

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

DISUNION.

At a meeting of the Republican Association, 13th December, Geo. M. Weston, Esq. of this city, delivered an address upon the subject of Disunion, of which we are enabled to present the following report:

Mr. Weston said: We are to believe in the new philosophy of the present day, the Government under which we so long reposed in vain security, is a mere house of painted cards, beautiful to the eye, but destined to crumble at the lightest touch, or even at the lightest breath. With the right of secession claimed for each of thirty-three States, to be exercised at their caprice, or what is in practical effect the same thing, with the theory proclaimed by the President, that the act of secession by either one of thirty-three States is not to be resisted by force, the Government which went into operation in 1789, and which two generations of men have lauded as the perfection of wisdom, has been the most stupendous sham which ever imposed upon the credulity of mankind.

For myself, I believe that the Union will be perpetuated, peacefully if we can, but forcibly if we must; or, at any rate, that it cannot be destroyed without a convulsion so terrible and so bloody, that it will be conspicuous even on the long and dark record of human wars and revolutions. This Government of thirty millions of people, with a history of a century, stretching from ocean to ocean, and shaped by the geography of a continent, is not a bubble to be pricked, or a farthing candle to be snuffed out. If it goes down, it will be amid the storm of battles, and with the whole heavens lurid with the glare of conflagrations. We be to those who think otherwise!

Let us not be deceived by temporary appearances. The Executive authority, which is the natural rallying point of public opinion in troublous times, and which saved the country from war in 1852 by a reasonable and well-directed blow, now falls with uncertain sounds. To this element of weakness, and of wavering counsels, is added the panic of the commercial press, the first to speak, and with an artificial reverberation, which multiplies an editor by the whole number of his subscription list. But the great country has not been heard from. Indeed, the great country has hardly yet, even itself heard, much less pronounced its judgment upon the strange events which are passing in South Carolina and in the adjoining States. The men who live on the cross roads have yet to hear and to be heard from. The lion is not aroused, but is still sleeping. We be to those against whom his wrath shall be kindled? Better for them if they had never been born!

It is loosely said, in respect to certain States, that they have been troublesome and unprofitable partners, and that the best way to be rid of them is to let them go. At the first blush, such a consummation presents an expected relief from the brawling clamors which have irritated and worried us for an age. But reflection and events will prove that it is not a question of letting South Carolina go, but of giving up the Union altogether. If South Carolina goes, the Gulf States will go, certainly if Georgia yields; and who, then, is to guarantee that the border slave States will remain loyal? Many may hope it, but who could have that steady confidence in it, which is the only possible basis of a stable Government? The work of disintegration once commenced, it will go on until scarcely any two States remain united. A union of the free States by themselves is a chimera, and so also is a Southern Confederacy. When the idea of unity is once shaken, and men begin to speculate upon new combinations as affecting personal and material interests, it is the centrifugal force everywhere which will overpower the centripetal. If you begin in the Northeast, how long would Maine remain in a political connection, from which she is already dissuaded by geographical position, and many of the persuasions to which would be lost by the withdrawal of the Southern States? Pennsylvania and New York, competitors for the trade of the West, would inevitably separate, and neither of them would consent to such a Union as we have now, with their combined weight in a Senate, only equalling one-third of the weight of the New England States. That is a predicament of things to which they are at present reconciled, as a part of a great system, in which they find many compensations, but to which they would never agree upon a new adjustment in a new partnership. The West herself, trusting to her overwhelming strength, and looking to the sword for outlets to the sea, would reject all alliances which would fetter her own self-reliant sovereignty.

Not only would it be difficult to keep States together, but, even at this early day, we have propositions to divide States themselves. During this very week, the Representatives in the House of the lower wards of New York city declare that they will sever their connection with a State which they denounce as "paralytic." If we once cut loose from our moorings, he is a wise man who can predict whether we shall drift, and even such a proposition as this will find advocates.

If the dream of a Northern Confederacy is vain, the dream of a Southern Confederacy is even more palpably so. Covering an area so much larger than that of the free States, with a sparser population, with an equal rivalry of commercial interests, and with the same element of disagreement as between large and small States, the South would unite even less easily than the North. The people of the South are more tenacious of theories, and less practical. While in the heat of contests with the free States, of which the subject matter is slavery, they find in that institution a strong bond of union; but, with the outside pressure taken off, that bond would lose its power. Even now, and in advance of that trial of framing a new Government which would reveal the real difficulties of it, South Carolina proclaims her disposition to anything more than a league, leaving her still in the possession of full sovereignty. The Gulf States would never put it in the power of the northern slave States to make commercial regulations, or to prohibit the African slave trade. The Southern States, if left to themselves to day, would be fortunate, indeed, if they could even agree to disagree, and that is more than could be rationally hoped of them, by those who understand the character of their population.

obvious, but not less true, that safe and regulated liberty depends upon the Union, and upon the limitations of State sovereignty, which the Union imposes and enforces. The rights of property in this country have found their best, and, as I believe, their only security, from those clauses in the Constitution of the Union, which prohibit the States from making laws *ex post facto*, or in violation of contracts, from emitting bills of credit, and from making anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts. It is the fashion of degenerate times to laud the sovereignty of the States, upon which our fathers, fresh from a bitter experience, imposed vigorous curbs. We are ourselves destined to this experience, if we open up that chapter of factious violence, of partisan confiscations, and of robberies by the contrivances of paper money, which will follow the ascendancy of temporary majorities in the States, unrestrained by a national authority, which represents the deliberate sense of the people.

The country will not yield in a moment, or without a struggle, what they know to be the bulwark of their security, the main-spring of their prosperity, and the palladium of their rights. Observe, that this question is to be adjudged by the country, not in the condition in which it was sixty days ago, but in the condition in which it will be sixty days hence, or six months hence, if events proceed in their present course. Men in the full tide of material prosperity are inclined to see wisdom only in pacific measures; but when credit is utterly destroyed, when prices of property have touched bottom, and when nothing more is at hazard, it is energy, and not timidity, which will assert itself in the public councils. It was in the depths of its misery, that the old French Republic threw down the challenge of defiance to all Europe, and made the challenge good by armies invincible with want and despair. Desperate men are dangerous men; and how long is it to be before the thousands who are beggared in fortune, and the tens of thousands who are thrown out of employments, by threatened treason, will demand and help to execute vengeance on the traitors?

Observe, further, that it is precisely from the classes and the localities, whence now proceeds the language of timidity, that will come at last the boldest notes of decision and energy. It is commerce and manufactures which suffer the quickest, in this crisis against the Union, and which are casting about for patch-work remedies for an evil, the nature of which is not comprehended in the first moment of alarm; but as it is commerce and manufactures which have suffered the quickest, so it is commerce and manufactures which will suffer most lastingly by the overthrow of the Union, and which will be foremost to resist that overthrow by force, if at last force proves to be the only remedy which is left. It is the cities, controlled by interest, and ready to yield principles to save the Union, which, in the end, will fight for it with all the desperation of warriors driven to the wall. It is Manhattan Island, which will be most ready for arms, if it sees at its imperial supremacy in commerce is only to be maintained by arms. Cupidity will take a new direction, and the owners of hundreds of millions of real estate in cities threatened with ruin from political disruption, will resist with the bayonet, what hitherto they have vainly endeavored to stave off by concession.

The Republic, one and indivisible! That was the cry of our fathers in the celebration at Albany, before the Revolution, maintained during that seven years' struggle, and consummated at Philadelphia in 1787. It was settled by us, and for our time, by that magnificent act of statesmanship, of patriotism, and of American nationality, the annexation of Texas. It is said that we cannot live together under the same Government, because we hate each other. The fact is not fact, but the delusion of angry men, who mistake their own passions for the sentiments of communities. But if the fact is true, the inference will better commend itself to boarding-school misses, who believe that the world rests upon love, and poetry, and bouquets, than to statesmen, who understand the real basis of the social state. Hatred, and hating one another, is an old and scripture description of mankind. If men loved each other, there would be no need of government; and it is precisely because the natural state of man is that of war, as the wise old philosopher Hobbes said it was, and precisely because it is necessary to throw the restraints of the social force upon the malignant passions, that Governments are instituted. If we don't love each other, so much the worse, but so much the greater reason for maintaining a Union, which keeps angry passions from breaking out into bloodshed. It is upon interest, and not upon love, that the unity of individual States depends. How much love or congeniality is there, pray, between Eastern and Western Virginia; between Staten Island and the New York counties west of Cuyaga bridge; or between Egypt and Northern Illinois? What state in the Union is free, or ever has been free, from the contention of sections, or the feuds of individuals?

The Protestant and Catholic Cantons of Switzerland never think of separating because they are always in a quarrel; and as to England and Scotland, they were united to the act of Union, a century and a half ago, not by love, but by a long experience of such mortal hatred, as made separation a condition of almost perpetual war. This American Union was not founded upon love, but upon interest. Our fathers, who established it, were not piling sentimentalists, but men of vigor and courage, and virile sense. They left us a strong Union, and we have made it stronger, by uniting the right to the left bank of the Mississippi, and by carrying our dominion to the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida, the true mouth of the Mississippi. Whether we love each other, or hate each other, we will maintain boundaries which nature has herself unmistakably indicated. When the American General, who first took possession of the left bank of the Rio Grande, found himself, from the want of interpreters, at a loss to explain how long his Government intended to hold what it had taken, he ended the difficulty by dictating the word, *eternidad*. That is the word to be inscribed upon the fortress upon the Dry Tortugas. We will our line of coast upon the sea, which that fortress commands, by honest purchases from the Crowns of France and Spain, and it will be time enough to give it up, when we can weigh the price of national honor and national security.

No! The question is not of letting South Carolina go, but of letting the whole Union crumble into its elemental parts, and of sinking the power of the American Confederacy, not by degrees, but with a plunge into the chaos and imbecility of Mexico. Depend upon it, that is not a thing to be done before breakfast, or by drunken men, or at the *ipse dixit* of a Charleston mob, with the passive non-interference of the thirty millions who are to be crushed in all their interests by it.

The magnitude of the calamity of disunion is only to be measured by the happiness we have derived from union. That, we know, has been and is inestimable. National dignity, credit, and security, as regards the rest of the world, peace and freedom of trade and intercourse at home, with all the amazing development of wealth which has resulted from them, depend directly upon the Union. It is less

duties are levied at the ports upon goods entered for consumption. It will be no interference with the internal concerns of States, or with the legitimate sovereignty of States, to continue the collection of these duties at all ports of entry, and it is essential to the national authority that it should be continued. But it is not essential that the administration of justice by Federal courts, or the Post Office system, should be continued in the same manner. As to the latter system, indeed, it is a growing opinion, that it should be discontinued everywhere, and there can be no sort of difficulty in withdrawing it from any State which shall indicate a desire to that effect.

An obvious exception to this course of remark, is found in the case of Florida. If that State, which I will not anticipate, should enact an ordinance of secession, such a proceeding, whatever other effects it might have, would at least have the effect of giving her assent to the repeal of the act of Congress of 1845, admitting her into the Union. That act was unquestionably fraudulent and factious in its origin, as Florida never had, has not now, and without some radical changes never can have, the requisite numbers, wealth, and importance, to entitle her to membership in the Union. It may prove a most opportune relief, if she voluntarily assents to and invites the repeal of the unjust act of 1845. Without proposing to govern her through a Governor invested with autocratic and dictatorial powers, as was done by President Monroe during the first period of her acquisition from Spain, an equally safe, and, on many accounts, a more acceptable procedure, would be to follow the model of the provisional administration originally devised for Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson, that is to say, to confide the direction of affairs to a Governor, assisted by a Legislative Council composed of discreet and well-affected citizens, to be designated by the President and Senate of the United States. The happiest consequences would unquestionably follow. It would not cost us the one-hundredth part of the money to expel the nullifiers from Florida, which it cost us to expel the Seminoles; and with a stable Government, sustained by national authority, a great population would flow into that really fertile region. This flow of population might, if necessary, be aided by a revival of Colonel Benton's old occupation act, with proper modifications and adaptations. Florida, in the greater part, is not suited to plantations, but would support an immense population of farmers, gardeners, fruit raisers, and fishermen. I have myself no doubt that the most auspicious results, as well to the prosperity of Florida as to the consolidation of our national power in that quarter, may confidently be hoped from that change in social institutions which would result from remanding her to the Territorial condition, under present circumstances. It is hardly necessary to add, that all the motives which prompted the purchase of that country at an onerous price, and which have reconciled us to the still more onerous burden of defending it from Indian hostilities, exist now, to induce us to retain it, and with a force increased and increasing with all the rapidity of the development of the commerce of the Mississippi valley.

Having thus briefly stated the measures which I believe will be adopted by the country to defend itself against the handful of madmen who seek to deprive it of government and union, it is proper to consider, by way of contrast, the measures suggested by the President, ostensibly with the same view, but which can have no other effect than to aggravate and embitter existing mischiefs. Before considering these Presidential suggestions, it is pertinent to observe that the only States whose voluntary concurrence with South Carolina in the act of secession is feared by anybody, are the Gulf States, it being conceded that the border slave States are opposed to secession, and will be dragged into it, if they go into it at all, by a supposed necessity of union with communities identified with them by a leading institution. The matter in hand, then, is the apprehended secession of the Gulf States.

Now, the President assigns as the causes of this menaced disruption, two grievances, in which, from the nature of them, the Gulf States can have no possibility to be concerned. They are, first, the failure of the free States to return fugitive slaves escaping into them; and, second, the resistance to the occupation of the territories of the Union, by slaveholders. As to the first matter complained of, it is notorious that it does not affect the Gulf States at all; and as to the second matter, it is equally notorious that those States, instead of desiring more territory to work their slaves upon, desire more slaves to cultivate the territory they already have, and to procure them in sufficient numbers, and at prices low enough, are well inclined to reopen the African slave trade. There is, therefore, not only no truth, but not a color of probability, that the States threatening secession are influenced in the least degree, by either of the causes so strangely suggested by the President, or that they would be pacified in the least degree by the removal of both those causes. The things complained of affect Virginia, it is true; but it is not Virginia which is inclined to secession, even if she may possibly be dragged into it. The things complained of do not injure South Carolina in the slightest degree, and their existence throws no light whatever upon the policy which South Carolina proposes to pursue. If we ever have a secession of South Carolina, or its Gulf associates, and a receipt by them of their own wrongs, it is not conceivable that they will insult the common sense of mankind by any such enumeration of impossible sufferings as we find in the President's message. As no such grievances affect the complaining States, as are vainly pretended by the President, so the remedy which he proposes, of the removal of those grievances, fails to hit the mischief at all. The President is simply beating the air.

If there is anything connected with slavery, of which the Gulf States really do complain, it is the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade. The President does not propose to repeal those acts, but the Gulf States do, by the instrument of going out of the Union. But the indubitable fact is, that the present effort at secession has no connection whatever with any aspect of the slavery question. Its intelligent advocates put it upon wholly different grounds. It originates in the nullification theories which were in full development thirty years ago, and long before slavery, in itself a matter of local concern, became mixed up in national politics. This is the great historical fact which the President ignores in his message, but which he cannot efface from the records of the country, or obscure in the recollection of the living generation of men.

What we have to deal with to-day, is the same South Carolina nullification which Gen. Jackson scotched, but not killed, in 1832. Saved then from a bloody extinction by its postponement of a compromise, it has been for a generation poisoning the Southern mind, with vain theories of southern independence and aggrandizement outside of a Union which is the only efficient protection of Southern institutions. The evil has burst upon us in a day, but it has been gathering head for long years.

It must now be met, not by the holiday parade, but by the stern resolves of patriotism. It is idle to indulge in the illusions of hope. A danger so terrible, that we are even yet, if not

incredulous of its existence, unable to gauge its proportions, is actually upon us. We are menaced with that loss which involves all other losses, the loss of our country. There is scarcely any form of property which is not threatened with ruinous depreciation, while many forms of property are trembling on the brink of total extinction. Business in numerous departments is already visited with paralysis, and this paralysis is only the forerunner of death, if the disease is not arrested. It is in vain that we delude ourselves with the idea that we can safely rid ourselves of a few quarrelsome partners by letting them go. If we could have a bond of fate that the mischief would stop where its limits are now defined, we might acquiesce, with regret, but not without serious alarm. But not only can we have no such security, but no such hope. With the loss of a single stone, the arch tumbles to the ground. The withdrawal of a part of the States destroys the cohesion of all that remain. A Northern and a Southern Confederacy are equally chimeras, and the permitted secession of South Carolina is the signal of a catastrophe which will leave scarcely any two States in political combination.

The only thing which is possible, short of the anarchy of Mexico, is the Republic, one and indivisible. The public judgment, stunned by the rapid march of great events, hesitates and vacillates as yet, but the conclusion to which it will arrive is inevitable. Nothing, not even civil war, can be so ruinous to men's interests as the dissolution of the Union. I repeat it, the Republic, one and indivisible, at all costs, even such a struggle as that by which France made those words good against La Vendée, if there is no other escape for us from the horrors of disunion, will be the rally-cry of the country. The alternative is terrible, but we cannot escape the necessities of our position. No man's property, no man's liberty, no man's life, is safe, if we do not maintain the Government of our country. We cannot elude danger by running away from it. We must confront it.

Thank God! If the danger is great, the resources of defence are still greater, and the indications multiply that the bow of promise will soon span the vault of the heavens, now blackened by the storm cloud. We never really knew how strong the Union was, until this moment of fire assault. The main body of the South is as true as steel. The great States upon the Chesapeake, the Ohio, and the Missouri, containing more than four millions of people, may be indulgent to erring sisters, but, in the end, they will be governed by patriotism and enlightened self-interest.

Kentucky, which, two generations ago, made the acquisition of the mouth of the Mississippi the well-understood condition of her own adherence to the Union, and which, in 1814, sent down her riflemen, famous in history and song, to the defence of New Orleans, will not yield her free outlets either to the Ocean or the Gulf. Missouri, hopeful of central empire, and with the reality of it not far distant, will not sink patiently to the condition of a dismembered and isolated province. On this side of the mountains, Virginia and Maryland are loyal to the core to a Government, located upon their own majestic Potomac, identified with the renown of their ancestors, and essential to all their present interests. If, for a moment, a suspicion has attacked the "mother of States and statesmen," from the language of men, who, making good their individual escape from the overthrow of the heresy of 1832, have availed themselves of an indulgent amnesty and popular forgetfulness to creep into high places, the suspicion is allayed by the assurances of that crowd of citizens, who come up here, day by day, to protest their devotion to institutions which Virginia herself, more than any other State, gave to the country.

Even in that portion of the South which now seems to be disloyal, there is ground to hope that reason will yet prevail over passion. Secession cannot be successful, if at all, without civil war, and civil war will be followed by the extinction, utter and in blood, of negro slavery upon this continent. Such a solution of that question will be gratifying to fanaticism in America and in Europe; but wise men will recoil from it with unexpressed horror. It is not the language of menace, to point out the inevitable results of conduct, and it is not the part of brave men to maintain a useless struggle with fate. The courage of the horse rushing into the battle, of which he knows not the peril, is not a fit object of emulation by rational men. That is a strange confusion of ideas, which esteems it cowardice for men to regard consequences, in actions which involve all the interests of themselves and of their children.

Not only will the disloyalty which exists, yield to time and reflection, but the present extent of it is enormously exaggerated. Even in South Carolina, it is a safe conclusion, from the hot haste with which matters have been pushed on, that the managers of the disunion movement had no confidence that the deliberate judgment of that State was on their side. Theatrical effect and surprise have been the instruments relied upon, and, where necessary, by actual terror and intimidation. The resignation of Federal officials and of Senators Chesnut and Hammond, the raising of Palmetto flags, and military processions, were concerted and contrived to stand in the public mind, while legislative unanimity was secured by the threat that dissenting members should be "summarily dealt with." And even down to the present moment, the conspirators feel so little secure of the sober support of the people, that the retiring Governor of South Carolina declares that the delay of even a single week, in the proclamation of secession by the State Convention, will be fatal to the enterprise. Such hot haste assures us of the existence of an opposition at home, only needing the support of the national force, to coerce an acquiescence in an eventual accommodation.

The Union, let us hope, will be preserved without a struggle, but, at all events, it will be preserved. The emergency will call out the qualities and inspire the conduct which will carry the country through the danger, great as it undoubtedly is, beyond the letter of the technical right of the States which have enacted it, the prudence and patriotism of the people may be relied upon to remove everything which either in reality or in appearance conflicts with the undisputed claim of the slave States to the return of fugitives from labor. With that claim recognized in a spirit of fraternal and constitutional duty, the Southern mind will be prepared to believe what is true, that no interfer-

ence of any kind threatens an institution which is incorporated with the whole framework of Southern society. Nullification must be crushed, but it will be crushed with ease and safety, by thus depriving it of the power to alarm the fears of fifteen States at a vital point. And this, which is an urgent policy at the present time, is a duty of patriotism at all times, required by the ordinary relations of amity between the States, and much more by the intimate relations of a Federal Union.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their 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," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subservience to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evidenced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in constraining the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unequalled property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plundering of the public Treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of Administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the Territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-interference and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we condemn that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the winking men of liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of a complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Fourteenth. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

Fifteenth. That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an ob-

ligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us, in their firmness and support.

REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATIONS.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION.
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Martin Buell, Second Vice President.
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