SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE DAY.

A SPEECH,

BY FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Jr., of Missouri,

Delivered at the Cooper Institute last evening.

The Hon. F. P. BLAIR, jr., of Missouri, gave last evening, before the Young Men's Republican Union, in the Great Hall of the Cooper Institute, a lecture on "The Attitude of Parties." Upon the platform were many of the most prominent Republicans of the State.

The meeting was called to order by the President of the Union, Mr. CHAS. T. RODGERS, and HIRAM BARNEY, esq., was elected Chairman. After a few preliminary words, the CHAIRMAN introduced the Hon. Mr. BLAIR, who was received with prolonged and enthusiastic applause. Mr. BLAIR said:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

To be summoned by the distinguished men of the Republican party to address the country through its all-pervading metropolis on the important issues of an epoch, which all believe will influence its destinity for ages, is a high and honorable distinction, of which I profoundly sensible. I owe this prominence to Missouri, and to the attitude she holds in the very heart of the Republic. Her introduction into the Union was signalized by a pacification which was hailed by patriots everywhere, but especially in the South, as quieting forever controversy about a disturbing domestic institution at war with the elements of Freedom, which imbued at the beginning the State and National Governments. That compact of peace to which she set her seal as the party most it terested, was broken without having first taken a vote of her people to indicate her wish on a question touching so nearly her honor, as well as her interests. Now the vital inquiry recurs again—what is to be done to give repose to the discordant element among our institutions, which has distroyed the compact on which it rested, carried civil war into the Territory from which, by agreement, it was self-excluded, and now daringly threatens to crush the Union itself, unless permitted to command in the choice of the Chief Magistrate of the United States. However glozing politicians may sophisticate about the old doctrine of the power of Congress over the Territories—the new one, which would give it to the first settlers, and take it from the representatives of the whole people in Congress, and that still newer one which would take it from both and resign it to the Supreme Court—no man can honestly deny the blunt statement I have made of the all-controlling events which have produced the present hostile array of parties, nor the issue which the aggressive party throughout this contest now presents as its ultimatum. I am sensible that the border States holding slaves have the reins in their hands which will control those Southern leaders who avow the design of making Disunion the element of their power. I am indebted to the important position which Missouri holds, both as a border and a frontier State, and the confidence entertained that she will add her strength to those members of the Confederacy that approve themselves most devoted to the Constitution and the Union, for the invitation to discuss here the principles and policy which discriminate the two great parties of the country.

Missouri has ever been a Republican State, Republican in that sense in which Jefferson employed the term to define the party which elevated him to power. She owes her birth to Jefferson and the Republican party—that liberal party which acquired the Mississippi, and the far West, and the shores of the Pacific, and devoted all to union. Do the Republicans of the present day maintain the same liberal principles which marked the career of Jefferson in all its aspects, or do modern Democrats more thoroughly adhere to what were then held as the essentials of Republicanism? This is a question which history will settle, I will not now invoke that umpire to pass upon the resemblance which existing parties bear to the Republican party of Jefferson's time, except as to that peculiar feature which has such power over those in love with it, as to turn by its aspect everything for them into its own likeness. Is there anything in the eye of a devotee of the "peculiar institution," that concerns the Government of the country, that is not shaped, tinged, and controlled by it? The Constitution will not be allowed to exist without it. The Union must be broken down if it stands in the way of its extension, Congress must sacrifice the time-honored compact universally received by successive generations as imposing a just limit upon such extension. The President must give all his influence, and the force of all his civil functionaries, sustained by the military power, to coerce the reluctant mass of emigrants to admit Slavery among them, and the Supreme Courts must reverse all its precedents to establish the principle that Slavery, as an institution, is the property of slaveholders, which they may carry with them wherever they have the right to go themselves. Now, was this the Republican doctrine of the days of Washington and Jefferson? Was it the doctrine of both the first and last Congress of the Confederacy that undertook to exclude Slavery by the ordinance "regulating" the Territories? Was it the doctrine of the Constitution, which used the very word regulate, as used in the Congress of the Confederation in exerting the power to confer it upon the Congress of the Union? Was it the doctrine of the new Congress convoked by Washington, which, confirmed, and with his signature, the ordinance of 1787? Was it the doctrine of every President, Cabinet, Congress or Court, of the United States, down to Pierce's time, all having contributed in either passing, signing, or recognizing in their appropriate spheres, the organization of every territory under the ordinance excluding Slavery? The whole history of the Republic from its foundation shows that Slavery was held to be a local institution, to be tolerated only in those States into which it had been thrust, and which were gradually to be relieved from the incubus as the growth of the white population rendered the substitution of free labor possible. History does not hand down the name of a man who contributed to build up our Republican Government, who declares himself for the perpetuation and propagation of Slavery. The embodied South marked its reprobation of the institution in consenting to the abolition of the African Slave Trade, and by branding it as a piracy. Washington declared the sentiment of all his enlightened countrymen when he wrote to Lafeyette, and through him to Europe, that he looked forward to a time when our Union would become "a confederacy of free States," and Jefferson later and more emphatically admonished the South that this must be so, or the fate of St. Domingo awaited it.

Is it not amazing, when all Europe has been excited to admiration by the success of our free institutions, and to a more intense abhorrence of Slavery by its malign influence over the South, that this loveliest region of our continent, which wears this shirt of Nessus, should be so maddened by its views as not to perceive what wastes it? England found long ago that villenage was the blight of the island, and abolished it. She saw that the serfdom in Ireland under the agents of absentee lords, with a tenantry enslaved under martial law, had reduced that island to famine and ruin, and she emancipated the people by removing the disabilities of Catholics, breaking the fetters of entails and mortgages, and providing for the education and protection of free labor. She perceived that Jamaica and the West Indies were reduced to bankruptcy by the absentee agency and slave system. The owners of estates there and the Colonial authorities besieged Parliament with petitions for relief; they begged for protection from the competition with the products of other sugar-raising regions, and Parliament, by prohibiting duties, gave them the monopoly of the English market. This would not suffice. British statesmen, after thorough examination, resolved upon the bold and wise plan of paying the planters for their negroes, and declaring universal emancipation. The result is that, notwithstanding the fact that they were also deprived of the monopoly of the British market, all of the sugar islands have gradually become prosperous, save Jamaica, which its millstone mortgages have kept under, but which is surely emerging from all its difficulties. England has extended the same liberal policy to the East Indies. She has, after putting down the late rebellion in Hindostan, taken measures to extirpate the cause. India was reduced to vassalage under the despotism of a trading oligarchy. England has stripped them of the dominion they abused, placed it under the Crown, and assured the rights of the people. Throughout her conquests in every part of the world, England has, of late years, changed her policy. Her plan is now to conquer by skill and power, the offspring of her own freedom, and to retain the conquests by extending the blessings of free institutions over them. It is British policy now that the flag which extends it over the earth shall be everywhere hailed as the ensign of Freedom. Our Revolution has not only brought republican reform into all the colonies, but into the three kingdoms encircled by the British Crown. It is making progress, and popular suffrage is gradually extending, and public opinion will thus in time become paramount in Parliament.

France, too, has caught the spirit of our Revolution, and dethroning her old despotic dynasty, and passing through the changes of various Republican forms—the first Empire and successive Kings—has now a second Empire, founded on universal suffrage, a Legislative branch derived periodically from the same source, an admirable Civil Code, an Army so associated in feeling with the families from which it is drawn as to catch the sympathies which pervade the Empire. All the powers of the State being rooted in a brave, intelligent nation of freeholders in town and country, the great estates being cut into small homesteads, and all its children made to spring from the soil which they are interested to improve and defend, Louis Napoleon, at the head of a half million of disciplined soldiers becomes instantly sensible of public opinion from its ground-swell among the people. Hence, the people of Italy can claim at his hands reform and a voice in the establishment of free institutions. Hence his *entente cordiale* with Great Britain in arresting the march of the Autocrat Nicholas on Turkey to subject the whole East to serfdom, and bring the enslaved nations, just breaking from the relaxed hand of the expiring Ottoman power to the strong grasp of Northern despotism; and hence, too, the compulsion enforced by England and France on the Sultan to extend enfranchisements to the subdued races and toleration to the Christian religion, a mark of grace to Christendom which has been followed by an order for the suppression of the slave-trade with Circassia. This triumph of the liberal principles of the Western Powers over the policy of Peter the Great, handed down to his successor Nicholas, has brought the enlightened Emperor Alexander to inquire how the military strength of his whole Empire was vanquished in the stronghold meant to defy the world. He saw the light, alert well-instructed Frenchman an over-match for the robust Russian—hardy, impassive, rugged, and tough as the polar bear. Why was this mighty, well-disciplined animal strength overthrown by the gay alacrity of that parade that a little time before graced holidays of Paris? The Russian soldier was a serf; he had no home but the camp; no country o crown him with glory for his exploits. The Emperor of Russia has resolved to prepare his northern hordes for conquest in the softer regions of the south and east by making them freemen, and inspiring their faculties with the enthusiasm which can only rise in a man who feels that he has a soul and body and a home of his own on earth. He, too, it is said, has joined his banner to that of Prussia and England, and demands the right for the Italian people of establishing a government for themselves. The Holy Allies, that parceled out the people of Europe like herds as belonging to them by divine right, all, save Austria, now admit that there is an original sovereignty in the people which they are bound to respect. Austria herself intimates that she is disposed to reform and yield something to the spirit of the age.

Have we an Austria less accessible than that of the Danube to the light spread over the world by our Revolution? Reform of a great abuse at war with our political system, imposed by a foreign power, and degrading to our national character, and wasting to sterility the very soil of our country, is not only spurned in the Slave States, but that which makes such a blot on our continent, sets such a mark on our front as a people, threatens such fatal results to the Union which binds us together in power, is now exalted, it seems, for these very tendencies, above the Constitution itself. Those venerable patriots who cherished Freedom in the infancy of the Colonies, and after they had risen to States, and still later when they had confederated as a nation, recorded against England as her greatest crime, that "she made cruel war against human nature itself, in seizing men for slaves, carrying them into another hemisphere, keeping open a market where they should be sold." Yet the name of this very man whose pen fixed this accusation to stand forever in the history of the country against its royal oppressor, is called up to sanctify the principles of a party urgent to reopen the slave-trade, to spread Slavery over all new Territories, and to subvert the Government if it elects a Chief Magistrate hostile to these designs.

Austria, in Europe, is taught to surrender something to promote the growth of liberty there. Here we have an Austria that would strangle it with Slavery, returning to that old King's policy who introduced it, notwithstanding the protest of the Colonies pronouncing it an "execrable commerce."

To what is this retrograde impulse in a portion of our people to be attributed? Not, I venture to say, to the unbiased feeling or judgment of the slaveholders. I have been familiar with this class of people all my life. Born and reared among the farmers of Kentucky, deriving all my early notions of domestic relations from a race exclusively Virginian, while my public life has been devoted to Missouri, and that of my father (with whom I feel that I have always lived, although apart from him) spent between the two great Slave States of the Potomac, I cannot be ignorant of the character and views of the most prominent and important class of the commanding Slave States. The decadence of those great States is not to be ascribed to the character of its principal citizens, but to the fault of the institution with which they have labored. The world's history does not show a better race of men than the farmers of the States to which I have alluded. They are of the best stock of that middle class that built up the glory of the country from whence they came. They inherit the sterling common sense, the benevolent feeling, the firm temper, the lofty spirit, that led the way to the civilization of this Continent. They have never, and do not now, look upon Slavery as a good to be sought by rapine, and dragged by cruelty to our shores—but as an evil thrust upon us, producing the difference in the prosperity of the North and South visible to every eye. They are not the disturbers of the peace of the Union. They do not wish to abandon the fertile regions of the South which now lie open to Slave labor, the greater portion yet untouched, to force it on Territories which should be reserved for the free white race among them, deprived of occupations, and the means of maintaining a foothold in their native soil, from which Slavery, if it continues must ultimately remove them. They do not favor fresh importations, a policy which must hasten this exile of the free white race, reduce the value of slave and landed property, render it more difficult to dispose of, or to retain advantageously. Least of all do they desire to dissolve the Union, either to extend Slavery, or as an experiment to make more sure the institution where it now exist in peace.

The non-slaveholders are of the same strain, vigorous in mind and body, brave, law-abiding, and patriotic, more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. They will continue to endure the oppression that the presence of Slavery obliges them to encounter, while bare subsistence is attainable; while "hunting, fishing, and occasional jobs," or little tenements held at will on wasted fields, or the wilderness among the hills, supply food, they may submit to their fate like stoics in despair; but when they are driven generally to the other alternative, which Mr. Hammond, the most distinguished Senator of the South, pointed to as the last, but not unusual, resource in South Carolina, that of "seducing the slaves to steal for their support," I think there will be danger of convulsion. A class already driven to the extremities by Slavery, which have been so forcibly depicted by Southern men of the highest distinction, and which have recently in Louisiana led to the appointment of Vigilance Committees and Lynch law, to drive them from neighborhoods to which they had become offensive, would hardly bear the influx of new hordes of negroes from Africa. This would make the price of labor so low, that the utmost industry of the white laborer would not yield bread to a family. It would compel them all to take refuge in the Peonage system of Mexico, where the whole laboring population receive food and raiment from the landholder, and, as debtors, bind themselves and families to his estate, to work out a constantly accumulating debt, making the bondage hereditary; or drive them at once from their native land to the Territories for new homes, where it is proposed to follow up the king's colonial system for the South, and pour in successive cargoes of Africans to swarm in the Territories; to create new Slave States and subject the white laborers there again to the alternatives already described by their own members of Congress. The non-slaveholders of the South, constituting nine-tenths of the population, excluding slaves, cannot, when they understand it, consent to the policy of propagating Slavery with such fatal results to themselves; much less would they, knowing it, contribute to the severance of the Union to effect this object, by lending themselves to the attempt to drive a Republican President from a station, the influence of which he will exert to give them and their children homesteads in the rich regions of the West, thus securing them forever from the encroachments of Slavery.

How does it happen, when the interests of the two great classes of the South are opposed to the renewal of the slave-trade, and the filling up with exotic barbarians of our fair, free Territories, reclaimed from native savages with better rights, and whose presence was never attended with such fatal omens, that the country should be alarmed with such threatening clamor from that quarter to compass these schemes?

The politicians of the South are a disciplined corps, schooled in the art of managing a small embodied force so as to subjugate vast multitudes. The attempt of our time has the slave interest of the South for a pivot; alarms are affected that dangerous designs are meditated against it in the North.

The slaveholders are combined to a man under the leaders who undertake the championship of their cause. They are well aware, however, that the maniacs who made the late foray at Harper's Ferry, and those who approve it, consist of a mere handful. Proof that the slaveholders themselves, while the Abolition concoction has been bubbling up in its effervescence constantly, have never felt an apprehension, is found in the fact that slave property has been always rising in value in the face of the false alarms. The mine, and all its underground preparations, the work of years of eloquence and stealthy effort on the part of the very few who favor such schemes, are at last laid open by an explosion. Old Brown, the First Consul of the embryo Republic, is sent to Elba in a condition never to return; the rest of the grand army have found a Beresina in the Potomac, and now, after the obsequies, soldiers are springing up from dragon's teeth along the Southern borders, and consternation is in every countenance looking out for the ghosts of enemies. Does any man believe that this terror, in the hitherto unterrified Commonwealth, is real? It is nothing but a piece of fine acting—Kean in the part of Richard on the field of Bosworth. The dramatic efforts work wonders on the ignorant, and, while the declaimers continue to appall the ear with the outcry that the Black Republican party of the North are in the plot, that they will elect a President to stir up the negroes to insurrection, and that they propose to wrap the South in the flames of civil and servile war, the value of all the property of this doomed region continues to increase, and the slaveholder knows and feels that his falsely accused party adversaries at the North, with their President in power, would move down, if necessary, the whole force of its millions of freemen, to put down insurrection at home or invasion from abroad. There needs no better testimony to this fact than the trumpet-mouthed proclamation of Southern men in Congress, that the commanding party in the Free States approve and lend their aid to such schemes as John Brown's. Suppose Republican Representatives should go through the Slave States, and announce to the oppressed of all colors the purpose of the North to abet Brown's project of universal emancipation, would they not be treated as incendiaries? Why, then, are the Southern Representatives permitted by their slaveholding constituents to make assertions that tend to persuade every malcontent among them that they have a body of friends in the North ready to lead them to victory, whenever they rise to throw off their bonds? Simply because the whole South knows, that its Representatives having the least apprehension that such a formidable ally was ready to support insurrection against Southern institutions, would be the last men on earth even to whisper it in the ears of the disaffected; the negroes, even, are too intelligent to give credit to the absurd story. There is not a sane man in the South that does not know full well, that though badgered and abused, such is the loyalty of the whole North to the Union that it would march with an army of its hardy sons a thousandfold stronger than that Gen. Green led to the rescue of the South in the day of its troubles.

The John Brown conspiracy is now the galvanic battery that gives new life to the Democracy. In the North it revives the expiring hopes of the melancholy doughfaces. There are two parties there, one for the Union, and one against it. The former heartily concurring in the patriotic views of the fathers of the Republic, that Slavery should work out its destiny by degrees, under the shield of the Constitution, the negro race receding southward before the skill, economy, and self-impelling power of free labor. The destiny of the colored race of this continent is to carry freedom and improvement to its rich tropics, where the white race languishes through successive generations, passing into mongrels and utter decay.

The chiefs who brood over the scheme of a new Government in the South adverse to the Union, have in view to provide against a danger very different from that which they parade as the cause of alarm. There is difficulty arising from the increase of their white population holding no slaves, and destitute of lands or employment, that excites apprehension in another form. This multitude, oppressed by the competition of Slavery, have votes, and may at some time learn to use them for their own deliverance. They have, however, been most effectually disfranchised in many of the Slave States, by giving a vast preponderance in the legislative representation to the slaveholding counties over those in which there are few slaves. The chiefs of nullification, taught by a master quite as acute as he who educated Alexander in the art of dominion over men, seek to throw off connection with that part of the Confederacy where free voting makes everything free. In choosing his pupils, the late ambitious instructor in the school of South Carolina politics always looked to daring and capable young men, the chivalry, as these disciples of Mr. Calhoun are sometimes called in derision, in many instances exhibit elevated qualities that make the term appropriate to them in its true and honorable sense. They are the earnest Prince Rupert's of King Charles's reign, ready to fight in the cause of the *juro divino* right of Slavery. It is evident from late demonstration that employment for the non-slaveholding class in the South will be found in case the severance of the Union is attempted by embodying from it a standing army to prevent the execution of the laws of the Union, the escape of slaves along the borders and coasts, and to prosecute further conquests in the South for the extension of Slavery; that the latter design is meditated is manifest from the fact that Walker reestablished Slavery in the country in which he obtained a momentary foothold, and did so under the advice of those in the United States who were associated in his enterprise. Walker declared that he was advised by a member of Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet to throw himself into the quarrel of castes then and now raging in Mexico, instead of embarking in his foray upon Nicaragua. A Senator high in favor with the Administration denounced the attempt after its failure, declaring that the Government should intervene in the affairs of Mexico, and discountenance such forays by its citizens. It seems that this advice has prevailed with that portion of the Southern politicians who once looked with favor upon Walker's scheme, and, uniting their counsels, they have compelled Mr. Buchanan to embrace this new plan of conquest for the extension of Slavery. A treaty has been negotiated with Juarez, a pure-blooded Indian, and who, in the war of castes existing in that unhappy country, is recognized as President by the chiefs commanding in the outlying States or Departments where the Indian races predominate. His authority is disowned in the Capitol of the Central States, where the white race have some remains of strength, and where the Church, which has so long shielded them from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian and colored races, still guards and defends them with her power and influence. Mr. Buchanan has leagued himself with the Indian Juarez, in this war of religion and caste; leagued himself with the Chief, who has by edict already confiscated the property of the Church, and will exterminate its defenders of the white race in order to possess himself of its spoil. The treaty which has been negotiated by our President proposes to furnish four millions of money to Juarez to prosecute this war against the Catholic Church and the white men of Mexico. The President also asks that Congress shall surrender to him the war-making power, in order that he may support Juarez with the arms of the United States, and with troops levied among the fillibusters who are looking with longing eyes to the plunder of Mexico and its ultimate possession. The Dred Scott decision having already overthrown our free institutions, would carry Slavery into this new conquest, and the system of peonage, the hereditary servitude of debt, would still more readily become assimilated to the peculiar institution. Inexorable indeed is the demand for the extension of Slavery, when it compels Mr. Buchanan to league with an Indian in a war of caste and religion, a war against the proprietary class of Mexico, and to confiscate the estates of that Church, whose members in this country elevated him to the Presidency. The pretext upon which he asks Congress to invest him with power to wage such a war, is that our citizens have been outraged in their persons and property by the Church-party in Mexico. Northern citizens are in far more danger in the Southern States, and have suffered infinitely more there and in Kansas at the hands of the President's Pro-Slavery partisans. And in Utah our troops stand idle, while Brigham Young despoils and murders our citizens. Who can doubt that he owes his immunity from punishment to the fact that he has established Slavery? In the eyes of those who command our President, this is sufficient to entitle him to immunity in his crimes, and in the enjoyment of the "twin relic of barbarism"—polygamy. The motive which is to precipitate us into a religious war in Mexico, and which has sheathed the sword of Justice in Utah, is the same; it is the extension of Slavery, and when this object can no longer be subserved by the power of this Government, then the Government itself is to be subverted.

Of the existence of a settled design against the Union no man can doubt who observes the signs of the times and listens to the debates of Congress. The party in power, who denounce the Union, do not pretend that their opponents have violated the Constitution. But expression of opinion is a right to be tolerated no longer. It is assumed that the Republican sentiment in favor of States without the tarnish of negro-slavery, discoloring their institutions or their people, made John Brown mad: and, although he and all his followers have paid the penalty of their fatuity and crimes, yet this has not proved that the State and National Governments are sufficient to protect against the dangers incident to the peculiar institution. What then? The majority of the people of the United States are warned that if, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, they elect a Republican President, the minority will annul the Constitution; so it is not, at last, for a violation of that instrument that the Union is to be subverted, but for maintaining it in fair, free, and full operation, according to the interpretation of its worst enemies. Will this outrage on principle, honor, and the obligation of oaths, add anything to the strength of an institution for which so much is sacrificed? Would the juxtaposition of the Free States, wronged, insulted, and defied, and put into a state of war by such of the Slave States as revolt against the Government, which all are bound to support, promote the safety of that institution brought into contact with them, and declared to be the cause of mischief? Martial law would doubtless be proclaimed, as recently at Charlestown, to protect it, and, as the late letter of Gov. Wise admonished Gov. Chase, the whole military might of the South would be sent into the Free States to drag to punishment all persons suspected of tampering with slaves, or aiding their elopement. There would be dashing Prince Ruperts, leading gallant cavaliers, and beating up the quarters of the Free-State farmers, from the head waters of the Kansas to the mouth of the Potomac; but they would find there "Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood," and regiments of Ironsides, until then employing their hardihood in wielding the ax, or in cutting the furrow with the share. Along the shores of the Atlantic and the Gulf, guards would be obliged to hold their stations—for every keel that approached, except the pirates, would be justly looked to as hostile to the slave-trade, the extension of Slavery, and the continuance of the originating cause of quarrel. Mexico, and Central America, and the West Indies, would invoke the protection of England and France against the fillibusters let loose by the war for slave propagandism. History does not furnish the instance of a dissolution of such a grand fabric of Government as ours without a war, or by a little war. If the South draws the sword to spread Slavery over lands now free, it begins a war to conquer for principles to which the civilized world beyond its limits is opposed; a blow struck at our Government in such a cause, will be followed by armaments on all sides, and indeed we see something like preparation for it on one side, stalking before our eyes already. But there will be no war—the slaveholders themselves, however willing to indulge the ambition of their champions in figuring as Dictators to the Federal Government by means of a combined South, cemented by the capital involved in their institution, are not inclined to stake it all on a war against free institutions, nor to tax it with the charge of standing armies to preserve it against that power of the Confederacy which now renders it safe under the shield of the Constitution they are called on to destroy. Besides, their own importance, now paramount in the South, would be swallowed up by their own military commanders brought on the scene by such a contest, and their case would soon verify the fable of King Log and King Stork. Bolivar's career, signalized by a triumph over the Spanish power, and that of the slaveholders, in his war for freedom, is an example that will not be soon forgotten by the men of capital of the South. Mr. Randolph, in a speech warning Virginia of the peculiar danger of a civil war, pointed to Bolivar's successes. It is clear in that the issue made by the Disunionists to effect a separation, both sections would have to maintain formidable armaments in war and peace, like England and France, and that there would be no disarmament but by reunion and the removal of the cause of strife. The owners of the wealth of South Carolina saw this in the panic Mr. Calhoun contrived to lead to separation on the pretense of the Tariff. His almost absolute influence over his State was then aided by the vehement eloquence of McDuffie, the charm of Preston's oratory, and the busy ardor of Gen. Hamilton constantly on parade at home, and appealing to the love of military glory among the Southern leaders. The grand army was brought to a rendezvous under these impulses; the blast of Gen. Jackson's proclamation scattered the military plumage and flags as when a storm bursts upon a militia muster. The present panic, like that gotten up by the Bank, in which Calhoun and McDuffie again played high parts, is meant to carry a Presidential election. The scenes now enacted in Congress, in the State Legislatures South and Union meetings North, are dramatic performances for the benefit of dough-faced spoilsmen, whose love and terror for the Union keep even pace with the dissatisfaction and fury of their allies against it. There is more vociferation and less sense and poorer actors to sustain the present panic. The slaveowners know nothing so well as that their property is safe only under the shield of the Constitution. The slave-extension politicians can do nothing in that way in or out of the Union by force. The little experiment made in Kansas, with preparations all in advance in Missouri to carry everything by surprise, and seconded by the South, and all that the truckling Federal Government could do to assist, has brought disgrace on the leaders engaged in it and their cause. The latter-day Democracy, whose character is sketched in the event I have reviewed, will close its history with the catastrophe of the slave panic.

The Republican party will restore that noble Commonwealth which had its germ in the Declaration of Independence, rose to a confederacy in the midst of the Revolution, and became a nation under the Constitution. In all its written instruments shaping the National Government, Slavery was abjured. The principle was denounced in the first, the imperishable Declaration—under the second, the ordinance, Slavery was excluded from all the national territory, and the Constitution, while recognizing its *de facto* existence in some States, so far as the nation was concerned, would allow it only to operate as making the condition of "persons held to service," not property held absolutely—persons under all laws, human and divine, have rights—a man who holds the right to the service of another has no right to destroy him; he may destroy his property. The Constitution, by rejecting the term slave and substituting a phrase implying a different and qualified relation, meant to exclude the idea that Slavery was a national institution, and bondage, in every form, was excluded from the national domain by affirming the ordinance in the first Congress, under the authority of the Constitution. Under this view of the supreme and fundamental laws of the Republic, the Republican party deny the right, in any and all the departments of Government, to extend Slavery over the nation's territories. This is the foundation on which the fathers of the Republic stood, and on which the Republican party now stand. If the troubles of this country are to have a peaceful conclusion, it must come with the close of the reign of the aggressive party, laboring to destroy the principles of the Revolution, breaking through the boundaries assigned to Slavery, renewing, in defiance of law and the opinion of the world, the accursed slave-trade, branded as piracy under the Constitution, the laws, and treaties of the Government, and provoking war, to conquer neighboring States, to subject them to the slave system. The first step toward deliverance is the defeat of the Democratic nominee for the Presidency, whoever he may be, anointed at Charleston as the high priest of Nullification. A wise, firm, moderate, true-hearted man—a Republican of the self devoting courage of Andrew Jackson, incorruptible and uncorrupting—would, as the Chief of the Government, bring back the better days of the Republic. He would give security to the disturbed section of the country, acquire the confidence of all, and restore that good feeling among the people sighed for by all good men. He would, at the threshold, take measures to make every slaveholder safe in his rights under the Constitution—secure as possible from the abduction of his slaves, and in their restoration if carried away—secure in the most earnest vigilance to prevent insurrection or to suppress it if made. He would exert his influence to open a way for the removal, with the assent of all interested of the freed men of the African race, which, whether, in the North or South, are made instruments of mischief, especially among the whole laboring class of the South, and of offense to the free labor of the North. He would negotiate for territory in the American tropics, where it is essential that our Republic should have a position, and seek to make the acquisition valuable to our commerce, and conducive to the security of a route across the Isthmus to our Pacific States, and, through means the of freed men of the African race, born among us, capable, by peculiar constitution, of sustaining the climate, endeavor to establish there a power under our flag—a power that would be able to assert our just share of influence among the European establishments already planted there. He would endeavor to lay open portions of the most fruitful provinces, and those rich in minerals, to such of our slaveholders as might deem it their own or the interest of their States to remove their laborers upon composition with them to a new and more congenial clime, where their labors, assisted by the money and skill of the owner, would yield tenfold profits, and enable them in a few years to repay all outlay, and the price of manumission, and leave them free and in the possession of freeholds. Such a process of probation, leading to liberation, would give a new existence to the slave, making him at once a freeman and freeholder. What a change would come over Virginia—her slaves gradually receding to create tropical wealth, her own hardy and intelligent sons seizing the plough and the ax, free immigration and capital pouring in to fill with voluntary self gratifying labor, the void left by begrudging, extorted toil.

The main principle of the Republican party is that of giving Free Labor a root in the soil. It is a creed of the Republican party that a part of the public lands belong to these poor men, and it is their policy to establish them in homesteads of which they cannot be deprived. Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland will soon provide homes for their own citizens whom they may wish to retain in their bosoms, by removing the slaves, who deprive them of employment.

Mr. Blair depicted in glowing colors the future prosperity of these States, and answered the statement that emancipation had failed in Virginia by quotations from English Blue-Books and speeches in Parliament.

The active policy of the Republicans in regard to Slavery consists entirely of laws to enlarge the powers of the slaveholders, and the slave States, to enable them to enfranchise and rid themselves of the human beings whose fate is in their hands—now the slave owner may wish to relieve himself and his State of the incubus of such dependants. He has not the power, the State laws forbid it, unless he provides a home elsewhere—there is no attainable spot on which he can place them. It is the wish of the slave States to remove the freed negroes—the same difficulty renders it impossible, unless they are made slaves again, or driven out wrongfully upon repugnant neighbors, or to perish. The Republicans propose to bring the means of the Union to deliver owners of slaves from this embarrassment, and to give them and their States the option of Slavery or no Slavery individually or collectively.

There is a great body of people in the South who think that the Democratic party has been unfortunate in its policy, and in the election of Presidents of late years, and who deem it a very extreme measure on the part of the minority to destroy the Constitution itself because it has provided that the majority of the people may exert the power of choosing another man and other measures, if they think the public good requires it.

Taking this view, an opposition party has sprung up in the South, resolved to oppose the indicated scheme of Southern ultra politicians. This Opposition party has issued its exposé, after consulting together in Conventions held in Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee, under the auspices of one of Kentucky's first-born sons—her oldest and ablest statesman and orator, who has added honor to the highest dignities of his native State and of the nation, save one, which, if estimated by the worth of its late incumbents, is far beneath him.

The address to which I refer in its opening states that Mr. Clay, in the last speech he ever made, and which he was invited to deliver to the Kentucky Legislature, left as a legacy to his friends the formation of a Union party, in which all parties should merge their differences to support the Constitution in the very point on which the Disunionists now propose to assail it—the election of a Chief Magistrate in opposition to their schemes. The author shows that there existed a conspiracy among the chiefs of the Southern Democracy to prevent the inauguration of a President, if one had been chosen at the last election in opposition to them.

The paper, after arguing with eloquence what it denounces as "the treason of this conspiracy," and showing the attitude of parties, proclaims that "the "Republican party is not even suspected of any tendency to Disunion, and there is not a single Disunionist in the ranks of the Opposition party." Since this document was published to the world in the early part of last Summer, the evidence of the existence of this conspiracy has multiplied on every hand. It has been openly avowed by leading Democrats from the South, in both Houses of Congress, and the avowal followed by the loudest applause from the members of that party, and no single Democrat from the North or South has risen to rebuke the sentiment; and yet this is the party which calls itself the "National Democracy." National, because if the will of the nation is pronounced against it, it will destroy the nation. And the Republican party, which "is not even suspected of any tendency to Disunion," is, upon the same authority, pronounced a "sectional party," because its leading men in both Houses of Congress have proclaimed their devotion to the Union, and their determination to maintain it amid the applause of every Republican member on the floor.

The truth is, the Republican party is, in its truest and noblest sense, the party of the Union, because its principles are those which brought the Union into existence, and vivified that Constitution which is the bond of the Union. The so-called National Democracy is an organized conspiracy against the Union; a party which threatens to bisect, to cut in two the Government and country, unless a minority is allowed to control the majority, if the term has any significance at all, is a sectional party. To put the Government into their hands again, in the hope to preserve it, is to put the wolf to guard the fold—it is to put the power of the Union into the hands of its enemies, to be used for its destruction.

The Abolition party of the North is also an avowed Disunion party, and one which, although feeble in number, has done incalculable injury, by furnishing pretexts to their Disunion colaborers in the South with which to poison and inflame the public mind, and mislead the ignorant and thoughtless into the meshes of the designing conspirators. Nor is the desire for Disunion the only common ground of these two hostile organizations, for it is plain that Disunion is the nearest road to Abolition, and every Disunionist is an Abolitionist in fact.

The Opposition party of the South is a great and patriotic body of men who have approved their loyalty and devotion to the Union under the most trying and difficult circumstances. The popular frenzy and the power of successive Administrations have borne them to the ground, but they have arisen and renewed the struggle, fighting not for office, not for place, but for the Constitution and the preservation of the Union. This is now the paramount issue and the sentiment which animates the Opposition party of the South, is the very soul of the Republican party. It will give the right hand of fellowship to every man of any party who, in view of such a contest, will accept it, and in the face of the civilized world, in the spirit, and in the very language of our Fathers who founded the Union, we will renew the pledge of "our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor," to the preservation of their noblest work and our priceless inheritance.

Mr. Blair was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic and continued applause.

FROM IOWA.

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

DES MOINES, Jan. 19, 1860.

The Republican State Convention, called for the purpose of choosing delegates to represent Iowa at the Chicago Convention, met in this city yesterday, and, instead of choosing eight delegates, chose thirty-three—eleven at large, and two from each Judicial district.

The delegates at large are:

W. Penn Clarke, Johnson.	M. L. McPherson, Madison.
L. C. Noble, Fayette.	C. F. Clarkson, Grundy.
John A. Kasson, Polk.	N. J. Rusch, Scott.
Henry O'Connor, Muscatine.	H. P. Scholte, Marion.
J. F. Wilson, Jefferson.	John Johns, Webster.
J. W. Rankin, Lee.	

The following is a list of the delegates from districts:

Alvin Saunders, Henry.	J. B. Grinnell, Poweshiek.
J. C. Walker, Lee.	Wm. A. Warren, Jackson.
H. Clay Caldwell, Van Buren.	John V. Thompson, Scott.
M. Baker, Wappello.	John Shane, Benton.
Benjamin Rector, Fremont.	Wm. Smith, Linn.
George A. Hawley, Decatur.	Wm. B. Allison.
A. W. Hubbard, Woodbury.	A. F. Brown, Blackhawk.
J. E. Blackford, Kossuth.	Reuben Noble, Clayton.
Thos. Seeley, Guthrie.	E. G. Bowdoin, Floyd.
C. C. Nourse, Polk.	W. P. Hepburn, Marshall.
Wm. M. Stone, Marion.	J. F. Brown, Hardin.

There was a good deal of "noise and confusion" in the Convention, but no real trouble. In my opinion, a majority of the delegates are in favor of Mr. Cameron for the Presidency. But Iowa is good for the nominee of the Chicago Convention by 10,000 majority, whoever may be chosen from the prominent men now talked of as candidates.

MARION.

THE PRESIDENCY.

ORGANIZATION NEEDED IN OHIO.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

PAINESVILLE, Ohio, Jan. 23, 1860.

A correspondent in your paper lately mapped out the battle-ground for the approaching Presidential contest, in which Southern Illinois, Southern Indiana, and perhaps Southern Ohio, are mentioned as portions of the field where there must be a warm and active canvass.

Now we know that, so far as Ohio is concerned, the southern part, where the parties are nearly equal, will do her whole duty, so far as regards the Republican sentiment of that section. But it is this western reserve and Northern Ohio, where political opinions are all on one side, that demand and must have the most thorough organization. A competent man who shall give his entire time from the present day onward, until after the polls are closed, with a fund of not more than $1,000 for traveling and other expenses, can effect an organization that shall add 10,000 ballots to the Republican vote that will be polled in Ohio if no such systematic efforts for organization shall be made.

We do not doubt that a similar thorough organization in the strong Republican districts of Northern Indiana and Illinois will also make a sure thing of those States for the Republican candidate. We, therefore, object to any mapping of the battle-ground which undertakes to divide States, when every vote is of equal importance, whether cast in the northern or southern section.

ORGANIZATION.

FROM VENEZUELA.—Capt. Jensen of the brig Conquest, from Angostura, arrived on Wednesday morning, with Venezuela dates to the 24th December. The revolution was still going on, without any decisive results. The navigation of the river was somewhat impeded, thereby preventing the forwarding of merchandise for vessels in want of cargo. The British gun-boat Skipjack was in Angostura, from Trinidad, and would remain some time in port.

UNROMANTIC "POOR YOUNG MAN."—George Davis, a young man afflicted with an abundance of hunger and an extreme scarcity of clothing, whose numerous shekels were *non est*, attempted to put an end to his unsought existence by cutting his throat in an outbuilding attached to the tenement-house No. 1 Bayard street. He succeeded in inflicting two or three ineffectual gashes in his wizzard, when he was discovered by the occupants of the house, who immediately called the assistance of Dr. Gray.