

LINCOLN AND LIBERTY !!!

Tract No. 2.

New York, June 26th, 1860.



For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
Of Illinois.

For Vice-President,
HANNIBAL HAMLIN,
Of Maine.

ISSUED BY THE
Young Men's Republican Union,
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Campaign Reading Room, Struyvesant Institute, 659
Broadway; open daily, from 8 A. M. to 11 P. M.

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"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 HON. OWEN LOVEJOY

Will speak before the "Young Men's Republican Union," early in July.

The President of the "Young Men's Republican Union," of this city, has received the following letter from the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER:

"Washington, June 17, 1860. }
(Bunker Hill Day.) }

My Dear Sir:—My desire has been strong from the beginning to address the Republican Young Men of New York, and I have not for a moment forgotten the invitations with which at different times they have honored me. Your recent letter, repeating the invitation, and the approaching adjournment of Congress, seem at last to fix this opportunity. * * * As soon as Congress is adjourned I will let you know when I can be in New York.

Accept my thanks, and believe me, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER."

YOUNG MEN FOR LINCOLN.

It is an encouraging indication of the Campaign that the Young Men are rallying, in great numbers and with unbounded enthusiasm, to the support of "HONEST OLD ABE." Thousands who, in 1856, were deluded into the belief that MILLARD FILLMORE could be elected, are no longer willing to support a decoy ticket; besides, the Young Men have every confidence in the Illinois rail-splitter, knowing that one competent to raise himself from the humblest and most obscure, to the most elevated and influential position in society, is fit to be entrusted with the reins of the government, and will not hold them amiss. LINCOLN is, emphatically, the choice of the Young Men, and their earnest enthusiasm will contribute largely to his inevitable success.

INDIANA.

The Opposition press of this State seems to have wheeled into support of LINCOLN and HAMLIN with great unanimity. The Vincennes Gazette, the New Albany Gazette, the Fort Wayne Times, and the Evansville Journal, all Fillmore papers in 1856, have come out heartily for LINCOLN and HAMLIN. The Terre Haute Express, which was a Fillmore paper for a short time in 1856, is now enthusiastically out in support of the ticket. The Greencastle Banner, the Seymour Times and the Rising Sun Visitor, all Fillmore papers in 1856, will advocate LINCOLN. The Jeffersonville Republican is going for LINCOLN and HAMLIN.

The old German daily newspaper, the *Volksbote*, of Evansville, Indiana, which has been Democratic in politics from its first issue, has hoisted the names of LINCOLN and HAMLIN, and is doing battle valiantly for the Republican cause.

SCHUYLER COLFAX, of Indiana, was, for the fifth time, nominated for Congress last week, in this wise: the whole district had come together in mass meeting, at Plymouth, devoting the whole day to it. One county delegation had splinters of rails in their hats; another bore an elaborate banner representing the manner of rail-splitting; some carried big rails across their shoulders; and another delegation bore in a wagon an old weather-beaten caved-trough heaved with an ax from a round log, as emblematic of pioneer life. Indeed, the variety of things was beyond description. After raising a tall liberty pole in the center, and running up the flag, the procession formed, a mile and-a-half long, and marched to an oak opening. The gavel of the presiding officer was a man. But the people couldn't wait for ceremony, and hardly had a formal organization been made when somebody shouted the name of SCHUYLER COLFAX! Another moved to amend that "we re-elect him by at least 4,000 majority, and give the same majority to the State and National tickets." The motion, as amended, prevailed, with loud, long, deafening cheers, which seemed to cause every leaf in the oak grove to tremble as if stirred by some mighty wind. Then they had their speeches and the *et ceteras* of the occasion. The people of the district are only just to themselves in sustaining in Congress, with such enthusiasm, a man who does himself, his State and the country such great credit as Mr. COLFAX. He is one of the most practically useful and able members of Congress on either side.

"WHO IS LINCOLN?"

The ablest lawyer in Illinois, and the smartest stump-speaker in the Union; an earnest and an honest man, who believes what he professes, and will carry out what he undertakes.—Senator DOUGLAS.

Freedom of Public Lands to Actual Settlers.

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

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

GOV. CHASE ON LINCOLN.

Gov. CHASE delivered an effective speech at the dedication of the Wigwam of the Columbus (Ohio) Wide-Awake, on Monday last. We append an extract:

"Under our Republican institutions, neither Congress, Legislatures, nor associations of men have a right to introduce Slavery into the Territories. That is the fundamental principle of the Republican party. The Constitution says no person shall be deprived of liberty except by due process of law. The Constitution means to say no person shall be deprived of liberty except on fair trial upon just accusation. The principles of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence are the religion of every human heart. We don't want our free laborers, men and women, to come into competition with slave labor. We don't mean to interfere with Slavery where it is, but mean to stay it there. We mean to respect their rights and maintain our own. Democrats don't pretend to deny these principles. A few years ago they inscribed on their banners 'equal rights and exact justice for all men.' The abandonment of these principles has got them into trouble, and destined them to certain defeat. They have gone to Egypt for help, and Egypt wants to subject them and make them slaves. 'They have hewn out cisterns for themselves, yea, cisterns that hold no water.' They are denying the Declaration of Independence, and the honest convictions of their own hearts. We believe in the sovereignty of the people, but Democratic Popular Sovereignty never intended to give the people of the Territories the right to exclude Slavery. The Supreme Court gives slaveholders a constitutional right to take slaves into the Territories and hold them there. This is the issue we make—we say the Supreme Court has no right to decide that question. If a Court—any Court—decides any great political question, the people have a right to reverse that decision if they choose. The people rule Courts, and rule rulers, and, thank God, are above all Presidents. The Democratic party are like the conductor who ran into the hind car of his own train, on a crooked road, because he had one car too many. The Democracy had one car too many—the Dred Scott decision—and the popular sovereignty locomotive run into it, and all is smashed to pieces. The Republicans ask for homesteads for her citizens in the free Territories—for a Pacific Railroad—a Protective Tariff, and privileges to Naturalized Citizens, treating them as brothers. LINCOLN is the man that will carry out these things. His life is one of the best lessons of the character of our Republican Institutions—born to no inheritance but poverty—a clear head, a good heart, and protecting Providence, under Republican institutions, he has been able to achieve for himself the highest station in the world, the nomination of the Republican party for President of the United States."

PENNSYLVANIA.

A large and enthusiastic LINCOLN and HAMLIN Club was organized in Herndon, Northumberland County, Pa., on Monday evening. The officers are BENJAMIN STRICKLER, President; S. J. HILBISH and GEORGE DEPPEN Secretaries; S. P. STRICKLER and GEORGE K. MOONEY, Corresponding Secretaries. Speeches were made and resolutions passed, showing a determination to work heartily and without tiring in the good cause. This is the first Freedom Club ever organized in that town.

A Pennsylvania correspondent of the *Prairie du Chien Leader* says:—"While your prairies are on fire for 'Old Abe,' so are our mountains—and this fire in the mountains' is destined in November to sweep away the last vestige of power from the sham Democracy in Pennsylvania. Our State is just as sure for 20,000 majority for LINCOLN as the State of Massachusetts. The Democracy are tumbling into our ranks by scores."

When the news of Mr. Lincoln's nomination first reached Springfield, his friends rushed to his house, and asked him how many guns they should fire, whether one hundred or one for each State. "Well," said he, "I must begin my administration on the principle of retrenchment and economy. You had better fire but one gun for each State."

ABSALOM FOWLER;

OR, THE FAST-YOUNG MAN.

The one remarkable characteristic of the Buchanan Administration, and the chief claim of the present regime upon the notice of future historians, is found in the reckless and ruinous manner in which the public revenue has been squandered. Profuse and partial in the apportionment of public patronage among the personal favorites of the President; heedless of incapacity among officials so long as they were blindly devoted to the interests of the reigning dynasty; always extravagant, even where economy was equally feasible; utterly oblivious of every National interest, but faithfully true to sectionalism and Slavery; incapable alike of foreseeing financial pressures and detecting financial fallacies. What wonder is it that such an Administration should be betrayed by its own servants, and the National treasury depleted by the pilferings of its own sworn guardians!

The startling developments connected with the defalcation and flight of ISAAC V. FOWLER, late Postmaster of New York, and still, for aught we know, a deacon in the Democratic church, are but the natural and inevitable sequences of the Buchanan policy. This fast, but faithful, follower of the "old public functionary" has, within a few months, embezzled *one hundred and seventy thousand dollars* of the people's money, and this too without the interference of higher officials, who knew the circumstances and could have stopped the leak. And when concealment of the fraud is no longer possible, no one is there found to blame except a couple of dead and gone officials, upon whom the Postmaster-General essays to shirk the responsibility—although more than half the swindle, or the sum ninety thousand dollars has been abstracted during his own incumbency of office." This thievery has been stimulated unquestionably by devotion to the Democracy on the part of the late Postmaster, and a large portion of the money was expended in bolstering the failing fortunes of Tammany at the Charleston Convention. The game was lost, the frauds discovered, the culprit shielded and aided to escape; and now while the people are minus their \$170,000, the successful despoiler of the treasury is luxuriating in Cuba with none to molest or to make him afraid. And thus is Democracy.

MR. LINCOLN AT HOME IN 1832.

"In 1832, when Mr. LINCOLN was first a candidate for the Legislature, there were cast in the New Salem precinct, where he resided, for candidates for Congress 276 votes—Gov. DUNCAN, the Jackson candidate, receiving 97 votes, and Mr. PUGH, the Clay candidate, receiving 179 votes. Mr. LINCOLN, at the same time, receiving for Representative to the Legislature 277 votes, being all which were cast for both the Whig and Democratic candidates for Congress, and one to spare.

"That old record, now to be seen in the office of N. W. MATHENY, Esq., testifies volumes in favor of Mr. LINCOLN's worth and popularity among his own near neighbors, even at that early day."—*Springfield (Ill.) Journal*.

HAMLIN'S OPINIONS.

The *Syracuse Journal* thus epitomizes the Congressional record of the Republican candidate for Vice-President, on the Slavery question:

"In 1845, as a member of the House of Representatives, HANNIBAL HAMLIN voted *against* the joint resolution to annex Texas, notwithstanding he had to oppose the popular decision of his party in doing so.

"In 1857, Mr. HAMLIN voted for the *Wilmot Proviso*, in order to keep our prospective acquisition from Mexico free from the taint and curse of Slavery.

"In 1848, Mr. HAMLIN voted in the United States Senate for the *Slavery restriction* clause in the bill for the organization of the Territorial Government of Oregon.

"In 1850, Mr. HAMLIN voted to insert a *similar restriction* in the bills organizing Utah and New Mexico, and that measure failing, voted against the bills organizing those Territories without Slavery prohibition, and in so doing he obeyed the explicit instructions of the *Democratic* Legislature of Maine.

"In 1850, also, Mr. HAMLIN's voice was the first raised in the United States Senate for the unqualified, unconditional admission of California as a Free State, and his speech on this question was one of the ablest delivered during that session of Congress.

"In 1850, likewise, Mr. HAMLIN voted against that bill of abomination, the *Fugitive Slave Law*.

"In 1850, Mr. HAMLIN voted against the bill giving ten millions of dollars to Texas for territory that never belonged to her.

"In 1854, Mr. HAMLIN voted against that wicked measure, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise."

Mr. HAMLIN, like Mr. LINCOLN, was a consistent supporter of the principles of the Republican party, before the party itself was organized. Though one was a Whig and the other a Democrat, both were firm opponents of Slavery extension, and on that issue both present a clear record.

THE PROSPECT.

From every section and through every channel, we have cheering advices with regard to the Presidential canvass. Men of widely-diverse traditions, prepossessions, and sympathies, concur in the assurance that the right chord has been touched, a substantial union of the Opposition secured, by the nomination of LINCOLN and HAMLIN. In no State that voted for Fremont and Dayton is there a serious doubt of a Republican triumph in November. These gives us 114 Electoral Votes, to which—Kansas being most unrighteously kept out—Minnesota (a new State) will certainly add 4, making 118. We shall need 34 more to elect LINCOLN by the People; and for these we shall have to look to the following States:

New Jersey.....	7	Indiana.....	13
Pennsylvania.....	27	Illinois.....	11
Oregon.....	3		—
In all.....			61

Every one of these we believe LINCOLN and HAMLIN will carry, and we do not despair of adding Delaware to the list, making their Electoral Vote 178—to 125 for all others.

Thus far, we have not counted on a division of our opponents, but assumed that they will put their best foot foremost and give us the best fight that is in them. If they divide, or stay divided, and run two rival tickets, the contest will be over before it is fairly begun.

A STAMPEDE IN SOUTHERN INDIANA.

We learn from good authority, that there is a tremendous stampede of German voters in Southern Indiana, and the Wabash Counties of Illinois to the Republican ranks. Almost the entire German vote of the country will be with us in support of LINCOLN and HAMLIN before the canvass is over.—[*Detroit Advertiser*, June 20.

BALTIMORE BEATEN.

Baltimore has had the reputation for some years of being the most disorderly city in the Union.—Its Plug-Uglies have made themselves the synonyms for whatever is worst in human brutality.—But Baltimore has improved of late, and would have gone on improving but for the misfortune which carried the Democratic Convention there. A marked deterioration has followed its sessions. The newspapers of the city cry out against the vulgarity and violence which it has introduced. Says the *Patriot*:

"On Sunday last very many of the drinking saloons and rum-shops, which, under the administration of Judge Bond, have been pretty effectually closed on that day, were again in full blast in honor of the democratic visitors. Our streets, which are usually quiet on that day, and filled with well-dressed promenaders on their way to or from their respective places of worship, or, in the afternoon, towards the country, were on last Sunday, enlivened by the music of the democratic bands, sent on to create harmony among the party. The hotels are crowded and doing a good business. The drinking shops are more crowded and doing a better business. The gambling hells and worse places are thronged and doing the best business of all."

We have already recorded no less than three fist fights since the opening of the sessions of the Convention. We have to-day to add two others to

these, and we are sorry to say that in the latter the bruisers came from the North. When Colonel Hindman and Mr. Hooper, of Arkansas, fall to pummeling each other, or when Whiteley and Townsend, of Delaware, have a set-to after the method of Sayers and Heenan, we think that they are only illustrating the manners of their constituents. But we expect something better from the delegates of Pennsylvania and New York. We are shocked to hear Mr. Montgomery say of a colleague, "He lies; it is a base lie, and the man who utters it, is a lying scoundrel," for which he was incontinently knocked down. Mr. W. H. Ludlow and Mr. Clancy, when they exchanged hard words and warlike messages, are following bad examples.

Biddy O'Flaherty's Opinion of the South.

BY COFINERY.

Arrah, Paddy, my jewel, don't go to the South,
For an Irishman there dare not open his mouth;
If a word about nagers he'd happen to say,
They would lynch him at once, without any delay.

If he lacked for a coat, they'd not let him go far,
Without giving him one made of feathers and tar;
And they'd give him still more without thinking it wrong,
Such as thirty-nine lashes to help him along.

You may talk of this country, the land of the free,
But such freedom as that don't exactly suit me;
And sooner much longer this way to remain,
I would rather go back to ould Ireland again.

TOWANDA, Pa. 1860.

JUDGE BATES IN SUPPORT OF LINCOLN.

THE REPUBLICAN STANDARD BEARER WARMLY EULOGIZED.

I have known Mr. LINCOLN for more than twenty years, and therefore have a right to speak of him with some confidence. As an individual he has earned a high reputation for truth, courage, candor, morals and amiability, so that, as a man, he is most trustworthy. And in this particular, he is more entitled to our esteem than some other men, his equals, who had far better opportunities and aids in early life. His talents and the will to use them to the best advantage, are unquestionable; and the proof is found in the fact that in every position in life, from his humble beginning to his present well-earned elevation, he has more than fulfilled the best hopes of his friends. And now in the full vigor of his manhood, and in the honest pride of having made himself what he is, he is the peer of the first men of the nation, well able to sustain himself and advance his cause, against any adversary, and in any field where mind and knowledge are the weapons used.

In politics he has but acted out the principles of his own moral and intellectual character. He has not concealed his thoughts nor hidden his light under a bushel. With the boldness of conscious rectitude and the frankness of downright honesty, he has not failed to avow his opinions of public affairs upon all fitting occasions.

This I know may subject him to the carping censure of that class of politicians who mistake cunning for wisdom, and falsehood for ingenuity; but such men as LINCOLN must act in keeping with their own characters, and hope for success only by advancing the truth prudently and maintaining it bravely. All his old political antecedents are, in my judgment, exactly right, being square up to the old whig standard. And as to his views about "the pestilential negro question," I am not aware that he has gone one step beyond the doctrine publicly and habitually avowed by the great lights of the whig party, Clay, Webster, and their fellows, and indeed sustained and carried out by the democrats themselves, in their wiser and better days.

The following, I suppose, are in brief his opinions upon that subject: 1. Slavery is a domestic institution within the states which choose to have it, and it exists within those states beyond the control of Congress. 2. Congress has supreme legislative power over all the territories, and may, at its discretion, allow or forbid the existence of slavery within them. 3. Congress, in wisdom and sound

policy, ought not so to exercise its power, directly or indirectly, as to plant and establish slavery in any territory theretofore free. 4. And that it is unwise and impolitic in the government of the United States to acquire tropical regions for the mere purpose of converting them into slave states.

These, I believe, are Mr. LINCOLN'S opinions upon the matter of slavery in the territories, and I concur in them. They are no new inventions, made to suit the exigencies of the hour, but have come down to us, as the Declaration of Independence and the constitution have, sanctioned by the venerable authority of the wise and good men who established our institutions. They are conformably to law, principle and wise policy, and their utility is proven in practice by the as yet unbroken current of our political history. They will prevail, not only because they are right in themselves, but also because a great and still growing majority of the people believe them to be right, and the sooner they are allowed to prevail in peace and harmony, the better for all concerned, as well those who are against them as those who are for them.

I am aware that small partisans, in their little warfare against opposing leaders, do sometimes assail them by the trick of tearing from their contexts some particular objectionable phrases, penned, perhaps, in the hurry of composition, or spoken in the heat of oral debate, and holding them up to the public as the leading doctrines of the person assailed, and drawing from them their own uncharitable inferences. That line of attack betrays a little mind conscious of its weakness, for the falsity of its logic is not more apparent than the injustice of its design. No public man can stand that ordeal, and, however willing men may be to see it applied to their adversaries, all flinch from the torture when applied to themselves. In fact, the man who never said a foolish thing, will hardly be able to prove that he ever said many wise ones.

I consider Mr. LINCOLN a sound, safe, national man. He could not be sectional if he tried. His birth, his education, the habits of his life, and his geographical position, compel him to be national. All his feelings and interests are identified with the great Valley of the Mississippi, near whose centre he has spent his whole life. That valley is not a section, but, conspicuously, the body of the nation, and large as it is, it is not capable of being divided into sections, for the great river cannot be divided. It is one and indivisible, and the North and the South are alike necessary to its comfort and prosperity. Its people, too, in all their interests and affections, are as broad and general as the regions they inhabit. They are emigrants, a mixed multitude, coming from every state in the Union, and from most countries in Europe; they are unwilling, therefore, to submit to any one petty local standard. They love the nation as a whole, and they love all its parts, for they are bound to them all, not only by a feeling of common interest and mutual dependence, but also by the recollections of childhood and youth, by blood and friendship, and by all those social and domestic charities which sweeten life and makes this world worth living in. The Valley is beginning to feel its power, and will soon be strong enough to dictate the law of the land. Whenever that state of things shall come to pass, it will be most fortunate for the nation to find the powers of government lodged in the hands of men whose habits of thought, whose position and surrounding circumstances constrain them to use those powers for general and not sectional ends.

I give my opinion freely in favor of Mr. LINCOLN, and I hope that, for the good of the whole country, he may be elected.

If Mr. LINCOLN should be elected, coming in as a new man at the head of a young party never before in power, he may render a great service to his country, which no democrat could render. He can march straight forward in the discharge of his high duties, guided only by his own good judgment and honest purposes, without any necessity to temporize with established abuses, to wink at the delinquencies of old party friends, or to unlearn and discard the bad official habits that have grown up under the misgovernment of his democratic predecessors. In short, he can be an honest and bold reformer on easier and cheaper terms than any democratic President can be, for, in proceeding in the good work of cleansing and purifying the administrative departments, he will have no occasion to expose the vices, assail the interests, or thwart the ambition of his political friends.

THOMAS MARSHALL, OF VA.

Hon. Thomas Marshall, in a speech delivered in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832, objects to slavery,

"Because it is ruinous to the whites, retards improvements, roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country—deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support."

JUDGE GASTON, OF N. C.

In a speech before the Literary Societies of the College of North Carolina, he thus spoke :

"Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry, and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages skill; impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head."

WORKING MEN, NORTH AND SOUTH.

Ponder these truths, and see how significantly they designate slavery as the great enemy of the industrial classes everywhere; and resolve, as you would bequeath free homes and free institutions to your children, and your children's children, that no inch of the national domain, now free, shall ever be surrendered to the curse and blight of slavery.

THE POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH,

Says Gov. HAMMOND, of S. C. :

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often, by what is in its effects far worse, trading with slaves, and inducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Says Mr. Wm. Geary, of the same State :

"A man who is an observer of things, could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact, that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence, is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure."

Says Mr. Farren, another Southern writer :

"In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means; and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile, that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil being in the possession of the slave holder, must forever remain out of the possession of those who have none."

This is the kind of fruit that slavery bears for poor white laborers. Do they wish to gather it for themselves and their children more abundantly in the territories? If so, the way is easy.

Surrender this heritage of freedom, at the demand of the slave power, and you have cursed it for yourselves and your children forever.

SOUTHERN DOCTRINE.

The enslavement of the laborer—the subversion of free institutions, and the substitution of those of despotism—these are the doctrines that flow naturally from the ethics of slavery.

So we find Southern writers relinquishing their defence of slavery on the ground of the color of its victim, or his descent from Ham, and placing it on the broader and more logical basis of condition.

"The laborer," we are told, "should be the property of the capitalist." Mr. George Fitzhugh, in a recent work published in Richmond, Va., says :

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and we would be far better off." Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery the healthy, beautiful, and natural being which they are trying unconsciously to adopt."