the way of public business, and that it must be removed from Congress. But who has thrust it there so incessantly as himself? Nay, who so largely as himself has been the occasion of its discussion? But his complaint illustrates anew the old fable. It was the wolf above that troubled the waters, and not the lamb below.

Slavery has no Future.

Bayard Taylor relates the following incident in one of his recent letters on home travel:

"At White River Junction, where we were obliged to wait two hours for the train from Boston to Montreal, I fell in with an intelligent Southern gentleman, whose statements with regard to the gradual deterioration of the soil under slave labor (of which, nevertheless, he was an advocate!) went even beyond Helper's abhorred statistics. He candidly admitted that Slavery can only exist as a profitable institution through continual expansion—when the soil of one State is exhausted, it must move to a new one. "But how long can this process be carried on?" I asked: "After a century or two, when there is no more new soil left, what then?" He shrugged his shoulders: "That, at least, does not concern us." I think no intelligent Southerner can fail to take the same view of the final effect of Slave Labor. But, considered from their own stand-point, what a suggestion does it present! Slavery has no future! Through its own operation it destroys itself, by making itself unprofitable, and the question which *must* come at last: "What is to be done with it?" is carelessly passed on to succeeding generations.

What an Illinois Bell-Man Thinks of the Prospects in this State.

A Bell-Everett man writing in a business letter from Cairo, in this State, to a firm in Rochester, New York, says of politics:

CAIRO, Aug. 13, 1860.

* * * I am, as before on the National Union platform, and we intend to turn the election into the House, when John Bell or Edward Everett will be elected President. Lincoln will carry Illinois by about 15,000 majority. It is generally conceded here that Douglas will not carry a single State. The relative strength of parties is regarded as follows: 1, Lincoln; 2, Bell; 3, Breckinridge; and Douglas counted out of the ring entirely. If this is not so, you can buy the best hat in Rochester at my expense.

From Maine, by way of New York.

After the adjournment of the New York Republican Convention at Syracuse on Wednesday, loud calls were made for General Nye to address those present.

General Nye was hurried on to the platform, and, in a brief and spirited address, congratulated the convention on the result of its deliberations. He had recently come from Maine, and could give glad tidings from that State, which would give 20,000 majority for Washburne, the Republican candidate for governor. He remembered a whig song, which used to grate harshly on his ears in 1840 :

Oh, have you heard
Of how old Maine went, went, went !
It went hell bent for Governor Kent,
And Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

[Roars of laughter.]

He had seen the Little Giant in Maine, and heard him make a speech on squatter sovereignty. He could not understand it, but next day he had been to a livery stable and heard two Irishmen discussing the speech of the previous night. "What is this squatter sovereignty?" asked one. "And is it you that comes from Ireland and asks?" replied the other. "Why, I'll tell you what it manes; a sovereign must always have somebody to reign over, and the squatter sovereign reigns over the nagurs!— [Laughter.]

The Bell-Ism—How it Works.

The Bell-Everett Party commenced their campaign by making a platform, substantially to the effect *that they would make none*. They then asked their candidate to write a letter, which he did, and in it *declined to write any*.

They accordingly declare their intention to support him, and to prove it, *are going to vote for somebody else*. Their orators here declare that BELL is the only Constitutional candidate, and, therefore, *recommend everybody to support Douglas*. The same orators then go down to New Jersey, and state that as BELL is the best candidate, it is everybody's duty *to vote for BRECKINRIDGE*.

Carrying out the campaign in the same spirit, they confidently predict he will carry the States *where he is not running*, and denounce as traitors to the party those *who persist in keeping up their party organization*. And when Election Day comes they will rejoice over the votes *he don't get*, and mourn over those *he does*.

Poor Stephen.

It is said that Douglas was lately overheard repeating to himself the following quartrain :

"When I think of what I am,
And what I used to was,
Methinks I've thrown myself away
Without sufficient cause."

Douglas Record.

Who dodged the vote on the Homestead bill? Stephen A. Douglas. Who dodged on the admission of Kansas? Stephen A. Douglas. Who claims that "my great principle," Popular Sovereignty, has given to slavery a degree and a half more of the public domain than the slave power claimed? Stephen A. Douglas. Isn't he a pretty candidate for the votes of free laboring men.

Mr. Bell as a Slaveholder.

Mr. Bell (the candidate for the Presidency) has a third interest in about four hundred slaves, the balance belonging to his second wife. *They are employed in Mr. Bell's iron works on the Cumberland river, and in his coal banks in Kentucky.*—*Herald Correspondent*.

In the North white men are employed as laborers in iron works and coal banks, and if it was not for the institution of slavery 400 white men would find employment in Mr. Bell's works instead of 400 black slaves.

A Dead Cock in the Pit.

There was a time when it appeared as though Mr. Douglas might receive the vote of one or two States; but that time has happily gone by. His unparalleled ambition, his incessant speech-making, and the trading propensities of his unscrupulous and exasperated followers, have deprived him of the chance of carrying a single State, and are hurrying him to a most complete and humiliating defeat. He will soon be so small a giant as to be quite invisible, and the sooner the better, say we.

Should any of his deluded admirers think him worthy a tomb-stone, we beg to suggest the following, from an old poet, as a fitting epitaph :

"With that dull, rooted, callous impudence,
Which, dead to shame, and every nicer sense,
Ne'er blushed; trules, in spreading vice's snares,
He blunder'd on some virtue, unawares."

Douglas Literature.

The following notice was actually posted in Marion, Ohio :

"Noros."—"a grate Duggleass Mectin is to cum off on Saterde the 15teenth and a poll is to be razed we want to let um no daoun sowth that maryann kobnty is awl rite and that kant go nigger heer we are skawtur soverings and beleeve in the pepul rooling yew will please publesh this sum blac repubekans might want to cum as are phitin niggeri now Larew Joolye 6teen eighteen-Go."

Growth of Republicanism.

Not the least gratifying feature of the campaign is the marked and steady growth of Republicanism in the Slave States. Localities where four years ago freedom of speech was denied by mob force, now have their Republican meetings and Republican newspapers. Republican Electoral Tickets are running, or to be run, in all the Northern Slave States, and the vote for them will show a steady and rapid growth of Republican sentiment. After this election wiser counsels will doubtless prevail at the south in regard to differences of political opinion, and the organization will be extended to every State, not only with respectable strength, but with prospects of early success.

Great Shake.

A Democratic poetaster sing:—

"There's a waking up of nations,
A stirring up of snakes,
The people shout for Douglas,
Abe Lincoln's got the shakes."

Exactly—and as western farmers employ victims of the ague to lean against the trunks of their apple-trees and shake off the Caterpillars, so will the Republican party commission "Abe Lincoln" to shake every worm from the branches of the Tree of Liberty.

MARK THE FIGURES.

The elaborate statistical table herewith printed, is eminently worthy the careful consideration of men of all parties. No more comprehensive or conclusive exhibition of the comparative resources and prosperity of the free and slave states could possibly be given. Let those who doubt the blighting influences of the "peculiar institution," read and reflect upon these truthful and suggestive figures.

	Area in square miles.	Population, 1850.	Value of real estate.	No. of public schools.	No. of pupils.	Annual income of public schools.	White population.	No. scholars in colleges, academies, and public schools.	No. White persons over 21 who can read and write.	Value of churches.	Annual transportation, &c.—miles.	Annual costs.	Postal expenditures.	Postal receipts.
Alabama,.....	50,722	771,623	\$78,870,718	1,122	28,380	\$315,602	422,514	37,237	33,757	\$1,244,741	2,286,392	\$340,029	\$393,628 90	\$120,103 23
Arkansas,.....	52,198	209,897	17,372,524	353	8,493	43,708	162,189	11,050	16,819	149,686	2,566 308	704,672	320,312 32	42,532 13
Florida,.....	59,988	87,445	7,994,588	09	1,878	22,886	47,203	1,259	3,850	192,600	682 612	154,640	172,184 76	25,932 41
Georgia,.....	58,000	906,185	121,619,739	1,251	32,705	182,231	521,572	43,299	41,200	1,327,112	2,916,586	278,333	358,180 03	166,664 73
Kentucky,.....	37,680	982,405	177,013,407	2,234	71,429	211,832	761,413	83,914	66,087	2,293,333	2,675,460	275,835	365,675 40	151,717 46
Louisiana,.....	41,325	517,762	176,623,634	664	23,046	349,679	255,491	31,003	21,221	1,940,495	2,405,292	503,843	777,517 50	196,201 63
Maryland,.....	11,124	583,034	139,026,610	898	33,111	218,836	417,943	46,925	20,815	3,074,116	2,061,132	247,253	299,766 98	170,238 28
Mississippi,.....	47,156	606,326	65,171,433	782	18,746	254,159	293,718	26,326	13,405	832,622	2,684,284	323,392	370,003 88	101,549 12
Missouri,.....	67,380	682,044	66,802,223	1,570	51,754	160,770	592,904	61,329	36,291	1,730,135	3,740,491	643,302	727,099 97	227,876 63
North Carolina,.....	50,704	899,039	71,702,740	2,657	104,095	158,564	553,928	112,330	73,566	997,785	2,304,434	191,298	270,762 21	88,491 02
South Carolina,.....	29,385	668,507	105,737,492	724	17,898	200,600	274,563	26,925	15,684	2,181,476	1,997,213	201,170	319,068 10	107,538 12
Tennessee,.....	45,600	1,002,717	107,981,793	2,680	104,117	198,518	756,636	115,750	77,522	1,246,931	2,287,843	334,820 04	323,502 17	126,502 17
Texas,.....	237,504	212,562	28,149,671	2,980	7,946	44,088	134,034	11,500	10,925	408,944	4,140,764	634 800	723,360 43	100,597 35
Virginia,.....	61,332	1,491,661	252,105,824	3,940	67,335	314,626	894,800	77,764	77,005	2,992,220	4,006,725	378 872	510,800 03	255,075 70
	849,328	9,521,237	\$1,416,102,421	18,313	572,891	\$2,676,173	6,113,308	687,891	508,346	\$21,334,236	37,017,521	\$4,745,329	\$5,942,092 65	\$1,008,037 98

S L A V E S T A T E S .

	Area in square miles.	Population, 1850.	Value of real estate.	No. of public schools.	No. of pupils.	Annual income of public schools.	White population.	No. scholars in colleges, academies, and public schools.	No. White persons over 21 who can read and write.	Value of churches.	Annual transportation, &c.—miles.	Annual costs.	Postal expenditures.	Postal receipts.
Connecticut,.....	4,674	370,792	\$96,412,947	1,656	71,269	\$231,220	363,999	79,003	4,739	\$3,599,330	1,333,124	\$114,003	\$92,392 95	\$189,306 61
Illinois,.....	53,405	851,470	81,523,835	4,052	125,725	349,712	846,634	130,411	40,054	1,332,305	4,928,170	394,546	681,625 17	440,533 77
Indiana,.....	33,909	986,416	112,947,740	4,822	161,500	316,535	977,154	168,754	70,540	1,568,906	2,975,812	277,660	373,756 05	208,909 55
Iowa,.....	50,914	192,214	15,672,332	740	29,556	51,922	191,881	30,767	8,120	235,419	2,265,327	203,829	283,063 57	139,446 68
Maine,.....	31,766	583,169	64,336,119	4,042	192,815	315,536	581,913	199,745	6,472	1,794,209	1,869,608	208,096	208,884 83	154,539 21
Massachusetts,.....	7,800	994,514	349,129,322	3,679	176,475	1,006,735	985,450	190,924	27,539	10,504,888	2,166,400	189,062	443,626 89	607,229 40
Michigan,.....	56,243	397,654	25,860,371	2,714	110,455	167,906	395,071	112,382	7,912	793,180	2,122,746	174,360	269,448 22	168,524 45
New Hampshire,.....	9,280	317,976	67,839,108	2,381	75,643	166,444	317,456	81,227	2,987	1,433,266	888,992	56,235	110,902 93	103,319 27
New Jersey,.....	8,320	489,555	153,151,619	1,473	77,930	216,672	465,909	88,444	14,248	3,712,863	1,280,484	94,757	158,818 04	129,667 85
New York,.....	47,000	3,097,394	564,049,649	11,580	675,321	1,472,657	3,048,525	727,222	91,293	21,539,561	6,686,488	462,800	1,107,866 79	1,533,680 34
Ohio,.....	39,964	1,980,329	337,521,075	11,661	484,132	1,472,657	1,935,650	502,926	61,680	5,860,059	5,544,180	565,848	806,414 15	519,998 78
Pennsylvania,.....	46,000	2,311,786	427,663,660	9,061	413,706	1,348,349	2,258,100	440,977	66,928	11,853,291	5,420,225	372,797	671,532 28	616,822 54
Vermont,.....	10,212	314,120	57,280,369	2,731	93,457	176,111	313,492	100,785	6,189	1,251,635	1,037,400	81,837	137,742 34	102,218 30
Rhode Island,.....	1,306	147,545	54,358,231	416	23,130	100,480	143,875	25,014	3,340	1,293,600	223,968	19,204	47,175 47	66,665 69
	402,693	13,036,934	\$2,408,309,987	61,008	2,711,033	\$6,663,603	12,842,279	2,878,291	411,936	\$66,972,525	38,773,154	\$3,127,060	\$5,513,169 68	\$5,682,958 14

F R E E S T A T E S .

Wide Awakes

Can obtain the necessary information about uniform, &c., by applying to E. A. MANN,
659 Broadway.