

# 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 But, instead of doing this openly and precisely—saying in so many words that this provision was repealed—language was devised by which to mystify the whole question.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.

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

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

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 Lecompton 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 quatrains:

"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 Meetin 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 republekans 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.

| State          | Area in square miles. | Population, 1850. | Value of real estate. | No. of public schools. | No. of pupils. | Annual income of public schools. | White       |   | No. White persons over 21 who can read and write. | Value of churches. | Annual transportation, &c.—miles. | Annual costs. | Postal expenditures. | Postal receipts. |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|-------------|---|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|
|                |                       |                   |                       |                        |                |                                  | population. | No. scholars in colleges, academies and public schools. |   |                    |                                   |               |                      |                  |
| Alabama        | 50,722                | 771,623           | \$78,870,718          | 1,152                  | 28,389         | \$315,692                        | 420,514     | 37,237  | 33,757  | \$1,244,741        | 2,286,392                         | \$340,029     | \$392,628 90         | \$120,103 23     |
| Arkansas       | 52,198                | 209,697           | 17,372,524            | 353                    | 8,433          | 43,708                           | 162,189     | 11,050  | 16,819  | 149,686            | 2,569,308                         | 304,312       | 320,312 32           | 42,582 13        |
| Florida        | 59,268                | 87,445            | 7,924,588             | 69                     | 1,878          | 22,866                           | 47,203      | 1,259   | 3,859   | 192,600            | 682,612                           | 154,640       | 172,184 76           | 25,932 41        |
| Georgia        | 58,000                | 906,185           | 121,619,789           | 1,251                  | 32,705         | 189,231                          | 521,572     | 43,299  | 41,200  | 1,327,112          | 2,916,886                         | 278,533       | 358,180 03           | 166,664 73       |
| Kentucky       | 37,680                | 982,405           | 177,013,407           | 2,234                  | 71,429         | 211,852                          | 761,413     | 85,914  | 66,687  | 2,293,553          | 2,655,466                         | 275,835       | 365,675 40           | 151,717 46       |
| Louisiana      | 41,255                | 517,762           | 176,623,654           | 664                    | 25,046         | 349,679                          | 349,679     | 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     | 45,526  | 20,815  | 3,074,116          | 2,061,132                         | 247,253       | 299,766 98           | 180,526 12       |
| Massachusetts  | 47,156                | 606,356           | 65,171,433            | 782                    | 18,746         | 254,159                          | 996,714     | 26,536  | 13,405  | 832,622            | 2,684,284                         | 323,522       | 370,003 88           | 101,549 28       |
| Missouri       | 67,380                | 662,044           | 66,802,223            | 1,570                  | 51,754         | 160,770                          | 599,704     | 61,329  | 36,281  | 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                  | 104,035        | 158,564                          | 553,028     | 112,430   | 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                    | 17,888         | 200,600                          | 274,563     | 26,925  | 15,684  | 2,181,476          | 1,997,213                         | 201,170       | 319,068 10           | 107,536 12       |
| Tennessee      | 45,600                | 1,002,717         | 107,981,793           | 2,680                  | 104,117        | 198,518                          | 756,836     | 115,750   | 77,522  | 1,246,951          | 2,297,843                         | 324,820 04    | 333,820 04           | 123,502 17       |
| Texas          | 237,504               | 237,592           | 28,149,674            | 3,949                  | 7,946          | 44,088                           | 154,034     | 11,500  | 10,525  | 408,944            | 4,140,764                         | 654,800       | 723,801 03           | 100,597 35       |
| Virginia       | 61,332                | 1,491,661         | 252,149,821           | 2,980                  | 67,353         | 314,625                          | 894,000     | 77,764  | 77,005  | 2,992,220          | 4,006,725                         | 510,800 48    | 510,800 48           | 255,075 70       |
|                | 849,328               | 9,521,237         | \$1,416,102,421       | 18,313                 | 572,891        | \$2,676,173                      | 6,113,308   | 687,891   | 508,546   | \$21,334,536       | 37,017,521                        | \$4,745,329   | \$5,942,092 65       | \$1,008,037 98   |

### SLAVE STATES.

|               |         |            |                 |        |           |             |            |           |         |              |            |             |                |                |
|---------------|---------|------------|-----------------|--------|-----------|-------------|------------|-----------|---------|--------------|------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Connecticut   | 4,674   | 370,792    | \$96,412,947    | 1,656  | 71,269    | \$231,220   | 363,099    | 79,003    | 4,739   | \$3,599,230  | 1,333,124  | \$114,003   | \$92,392 95    | \$189,306 61   |
| Illinois      | 55,405  | 851,470    | 81,523,833      | 4,652  | 125,725   | 349,712     | 846,034    | 130,411   | 40,054  | 1,332,305    | 4,928,170  | 394,546     | 681,625 17     | 440,533 77     |
| Indiana       | 33,809  | 986,416    | 112,947,740     | 4,822  | 161,500   | 316,855     | 977,154    | 163,754   | 70,540  | 1,568,906    | 2,973,812  | 277,660     | 379,156 05     | 208,909 55     |
| Iowa          | 50,914  | 192,214    | 15,672,332      | 740    | 29,556    | 51,492      | 191,881    | 30,767    | 8,120   | 235,412      | 2,285,327  | 203,829     | 283,663 57     | 139,446 68     |
| Maine         | 31,766  | 583,169    | 64,536,119      | 4,042  | 192,815   | 315,536     | 861,813    | 199,745   | 6,47    | 1,794,209    | 1,869,608  | 208,684 83  | 208,684 83     | 154,522 21     |
| Massachusetts | 7,800   | 994,514    | 349,120,322     | 3,679  | 176,475   | 1,006,735   | 985,450    | 190,924   | 27,539  | 10,504,888   | 2,166,400  | 189,062     | 449,626 89     | 607,249 40     |
| Michigan      | 56,243  | 397,654    | 25,580,371      | 2,714  | 110,455   | 167,806     | 395,071    | 112,382   | 7,912   | 793,180      | 2,122,746  | 174,360     | 269,448 22     | 168,594 45     |
| New Hampshire | 9,280   | 317,976    | 67,839,108      | 2,381  | 75,643    | 166,444     | 317,456    | 81,237    | 2,937   | 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    | 88,244    | 14,248  | 3,712,863    | 1,280,484  | 94,757      | 156,818 04     | 129,667 85     |
| New York      | 47,000  | 3,097,394  | 564,949,649     | 11,580 | 675,221   | 1,472,657   | 3,048,525  | 727,222   | 91,293  | 21,539,561   | 6,686,488  | 462,800     | 1,107,886 79   | 1,533,680 34   |
| Ohio          | 39,964  | 1,980,329  | 337,821,075     | 11,661 | 484,132   | 743,974     | 1,936,050  | 502,826   | 61,680  | 5,860,059    | 5,544,148  | 565,848     | 806,414 15     | 519,998 78     |
| Pennsylvania  | 46,000  | 2,311,786  | 427,663,660     | 9,061  | 413,706   | 1,348,249   | 2,358,100  | 440,977   | 66,928  | 11,853,291   | 5,420,225  | 372,797     | 671,532 28     | 603,822 54     |
| Vermont       | 10,212  | 314,120    | 57,280,369      | 2,731  | 93,457    | 176,111     | 313,492    | 100,785   | 6,189   | 1,251,655    | 1,037,400  | 81,837      | 137,742 34     | 103,218 30     |
| Rhode Island  | 1,306   | 147,545    | 54,358,231      | 416    | 23,130    | 100,480     | 143,875    | 25,014    | 3,340   | 1,293,600    | 233,968    | 19,204      | 47,175 47      | 66,663 69      |
|               | 402,633 | 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 | \$5,052,958 14 |

### FREE STATES.

## Wide Awakes

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