NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

A gentleman of leisure amuses himself by writing an essay every month, entitled "Studies on Slavery." He has handed us his February number, containing a plan for the settlement of the slavery question, for publication.

STUDIES ON SLAVERY.

February 4, 1861.

I will address this February number to the Hon. Green Adams, whose speech delivered at "Odd Fellows Hall" on Saturday, January 26, I have just finished reading.

To the Hon. Green Adams,
Representative in Congress from Kentucky.

DEAR SIR: I notice near the conclusion of your speech the other evening, that you say, "I will surrender all my slaves to save the Union;" "I will give all that I possess to save the Union."

It is just and proper, if you are willing to surrender all your slaves to save the Union, that you should be paid for them.

The Constitution says "private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation." It may be for the general welfare that the slaves should be liberated, but then the individuals should be paid, because the whole nation has sanctioned the law which allows individuals to purchase slaves.

It is not necessary to set the slaves free; they may be purchased by Government, and held as slaves during their natural lives, divesting individuals of the ownership, and then individuals will be no longer interested in keeping up the system.

In the United States, by the present census, there are enumerated about four million slaves, over two million of which are in the six seceding cotton States, leaving less than two million to be purchased by the United States in nine slave States yet remaining in the Union. I suppose all the slaves are for sale. I suppose every man who owns a slave is willing to sell him; hence the desire to keep open the inter-State slave trade. I suppose the owner of slaves will as readily sell his slaves to go North as to go South. Therefore I conclude that there will be no objection by individuals to selling their slaves. The next question will be the price. I suppose an able-bodied negro is worth, or was worth before the troubles came, a thousand dollars; he may be worth more when he reaches Alabama, but I think on the plantation in Virginia or Kentucky he is not worth more than the price I have named.

I suppose one in ten may be estimated to be worth this sum, considering the old men and old women, and young children, and infirm and sick. A fair price would, then, seem to be one hundred dollars apiece for all ages and conditions—the aged and infirm, the sucking babes and young children.

I submit this plan: that the Federal Government shall buy all the slaves in the nine States, amounting to two million, at one hundred dollars each, which will amount to two hundred million dollars. This seems to be a large sum; but it will cost much more to carry on a war. Besides, two hundred million dollars is a small amount to pay to save the Union; we can soon earn that if we hold together. A national debt is said to be, in England, a national blessing. In this country, if the cotton States had held some thirty or forty million dollars worth of United States stock, they would have thought twice before they would have fired upon the United States flag, because it would be firing upon their own individual property. A man would not willingly, if he were in his right mind, take a thousand-dollar certificate of stock, on which he was receiving regularly fifty or sixty dollars a year interest—I say, a man would not be likely to take such a certificate from his pocket-book and throw it into the fire! Assisting to destroy the Government would assist to destroy his own claim upon the Government.

Under these circumstances, a national debt becomes a national blessing, because it makes every man who has any Government stock a Union man.

Two hundred million dollars, divided into shares of one hundred dollars each, bearing six per cent. interest, and delivered to the owners of the slaves, would be a great help to the development of the hidden resources of those nine slave States.

The debt may be made to run through a century, every ten years paying off ten per cent. Each year, by this arrangement, would pay but one per cent., which would be so trifling, that it would not be felt by the nation; and the increase of all kinds of business which this amount of new capital would create would more than compensate for all the interest on this debt. When the slaveholders had sold their slaves, they would turn their attention to other branches of business, raising cattle and hogs instead of slaves. Cattle and hogs are real property, while slaves are not. Slaves are a deceptive kind of property. There are only two kinds of property in the world: that which we can eat or wear, and that which is imperishable in its nature, like gold and silver, which can be exchanged in all nations for what we want to eat and to wear. To make slaves real property, the owners should have the power not only to work them as they do cattle, but also to fatten them as they do beef, and barrel them, and ship them to New York or Liverpool, to pay for imports from those places. A slave cannot be made the subject of commerce in this way, neither can he be paid into bank in New York or Liverpool, like gold and silver, to pay a debt. A slave is only property among slave owners in those local districts where slavery is allowed, and even there he is only half property; nothing but his labor can be demanded, and, in return for that, he must be fed, and clothed, and taken care of when he is sick; whereas a horse, although not used for food, can be made an article of merchandise all over the world, and, when dead, every part and parcel of the animal can be used for some purpose for the benefit of mankind.

Slaves, then, being property only in the localities where they are owned, impose heavy burdens upon their masters, and should induce them the more readily to exchange this kind of property for that which is universally acknowledged as property.

The United States should buy this property for many reasons. The whole people of the United States have received great pecuniary benefit from slave labor. The merchants of the Eastern cities accumulated vast wealth from the traffic in slaves, which they were allowed to do openly for twenty years, and which traffic they have carried on clandestinely, more or less vigorously, every year since the trade was forbidden. They are in duty bound to pay their share of the tax. Then, there are all the manufacturers of cotton goods, and all those who wear cotton garments. All these have received a benefit from slave labor; each can afford to pay something, and is in duty bound to pay something, for this benefit.

The inhabitants of the seceding States amount to four million; those who remain in the Union number twenty-six million. The tax required to pay for the two million slaves, divided by a hundred years, will amount to two million dollars yearly, which is equal to two dollars for every twenty-six persons, which is not quite eight cents for each person.

If the community, therefore, will submit to a poll-tax of eight cents per annum on each person, they can banish slavery and all its attendant evils from the nine Northern slave States, and save the Union; for it is because each individual owner of a slave fears the loss of his property that makes him a disunionist, looking for greater safety elsewhere.

I would recommend that the slaves be kept slaves for life, after they be purchased by the Government, and be hired out as they are at present, so that the social system may not be disturbed. The fields should not be without laborers, nor the houses without servants; but I would have it enacted that all children born in the United States after this arrangement goes into effect should be born free.

I would give the labor of the slaves to each district, town, or county, where the labor was performed, to be employed in educating and maintaining the rising generation of that district, subject, perhaps, to a tax upon that labor to assist in paying the expenses of Government. If any district wished the slaves to be removed from their district, they should be removed, and distributed *pro rata* among the free States, where they should be bound to service for like purposes—the maintenance and education of their children.

It need not be compulsory on the owners of slaves to sell them, but when they do sell, they must sell to the United States; and they would be prohibited from ever buying any slaves; and all persons born in their premises after this agreement would be born free.

Once a year—to wit, on the first of January—the slaves would be hired out at auction to the highest bidder, by a commissioner appointed by the county court of each county, and persons from all parts of the United States should have the right to come and hire; and it should be made lawful to take these slaves into any of the States of the Union, where there should be proper laws to register all children born of these slaves, to see that they be born free.

It is lucky that the cotton States have seceded, because they take half the slaves with them, and thus make it much easier for the United States to pay for half than for the whole.

If the border slave States desire to be clear at once of their black laborers, which is not likely, it would be no difficult matter to distribute them among all the States, according to the population. In the whole of the United States, the population exceeds thirty million; deduct four millions for the seceding States, we have twenty-six million, two million of whom are slaves, twenty-four million free men—equal to one slave to twelve freemen. From statistics which I have examined, the average number of persons in a family is six; therefore, there is but half a supply of slaves for each family to have one servant.

When we come to sift the slave question, it is no difficult matter to settle it.

If the cotton States choose to return to their allegiance, I would give them every guarantee for the protection of their slaves; but I would not propose buying them. If we can buy one half, and give freedom and prosperity to the border slave States, it is as much good as this generation can be called upon to perform, and the next generation must take care of itself.

Some of the advantages or benefits to be derived to the border States from selling their slaves.

The strip of land bounded by the Delaware river and Pennsylvania and the Ohio and Missouri rivers on the north, by the Atlantic on the east, by the southern boundaries of North Carolina and Tennessee and the Arkansas river on the south, and Kansas on the west, comprises one of the finest tracts of land on the habitable globe. It includes the States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, and contains 318,000 square miles. This land, without the slaves, when it comes to be settled by a white population, will be more valuable than is now the land and the slaves. This is proved by taking the same quantity of land in the free States directly north, and comparing the tax books for the land and the slaves in the former and for the land only in the latter. It is clearly proved that it will be a great gain to the present inhabitants of these border slave States to sell their slaves and invest the money in land.

Much has been said about an invasion of Virginia and the border slave States, and these States wish laws to be passed to prevent any invasion; but there is an invasion coming upon these States, and into them, which no laws can resist and no armed soldiers can prevent. Mr. Clemens, one of the Representatives from Virginia, designated, in a late speech, the persons to whom I allude as "the hog-eating Teutons," to which I might add the root-eating Scythians.

The Irish are a branch of the great Scythian family, and it is well known that large numbers of this race do subsist almost entirely upon the bulbous root called the potato. This root will grow upon the sides of the mountains in Virginia to their very summit.

These hog-eating Teutons and root-eating Scythians are pressing on to America at the rate of two or three hundred thousand annually. They have taken possession of and inhabited most of the Northern and Western free States, and are now about ready to pounce upon the border slave States. These invaders want no slaves; they make slaves of themselves, their wives, and children. In order to prepare for these invaders, and be enabled to make better terms with them, the present inhabitants must sell their slaves and invest the proceeds in land, which they can hold at a higher price than they can possibly do if they keep their slaves; and thus the present inhabitants will maintain their present elevated position. There will be no danger of the country being overrun with free negroes. As you sow, that shall you reap; "for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." If we sow white men, we shall have a stock of white men springing up around us, and the black men will be born only in sufficient numbers to be our household servants. The white race will take their places and occupy the land, and white children will be born in the place of black children.

Some of the benefits to be derived to the free States from this fund.

In the first place, it will save the Union; and I think the Union is worth more than two hundred million dollars. The old Democratic party are holding Conventions through the Northern and Western States, ostensibly to take measures to save the Union, but really to place themselves again in power. If they will put their hands in their pockets and take out some money to pay for the slaves, and recommend their constituents to do likewise, they will do something of real value towards saving the Union; but this act may not place their party in power so soon as they could wish. The Republican party, if they wish to retain power, should willingly vote this money, because it will effectually save the Union, and make us strong against all the world.

The manufacturers and mechanics of the Eastern States should willingly vote for this appropriation, because it will make a section of the country rich which is now poor, and enable the inhabitants thereof to purchase a greater quantity of their manufactures. Within a hundred years, the Northern and Eastern States will make a clear profit of more than double the amount of their proportion of this debt.

I could enumerate many advantages which the Western States will enjoy by paying their share of this tax.

A continuation of their present enjoyment, without war upon their borders, is inducement enough to pay a small amount yearly for the preservation of the peace. It will make the border States one people, in feeling, in sympathy, in intercourse, in all the social relations of life. Virginia claims that the Northwestern territory once belonged to her. The children of this vast region can, in this manner, have a chance to come to the rescue of their mother in this, the day of her trouble, and save her from the necessity of joining the Southern Confederacy. Virginia, when she shall be fully peopled with these hog-eating Teutons from Germany, these potato-eating Scythians from Ireland, with a smart infusion of the stirring and active Yankees, will contain a population of six or seven million of inhabitants, and this within the next thirty years. She will occupy a potential position in the future, as she has always done in the past, in the halls of Congress and among the States of the Union.

I have too high an opinion of the understanding of the people of the United States to presume to offer further arguments in favor of this plan of saving the Union.

I will add, that the present generation receive the benefits, but pay but very little of the money.

Within a hundred years, the United States will contain more than a hundred million inhabitants. Among so vast a body of people, with all the wealth which will be developed on this great continent when the great railroads shall be finished from the Atlantic to the Pacific, what a trifle will it be to them to pay their yearly proportion of this loan! The hog-eating Teutons, whose fathers are now in the wilds of Germany and in the forests of Scandinavia, will gladly pay their proportion of this loan for the great benefit they enjoy thereby. Money can never be appropriated to a better use, or be invested where it will pay a better income.

I will, therefore, conclude this lengthy epistle by petitioning Congress to pass an act appropriating two hundred million dollars to pay for the two million slaves in the border slave States, to be held as bond servants during their natural lives; provided, that the individuals in said States agree to sell; and provided, further, that all persons in said States born after this date shall be born free; and provided, further, that no individual shall be lawfully entitled to purchase a slave within said limits.

And as in duty bound, the petitioner will ever pray.

To you, Mr. Adams, to whom I have addressed this epistle, the nation owes a debt of gratitude, for you have added an additional wreath to the brow of "Adams," a name already illustrious in the annals of American history. You have offered to give up all your slaves and all your property for the preservation of the Union. If all the other citizens will place upon their country's altar but a hundredth part of their worldly wealth, there will be abundance to save the Union, and also to handsomely embellish her.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

INAUGURATION.—A delegation of one hundred can be accommodated, during their inauguration visit, at one dollar per day each, at Nos. 559 and 561 G street north, between Second and Third streets west. The houses are entirely new, and will be furnished especially for the occasion. L. COLLINS.
feb 13—tf

MATTRESSES! MATTRESSES!
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CURE IN FROM THREE — DR. SOUTHEY'S LONDON REMEDIES — TO SIX DAYS

S. L. R.

THE unparalleled success of Doctor SOUTHEY'S GREAT LONDON REMEDIES for the treatment of venereal diseases, diseases of the skin, impurities of the blood, derangements of the kidneys and urinary organs, &c., *seems to be creating quite a stir amongst the quacks, root-hog-or-die Indian doctors, and other impostors*, who are envious of the great number of patients daily restored to health and happiness by this great boon.

A majority of persons now being rapidly restored to health have been long victimized, and drained of almost every dollar, by such pretenders, and we caution every afflicted person to beware of these quacks, who pretend to cure any disease by roots and herbs retailed by the quart, without reference to the symptoms or constitution of the patients.

Several respectable gentlemen who are now using Dr. SOUTHEY'S remedies, and to such advantage that the disease has entirely disappeared, inform me that their systems have been completely racked, and their pockets drained, and the disease made to assume a most horrid form, by certain unprincipled quacks in this city, who have no diplomas, either from a Medical or Pharmaceutical College.

Persons using Doctor Southey's remedies, and applying for medical advice at my place, must expect to be treated according to the principles of medical men. An experience of ten years in the treatment of the above diseases, and recommendations of the best medical men in the city, are a sufficient guaranty. Every sensible man knows that the human organization is made up of elements which are liable to become affected by diseases which are beyond the reach of vegetable preparations alone to effect a cure. The experience of all time proves that God bestows everything that exists, mineral and vegetable, poisonous and antidotal, for the relief of suffering humanity. The most virulent poisons are the vegetable poisons; for instance, the nux vomica, from which the strychnine is made, and a great many other vegetable productions, are much more poisonous than the minerals.

But Doctor Southey's Great London Remedies

are the result of ages of experience, prepared from the formula of the greatest physician and surgeon of Europe—James Southey, M. D., F. R. S., London, who has had more experience in the treatment of private diseases than any man living.

The proprietor, S. T. Shuman, sole agent for the United States, will exhibit the formula to any honorable graduate in the medical profession.

Avoid all places located on back streets, in obscure places, where quacks, professing to be Indian, German, or Russian doctors, who cannot even handle English correctly, deal out their nauseous drugs, and

PERFORM UNLAWFUL OPERATIONS.

Let all persons who have been thus victimized seek an early relief at the agency of Southey's Great London Remedies, corner of Sixth street and Pennsylvania avenue, under the Clarendon Hotel, sign of the mortar and British coat-of-arms; or address S. T. Shuman, room No. 36, Clarendon Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Southey's Great London Remedies cure gonorrhea, cure gleet, cure syphilis, cure nocturnal emissions, spermatorrhea, self-abuse, and all diseases of the skin, bladder, or urinary organs, in either male or female. feb 16—1y

FOR THE CURE OF

DYSPEPSIA, INDIGESTION,

Weakness or Debility, Flatulency and Nausea, Loss of Appetite, Nervousness, Liver Complaints, Bilious Fevers, and all Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and Bowels.

AS A PREVENTIVE FOR FEVER AND AGUE, THESE BITTERS ARE NOT EQUALLED.

W. F. & A. W. GREELEY, Proprietors, Boston.

THE OBJECT of all medicine is either to prevent disease, or to assist Nature in restoring the various organs of the body to a healthful action, and that medicine is certainly the best which will perform those offices thoroughly, yet mildly, and without endangering the vital forces of the system, by whose normal condition alone health and strength can be preserved. Most of the Bitters that have heretofore been brought into popular favor, have only served the purpose of temporarily stimulating or exciting the organs into a condition resembling healthful action, without any *remedial* effect, and generally followed by a return of the disease, or a prostration of nervous energy more disastrous than though Nature had been left to take its own course.

Dr. Greeley's Bitters are a preparation of the nutritive properties of the grain of the fields in combination with the active principle of many simple alteratives and bitter tonics, and it is a pleasure to the proprietors to state that its usefulness is being generally acknowledged by the largely-increasing consumption in those sections where it is best known, and by the testimony of many eminent physicians, who have not only made trial of it, but continually prescribe the Bitters in those cases for which it is recommended.

AGED PEOPLE, AND ALL WEAKLY PERSONS,

Consumptive patients, and others, whose constitutions have become impaired by time, or enfeebled by disease, and in whom the process of digestion does not replace the fat and tissues of the body as fast as they waste, will find these Bitters at once nourishing and strengthening, and happily adapted for their use. The great advantage the Bitters possess over ordinary stimulants usually prescribed in treating lung complaints and kindred diseases, is the fact that they combine many safe and certain healing properties in connection with the best known stimulant.

DELICATE LADIES

Will derive great benefit from it. No unpleasant effect will ever result from taking the Bitters, if the directions are followed. For those who suffer from nervous debility, languor, want of rest, exhaustion, and in all cases of weakness, the Bitters are not equalled.

As an agreeable stomachic, it is much admired; it sharpens the appetite, brightens the intellect, and infuses new life and vigor. No one who uses these Bitters can be subject to an attack of FEVER and AGUE, or DIARRHŒA.

Of all the ills that afflict men and women, few are so agonizing as Dyspepsia. It is a sort of combination of many diseases. Thanks to science and DR. GREELEY, a *specific* has now been obtained. GREELEY'S BOURBON BITTERS take straight hold of the disease, and begin a cure. Thousands of well-attested cases of cures of Dyspepsia, Indigestion, and Fever and Ague, even of the most desperate kind, are in the possession of the proprietors.

Not a few people, everywhere, complain of Weakness or Debility. This is the gentle hint of nature for a little help in the way of invigoration. The hint should not be neglected. "A stitch in time saves nine." Get a supply of GREELEY'S BOURBON BITTERS, take them regularly, and our word for it you will feel better, live longer, be stronger, and think and act with very much more satisfaction. The Bitters are a tonic, and of a nature never before attained in any medicine. It will make the weak strong, the desponding hopeful, the sick well. For any complaint of the Stomach, Liver, or Bowels, there is nothing comparable with this medicine.

In America, the Liver is the *best* abused of all the organs in the body. It is made the saddle of all other organs. As a consequence, it is often out of order, and not unfrequently nearly inoperative. This need not be; on the contrary, it is quite unnecessary. A little common sense, and a sufficiency of GREELEY'S BOURBON BITTERS, will keep the Liver right, and make man a man, and woman, now miserable, quite happy. The Bitters regulate and strengthen the Liver, no less than purify it.

The increase of Nervous Disorders, at the present day, is one of the most alarming indications of the age, or rather, would be, were it not that a most admirable cure had been found. There is not a phase of Nervous disease, whatever it may be, that these Bitters will not act upon favorably, and in the most efficient manner. All who are unfortunately afflicted with complaints of this nature, or with Indigestion, or any diseases of the Stomach, should not fail to make use of GREELEY'S BOURBON BITTERS.

Chills and Fever. In many portions of the United States this terrible disease seizes its victims as naturally as water seeks its level. The system in a particular condition invites it. The right medicine to prevent and cure this malady, we unhesitatingly say, is GREELEY'S BOURBON BITTERS. It breaks up the fever, drives it from the system, and will keep it at bay, if taken in accordance with directions on the bottle. The Bitters purify and enrich the blood, and this in return strengthens the constitution. As an agreeable tonic, these Bitters have no equal.

Greeley's Bourbon Bitters are meeting a sale unparalleled in the history of popular medicines. In all diseases of the Stomach and Bowels they are a sovereign cure. The worst cases of Dyspepsia and Indigestion yield to the remarkable potency of the Bitters, which is as agreeable to the taste as it is speedy and unfailing in its good effects.

For sale by Druggists and Grocers, everywhere. W. F. & A. W. GREELEY, Proprietors, Boston, Mass. And Sold by D. B. CLARK, S. B. WAITE, J. B. WILSON, Washington, D. C., and PEEL & STEVENS, Alexandria, Va. feb 15

Prospectus of the National Republican.

Believing that the time has arrived when the great Republican party of the United States ought to be fairly represented in the daily press of the National Metropolis, we have embarked in the enterprise of supplying the citizens of the District of Columbia with a daily publication, under the title of the "NATIONAL REPUBLICAN."

In its political department, this journal will advocate and defend the principles of the Republican party, and endeavor to disabuse the public mind of groundless prejudices which have been engendered against it, by the false accusations of its enemies. Having the utmost confidence that the administration of Mr. Lincoln will be such as to merit our approbation, we expect to yield it a cordial, but not a servile support. In the great issue that is likely to be made with his administration, by the enemies of the Republican party, the people of Washington and the District of Columbia have more at stake than the people of any other portion of our common country. We believe that to support Mr. Lincoln's administration will be synonymous with maintaining the integrity of the Federal Union, against the machinations of those who would rend it asunder. No one can doubt upon which side of this issue the people of Washington will be found, when they come to realize that it is fairly forced upon them. We feel confident, therefore, that in yielding to the administration of Mr. Lincoln a cordial support, we shall have the sympathy of an immense majority of the people of this District and vicinity.

It is not our design, however, to make the *National Republican* a mere political paper. We intend, that as a medium of general and local news, it shall not be inferior to any other journal published in this city. We shall pay particular attention to questions of local policy, and advocate such reforms as we may deem essential to the prosperity of the city, and to the advancement of the moral and material welfare of its inhabitants.

We deem it unnecessary, however, to multiply promises, as the paper will immediately make its appearance, and will then speak for itself.

It will be published every morning, and delivered to city subscribers at six cents per week. Mail subscribers, $3.50 a year, payable in advance.

The publication office is at the corner of Indiana avenue and Second street.

LEWIS CLEPHANE & CO.

Some Opinions of Mr. Lincoln.

SELECTED VERBATIM FROM HIS SPEECHES, AND PERTINENT TO THE PRESENT OCCASION.

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the out-spreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or courts. The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and courts—not to overthrow the Constitution, but overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution!"—*Speech at Cincinnati, September* 18, 1859.

"I hold myself under constitutional obligations to allow the people in all the States, without interference, direct or indirect, to do exactly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such constitutional obligation. I can only say again, that I am placed improperly—altogether improperly, in spite of all that I can say—when it is insisted that I entertain any other views or purposes in regard to that matter (slavery.)"—*Speech at Jonesborough, Ill., Sept.* 16, 1858.

"While it (slavery) drives on in its state of progress as it is now driving, and as it has driven for the last five years, I have ventured the opinion, and say to-day, that we will have no end to the slavery agitation until it takes one turn or the other. I do not mean that when it takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt."—*Speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept.* 18, 1858.

"Mr. Douglas's popular sovereignty, as a principle, is simply this: If one man chooses to make a slave of another, neither that man nor anybody else has a right to object."—*Speech at Cincinnati, Sept.* 17, 1859.

"I have intimated that I thought the agitation (of slavery) would not cease until a crisis should be reached and passed. I have stated in what way I have thought it would be reached and passed. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind *did* rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction; and when I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say that I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it—he assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government, they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal."—*Speech at Alton, Oct.* 18, 1858.

"Let me say I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses, North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were now out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave masters.

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for that tardiness in this respect, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery that our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one."—*Speech at Ottowa, Ill., Aug.* 21, 1858.

"Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union, save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out, and making it bigger?

"You may have a wen or cancer on your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it to engraft it, and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard as a wrong."—*Speech at Alton, Oct.* 15, 1858.

"I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional fugitive slave law. As the right is constitutional, I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it, and that not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching negroes; at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why, then, do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guaranties that right, can be supported without it."—*Speech at Alton, Oct.* 15, 858.

"The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong, is the sentiment of the Republican party. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. If there be a man among us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us, and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform."—*Speech at Alton, Oct.* 15, 1858.

A FEW WORDS TO THE SOUTH.

"We the Republicans, and others, forming the opposition of the country, intend to 'stand by our guns,' to be patient and firm, and in the long run to beat you. When we do beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as nearly as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institution; to abide by every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you as far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, according to the examples of those noble fathers—Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we are; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognise and bear in mind, always, that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and to treat you accordingly.—*Speech at Cincinnati, Sept.* 17, 1859.

DOUGLAS AND JOHNSON PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matter; and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

Resolved, That in accordance with the interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the Territorial Governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the Territorial Legislature over the subject of the domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, should be respected by all good citizens, and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the General Government