

LINCOLN AND LIBERTY !!!

Tract No. 1.

New York, June 19th, 1860.



For President,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

Of Illinois.

For Vice-President,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN,

Of Maine.

"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."

SECTIONALISM.

"You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section—gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started—to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section (or the benefit of ours, or for any other object, than our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such.

"Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side.

"Do you accept the challenge? No. Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is in fact so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

HARPER'S FERRY.

"You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable to not designate the man, and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

DUTY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us, Republicans, do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill-temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can.

"Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?"

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN"

In the Senate, in April, 1856, when the Free State organization of Kansas was presented. It was proposed by the Democracy to exclude it on the ground that it was disrespectful to the Senate, and from an organization that could not be recognized. Mr. HAMLIN, then a member of the party, advocated the reception and printing of the petition, concluding his remarks, as follows: "Whatever may be our action in other matters, it is not only respectful, but it is right, in my judgment, that the memorial should be received and printed. I desire to have it for my own information. I want to act wisely. I want to act prudently. I want to act properly; and I do not design to exclude from myself such light as an investigation of all sides of this subject will permit.

Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, acting in his investigation of this great question then dividing the country, in the spirit of the above observation, on the 12th day of June, 1856, severed his connection with the so-called Democratic party, and in the Senate, on that day, gave his reason for joining the Republican party in a speech of singular modesty and good sense. On that occasion, among other things, he said—"Sir, I hold the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was a gross moral and political wrong, unequaled in the annals of the legisla-

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

Freedom of Public Lands to Actual Settlers.

country, and hardly equaled in the
her free country." * * *

The principle or policy of territorial sovereignty which once had, and which, I suppose, now has, its advocates within these walls, is stricken down, and there is an absolute denial of it in the resolution of the convention, if I can draw right conclusions—a denial equally to Congress. and even to the people of the Territories, of the right to settle the question of Slavery therein. On the contrary, the Convention has actually incorporated into the platform of the Democratic party that doctrine which only a few years ago met nothing but ridicule and contempt here and elsewhere, namely: That the Flag of the Federal Union under the Constitution of the United States carries Slavery wherever it floats. If this baleful principle be true, then that National Ode which inspires us always as on a battle field should be re-written by Drake, and should read thus:

"Forever float that standard sheet;
Where breathes the foe but falls before us,
With Slavery's soil beneath our feet,
And Slavery's banner streaming o'er us?"

After further observations upon the action of the Convention, and the course of its nominee, Mr. Buchanan, he concluded as follows:

"These events leave to me only one unpleasant duty, which is to declare here that I can maintain political associations with no party that insists upon such doctrines; that I can support no man for President who avows and recognizes them, and that the little power with which God has endowed me shall be employed to battle manfully, firmly and consistently for his defeat, demanded, as it is, by the highest interests of the country which owns all my allegiance."

"It is among my first wishes, to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of Slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to the worst of passions; and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities.

"The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances; and with what execration should the Statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and *amor patrie* of the other; for if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another; in which he must look up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavors, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him.

"With the *morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed*; for, in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for

him. This is so true, that of the proprietors a very small proportion, indeed, are: labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath?

"Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference; the Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.

"We hold those truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights: that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

"The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people, and it is a reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain.

"We must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that he is preparing the deliverance of these our brethren.

"When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved Heaven itself in darkness, doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate, than that this people shall be free.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON."

"It is wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there can be property in man. Where Slavery exists, the Republican theory becomes still more fallacious. We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man.

"JAMES MADISON."

"We have found this evil (Slavery,) has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union and has been prejudicial to all the States, in which it has existed.

"JAMES MONROE."

"Sir,—I envy neither the heart nor the head of that man from the North who rises here to defend Slavery on principle.

"JOHN RANDOLPH."

"So long as God allows the vital current to flow through my veins, I will never, never, Never, by word or thought, by mind or will, aid in admitting one rood of free territory to the everlasting curse of human bondage.

"Never can I be induced by any earthly power to vote to extend slavery over one foot of territory now free.

"HENRY CLAY."

"I never would consent, and never have consented, that there should be one foot of slave territory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the formation of the Union. Never, never.

"Sir, whenever there is a particular good to be done—wherever there is a foot of land to be staid back from becoming slave territory—I am ready to assert the principle of the exclusion of Slavery.

"DANIEL WEBSTER."

"Ask nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing wrong.

"ANDREW JACKSON."

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LINCOLN AND HAMLIN! UNION AND VICTORY!!

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