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BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

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Removal! Removal! Removal! ROBINSON & CO.—NO. 23, FIFTH STREET. HAVING Removed our Store to No. 23, Fifth street, (next door to A. A. Mason & Co.) we are now prepared to exhibit one of the largest Stocks of Imported and American Carpetings, and Oil Cloths in this market. In our assortment can be found Royal Velvet Carpets, Royal Wilton Carpets, Extra Brussels Carpets, Tapestry Brussels Carpetings, Imperial and Superior 3 Ply Carpetings, Patent Tapestry Ingrain Carpetings, Superior and Fine Ingrain Carpetings, Twilled and Plain Venitians, together with Scotch Plaids, Druggetings, and low priced Carpetings of all descriptions; also, Rugs, Mats, English Sheep Skins, Stair Rods, Bindings, Piano and Table Covers, Window Shades, Buff Hollands, Green Oil Cloths, &c. &c. Also, a large stock of Floor Oil Cloths, from 2 to 24 feet wide of all prices, all of which will be sold at the lowest [illegible].

PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.

SATURDAY MORNING, FEB. 23, 1856.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION!

[REPORTED FOR THE PITTSBURGH GAZETTE.]

Preliminary Meeting of the Pennsylvania Delegates.

At half past nine o'clock, yesterday morning, the Pennsylvania Delegates met at Lafayette Hall, Wood street, between Third and Fourth.

J. W. MOREHEAD, of Indiana county, moved that the meeting do organize by calling the Hon. GEORGE DARSIE, of Allegheny county, to the chair. Adopted.

Mr. DARSIE took the chair.

Geo. Raymond, of Blair county, and Wm. F. Clark, of Mercer county, were appointed Secretaries.

Gen. Markle, of Westmoreland county, was appointed Vice President.

Mr. Darsie stated that the object of the present preliminary meeting was to effect an organization of the Pennsylvania delegation, to make out a complete list of the individuals about to represent Pennsylvania in the coming National Convention; and also to effect such other arrangements as will facilitate the action of the national body.

Mr. Morehead, of Indiana county, moved that the names of the counties be called over, and that the delegates answer to their names as the counties in which they reside are called.—Adopted.

A gentleman asked if only delegates regularly appointed were to be entitled to seats in the Convention.

The Chair stated that the meeting was a mass convention, not a delegated body, and was therefore open to all who wished to become members.

After the counties had been called and some thirty or forty names received,

Hon. JOHN ALLISON, of Beaver county, remarked that as a short time was allowed them before the meeting of the National Convention, he would make a motion. In organizing the National body, it would be necessary to name certain persons from this State to act on certain committees, viz: the National Executive Committee, the Committee on Permanent Organization, and a gentleman to act with gentlemen from other States in drawing up resolutions.—He urged the importance of having the right men to represent us. We are about to initiate a great national party, and we can scarcely estimate the importance of our actions to-day.—Let us have prudent, careful men, fully aware of the responsibility that will devolve upon them.—He moved that this meeting appoint such committees.

Mr. Hutchingson, of Philadelphia, moved that the chair appoint the gentlemen to act in the capacity indicated by Mr. Allison.

Mr. Darsie—The chair would decline to take such a responsible duty upon itself.

Mr. Errett, of Allegheny, moved S. P. McCalmont, of Venango, be appointed to represent Pennsylvania on the Committee of Permanent Organization.

A gentleman stated that Mr. McCalmont had declined to give his name as a member of the meeting.

Mr. Errett withdrew the name of Mr. McCalmont.

Mr. Hutchingson, of Philadelphia, moved that a committee of five be appointed to present to this meeting the names required. Adopted.

The chair appointed the following gentlemen as such committee.

O. K. A. Hutchingson, Phila.; R. B. McCabe, Indiana; Dr. James Carothers, Allegheny; E. O. Godrich, Bradford; M. Weyand, Beaver.

Mr. Errett called the attention of the meeting to the call issued recently at Harrisburg calling a convention on the 10th of March, of Republicans, Americans, and all opposed to the administration, &c. He desired to know what part the Republicans would take in that proposed convention.

Mr. McCalmont, of Venango, addressed the meeting at some length on this topic. As a member of the legislature, and a signer of that call, he felt called upon to make some explanation.—We have in Pennsylvania four parties; the nigger Democracy, the nigger Americans, the American Republicans, and the Republican [illegible]

He had talked over this matter with men of both of the latter parties at Harrisburg, and they all agreed that no one party could defeat the nigger Democracy. They felt the necessity of union, and evincing that desire they had signed the call referred to. He believed that we could carry the State. We do not want the Hunsecker faction with its 5,000 votes. We can do without it. The gentleman urged this meeting to accept the proposition contained in the call.

Mr. Moorhead said he was anxious for union. He rejoiced at the call, and hoped there would be an unanimity of action in the next State canvass, and he hoped this meeting would call a State Convention to meet at Harrisburg on the 20th of March.

Mr. White moved that the Chairman appoint a State Committee of seven to take such action in behalf of the Republican Party of Pennsylvania as shall be necessary in the premises.

A gentleman suggested that "we have already a State Executive Committee."

Mr. Errett—Yes, and H. M. Fuller is a member of it, too!

The gentlemen replied that David Wilmot was the Chairman.

Mr. White said he had no objection to Mr. Wilmot as chairman.

A voice—We ought not to treat that committee with consideration, as they treated us very shabbily last fall!

Mr. Clark moved to postpone this matter at present.

Mr. Errett opposed this. He was in favor of treating the present State Committee as cavalierly as possible. Of the twenty-seven persons composing it only six were Republicans. He protested again Henry M. Fuller as a member of that committee. It was a disgrace to the Republican party to recognize a committee containing twenty-one enemies to six friends.

The motion to postpone was carried.

Mr. Moorhead moved that Mr. Wilmot be requested to call a State Republican Convention on the 26th of March, at Harrisburgh.

Mr. Allison supported the calling of the Convention, but was opposed to having it called for the same day with that of the anti-administration Convention.

Mr. Moorhead then modified his motion so as to request Mr. Wilmot to call a State Republican Convention at any time he thought best.

Finally the consideration of the matter was postponed.

The committee appointed to select one gentleman to serve on the Committees of Permanent Organization, on Resolutions, and on the National Committee, begged leave to report as follows:

Permanent organization of the Convention—GEN. RANDALL, of Montgomery.

On Resolution—HON JOHN ALLISON, of Beaver.

On the National Executive Committee—HON DAVID WILMOT, of Bradford.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at the call of the Chairman.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

By eleven o'clock the Hall was pretty well filled. The delegates present were as respectable a body of men as we have ever seen convened.

The hour of eleven having arrived,

Hon. LAWRENCE BRAINARD, of Vermont, took the stand and spoke as follows:

Being one of those to sign their names to the call for this Convention, I have been requested to call the assemblage to order. Before proceeding further I will read the call referred to. It is as follows:

TO THE REPUBLICANS OF THE UNITED STATES.

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republican party, and at the suggestion of a large portion of the Republican press, the undersigned, Chairman of the State Republican Committees of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin, hereby invite the Republicans of the Union to meet in informal Convention at Pittsburgh, on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of perfecting the National Organization, and providing for a National Delegate Convention of the Republican party, at some subsequent day, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, to be supported at the election in November, 1856.

A. P. STONE, of Ohio.
J. Z. GOODRICH, of Mass.
DAVID WILMOT, of Pa.
LAWRENCE BRAINARD, of Vt.
WILLIAM A. WHITE, of Wis.

Under this call we now meet, and it is suggested that I nominate a temporary Chairman. I would therefore name John A. King, of New York. (Applause.)

Mr. King, on assuming the Chair, remarked as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention, my first duty is to acknowledge and thank you for the honor conferred upon me. My next duty is to say, briefly, that this is a preliminary meeting, simply for organization, in order to make a Convention which shall put forth the principles of the Republican Party. Those principles, gentlemen, as I understand them, are those by which our Independence was achieved, on which our Constitution is established; and, if we do our part with justice, moderation and wisdom, the country and the Union will be perpetuated. I have nothing further to say—that embraces my whole creed. (Applause.)

Gov. Bingham, of Michigan, moved that Dr. Stone, of Massachusetts, and W. Penn Clark of Iowa, act as temporary Secretaries. Carried.

The Committee of Arrangements, through the Chair, requested the assemblage to occupy the seats which had been prepared. The confusion consequent upon the delegates getting their seats having subsided,

The Chair announced that the Rev. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois, would address the Throne of Grace.

Mr. Lovejoy delivered an eloquent prayer.

A prominent feature was a petition to Almighty God that the present administration might be removed from power, and its unholy designs upon the liberties of the Free be thwarted.

It was moved that seven Vice Presidents be appointed. Lost.

A delegate moved that a committee of one from each State here represented be appointed to prepare a list of officers for a permanent organization. Carried.

The following gentlemen were appointed said Committee:

Maine	George M. Weston.
New Hampshire	J. C. Beman.
Vermont	Lawrence Brainard.
Massachusetts	Charles C. Davis.
Connecticut	Josiah Brewer.
Rhode Island	Edward Harris.
New York	S. Draper.
New Jersey	D. Ripley.
Delaware	O. U. Johnson.
Maryland	F. P. Blair.
Virginia	Joseph Farley.
Pennsylvania	Geo. Randall.
South Carolina	F. O. Willington.
Missouri	J. Redpath.
Tennessee	H. Jarvis.
Kentucky	W. S. Bailey.
California	D. N. Spratt.
Iowa	A. J. Stevens.
Ohio	L. G. Van Dyk.
Indiana	Wm. Gross.
Illinois	John H. Bryan.
Michigan	F. C. Beman.
Kansas	S. N. Wood.
Nebraska	B. P. Rankin.
Wisconsin	Charles Durkee.
Minnesota	T. M. Newsom.
District of Columbia	Lewis Clephane.

When the names of the committee were read, almost every name, particularly those from the Southern States, the Territories and California, was greeted with loud applause.

Judge Spalding, of Ohio, announced that he had just received a despatch from the chairman of the Republican Committee of Ohio, [illegible] at Altoona, stating that delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, were delayed there, but would be on this evening. (Applause.)

Mr. Sackett, of New York, moved that the Convention adjourn till two o'clock.

Mr. Dayton, of New York, requested the gentleman to withdraw his motion to allow him to introduce a motion.

Mr. Sackett withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dayton moved that a committee be appointed to ascertain who are members of the Convention and prepare a list of their names. Also to make proper arrangements to seat the delegates in the Hall. Carried.

After considerable discussion on a point of order, the Chair appointed the following gentlemen as the committee contemplated in the motion just carried:

J. Dayton, of New York;
John A. Foote, Ohio;
L. L. Lord, Penn'a.

Hon. John Allison moved that instead of adjourning, the Convention invite the Hon. R. P. Spalding, of Ohio, to address them.

Judge Spalding declined to speak. He came there to hear only.

Loud cries were now made for "Horace Greeley!"

The white-coat and broad, bald forehead of the *Tribune* editor, was seen moving towards the Speaker's stand, and, as he mounted it, he was greeted by a perfect whirlwind of applause.

The excitement having calmed down, Mr. Greeley said, he was glad of the opportunity afforded him, when business was not pressing, to make a few suggestions, which he wished to be understood not as coming from himself, but as such from our true friends at Washington, where he had been of late sojourning. [illegible] but merely as friendly suggestions.

First, said Mr. Greeley, extreme caution is required in our movements. I am not myself a very cautious man (laughter.) Our friends at Washington think we are bound to act so as not to seem actuated by ill-will towards that part of the Union which does not sympathise with us.

Mr. Greeley was here interrupted by the Chair, who requested such members of the Organization Committee as had not yet entered the ante-room to do so now. The Secretaries read the names of the Committee again.

Mr. Greely proceeded to say that not only our acts but our words should indicate an absence of ill-mind towards the South. We should not only be, but seem to be, acting for the interest of the whole country. He stated that in the South were many friends of this cause who ought not to be irritated by our imprudence or harshness. Col. Benton is openly acting and sympathising with us. (Applause.)

A second suggestion presents itself, said Mr. Greely. This American question cuts across us and embarrasses us seriously. We must treat that question with prudence and forbearance. There are hundred of whole-hearted Republicans in the American ranks. But the American, as a *National* organization, is not friendly to us. Who believes that the Convention at Philadelphia will come out unequivocally for free territory or place free state men in nomination.

In any event, the National American organization is hostile to us. I never have been attached to that party, and have opposed its doctrines from the beginning, but I would counsel forbearance and the adoption of such a course as honest free soil Americans will approve—such as will induce them to act with us. If a man be a good anti-slavery man, I will not inquire into his native notions. He cited an old maxim—"treat your enemies so that they will become your friends, and your friends so that they will remain friends." (Applause.)

Mr. Greeley advanced a third suggestion.—There is much anxiety with our friends at Washington that this Convention shall not appoint a time or place for nominating for the Presidency, but that it shall simply agree to hold a Convention and appoint a strong national committee to whom, in conjunction with those at Washington, shall be left the power to choose time and place.

As to Kansas, said Mr. Greeley, there are different views as to its probable fate as a free State. My apprehensions are dark. I know that Jefferson Davis, an implacable hater of the free State party, is at the head of the War Department. I know that Gen. Harney, by no means our friend, commands troops upon the frontiers. I hope that some counsel will go forth from us to our friends in Kansas as to the course they should pursue. I know that if they be slaughtered—and that event may happen—that the North will rise up to avenge them. But I do not wish such a terrible crisis. Let us give them such counsel as will keep them within the bounds of the laws. The administration, I am aware, says they must obey the laws of the bogus Kansas legislature or be wiped from the face of the earth. Men said when the Kansas Bill passed, that the people should be left to their own election in regard to Slavery; but what are the facts?

A legislature composed of Missourians, in great part, had made it a felony to oppose slavery, and had set up the endorsement of the Kansas Nebraska iniquity as a test to the exercise of the elective franchise. This is the position in which our Kansas friends are placed.—Unless those laws are abrogated our brothers will fall. The President calls upon them to support those laws, and is ready to enforce them with the two regiments raised last year at an expense of $2,000,000. If the people of Kansas come together to make their own laws, they are treated as rebels. I wish that some of our wisest men could be sent out in this extremity, to counsel with Gen. Robinson and the territorial authorities to maintain their rights, and yet not throw themselves into the jaws of rebellion and death. (Applause.)

He hoped the Convention would not adjourn in a hurry. Some of the delegates had come a thousand miles. Let us deliberate without haste. The future welfare of this Union depends on the action of this body. Mr. Greely was loudly applauded.

"Preston King!" "Preston King!" resounded from every part of the Hall.

Mr. King arose and desired to be excused.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings was next called upon. The stalwart Congressman arose and was loudly greeted.

Mr. Giddings congratulated the Convention in having so noble a man for Chairman. He saw before him the son of Rufus King! (Applause.)

Referring to the remarks of Mr. Greely, Mr. Giddings said: My friend has brought advice to you from Washington city. Gentlemen, I tell you that is the last place on earth for you to look for advice! (Laughter and applause.) It is for you to dictate and me in Washington to follow. I say to you do as your judgement dictates not as others say. The supreme power rests in you. But an anecdote apropos of this.

There was a great work progressing once at a place in the West. The hearts of the people were stirred. An old deacon had two sons, Joseph and John. Joseph was one of your timid sort and he prayed—"O! Lord, thou hast commenced a good work; do it quickly; let it move along calmly, &c." But John's whole heart was in it, and he prayed with an unction. Said he: "O! Lord, thou hast begun a good work here; and we pray that thou wilt carry it on in thine own way, and dont mind what Joseph says about it! This happy hit was received with a storm of laughter, which lasted several minutes.

Mr. Giddings concluded by introducing the Rev. Owen Lovejoy, of Illinois. "He is not Joseph," said Giddings, "he is John." (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Lovejoy's remarks were of a very excitable character. He took the strongest ground in regard to the Kansas difficulties. He was not particularly noted for pluck, but he was ready to become captain of a company to aid his Free State brethren, and if he couldn't get a captaincy, he would go as a private! (Loud applause). He thought this no time for moderate counsels. We are in the midst of a revolution. We must fight, and if the present administration permitted the free men of Kansas to be butchered by his troops or by Southern ruffians, he was for war—war to the knife, and knife to the hilt! (Excitement and applause.)

Mr. Gibson, of Ohio, made a telling speech.

Mr. Carling, of Illinois, next addressed the Convention at some length.

Simeon Draper, of New York, from the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported the nomination of Hon. FRANCIS P. BLAIR, of Maryland, as President.

This nomination was received with such applause and enthusiasm as we have never before seen in a deliberative body. On motion the nomination was unanimously accepted.

The Chair appointed Preston King, of New York, and Jacob Brinkerhoff of Ohio, as a committee to conduct Mr. Blair to to the chair.

On ascending the platform Mr. Blair was received with three loud cheers.

On taking the Chair, Mr. Blair said, that he was no orator, and that it was a remarkable fact that this was the first speech he was ever called upon to make. He felt very much affected by their kindness in calling him to the chair, not as he was sure from any personal consideration to himself, but rather from respect to his constituency, and to the associations it had been his good fortune to form with the illustrious men, Jackson and Van Buren who had done so much for their country. He had been connected with men whom the north and south both delighted to honor.

The people of the south had been made to believe that the object of the Republican party was solely the abolition of slavery; but when they understood its real design—to prevent the nullification of the rights of the north—we will find a different feeling in the south, and a response from that section that will astonish the north itself. In accounting for his presence at the convention, he said that he had received a call to represent the Baltimore Republican Association—composed of men of character and extensive wealth. They desired him to come here and lay before the meeting a paper, which was to be considered by the convention as a southern platform, and which he intended to have presented as a member on the floor. [Cries of "read it;" "read it." "no! no! wait until the organization is complete," &c.] He again thanked the meeting for their kindness in placing him in the chair, and took his seat.

Mr. Draper then announced the following nominations of Vice Presidents and Secretaries, which were accepted:

VICE PRESIDENTS.

New Hampshire	Horatio G. Russ.
Vermont	Hon. L. Brainard.
Massachusetts	Hon. Geo. Bliss.
Connecticut	James M. Bance.
Rhode Island	R. G. Hazzard.
New York	E. D. Morgan.
New Jersey	W. P. Sherman.
Virginia	Joseph Farley.
Pennsylvania	Gen. Joseph Markle.
Kentucky	W. S. Bailey.
Iowa	W. Penn Clarke.
Ohio	Hon. R. W. Spaulding.
Indiana	Hon. Geo. W. Julian.
Illinois	John H. McMillan,
Michigan	Gov. R. T. Bingham.
Wisconsin	David Jones
Minnesota	T. M. Newson.
District of Columbia	Lewis Clephane.

SECRETARIES.

Pennsylvania	Russell Errett.
Ohio	R. D. Tilden.
New York	Isaac Dayton.
Illinois	J. C. Vaughn.
Massachusetts	J. W. Stone.

Mr. Kimball, of Ohio, moved that a committee of three from each State, (to be designated by each State delegation,) be appointed to report a plan for the organization of the Republican party.

An amendment was made that the committee consist of one from each State.

Another amendment was made to lay the matter on the table till two o'clock, in order to allow the delegates who had not arrived an opportunity to assist in the arrangement of the committee. The amendment was carried.

Mr. Mann, of New York, moved that there be appointed one from each State to draft an address and resolutions for the consideration of the convention.

Mr. Elliott, of Ohio, moved to lay it on the table for the same reason that the motion of Mr. Kimball was tabled.

Mr. Mann said the committee required all the time that could be given them to prepare such an important document, and hoped that the gentleman from Ohio would withdraw his motion.

Mr. Elliott then withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dennison, of Ohio, then renewed the motion to lay Mr. Mann's motion on the table for the present. The motion was lost.

Mr. Frey, of Ohio, then offered an amendment that instead of one from each State, three be appointed.

Mr. Allison, of Penna., was opposed to large committees, as they performed their work too slowly.

Mr. Frey's motion was voted down.

A voice then moved that two be appointed from each State, instead of one. Lost.

Mr. Mann's motion was then put and it prevailed.

Mr. Mann then moved that the paper referred to by the Chairman on taking his seat, should be read. Withdrawn.

A motion to adjourn was lost.

A motion that each delegation name its representative member on the committee was carried.

The following gentlemen compose the committee:

New York—ABIJAH MANN, Jr., Chairman.

Maine	Geo. M. Weston.
New Hampshire	Francis C. Johnson.
Vermont	L. Brainerd.
Massachusetts	E. R. Hoar.
Connecticut	Gov. Cleveland.
Rhode Island	R. G. Hazzard.
New Jersey	F. Deveraux.
Pennsylvania	John Allison.
Delaware	W. H. Dennison.
Indiana	F. P. Blair.
Virginia	James S. Farley.
Minnesota	J. N. Newson.
District of Columbia	L. Clephane.
Nebraska	B. G. Rankin.
Missouri	James Redpath.
Kentucky	W. S. Bailey.
California	D. M. Spratt.
Iowa	C. G. Hawthorne.
Ohio	

(There being a difference in the Ohio delegation as to who should represent them on the committee, the matter was referred back to the delegation, who remained after the adjournment to settle the difficulty. A part of the delegation desired Giddings, and a part, James Dennison, Jr., of Columbus.)

Indiana	Oliver P. Morton.
Illinois	John C. Vaughan.
Michigan	Jacob M. Howard.
Wisconsin	Israel S. Lovett.
Kansas	S. N. Wood.

Mr. Mann renewed his motion for the reading of the paper of Francis P. Blair. Carried.

THE PAPER OF MR. BLAIR.

There is a great body of thinking men in the Southern States—many I know in Maryland, a considerable number, my neighbors in Montgomery county, who deplore the repeal of the Compromises in relation to Slavery, which all hoped had terminated the distractions, growing out of this disturbing subject forever. It is true, these people have not hitherto manifested by public demonstrations their solicitude. The violation of good faith in the breach of these compacts of peace between the sections, and the fatal consequences likely to follow, were not at first obvious to the mass of the Southern people, because by the art of the politicians who conducted the passage of this measure through secret caucus, where all the personal interests of the leaders in Congress and their partizans making up the majority in both Houses necessary to effect it, were previously arranged—the repeal was made to appear, as the voluntary tender of the North to the South. There had been no consultation by the members of Congress, in any quarter with their constituents, either by issues made before the people, during the canvass or afterwards, or by address, petition, and votes in public meetings or by resolutions. Among us, extraordinary changes, affecting large interests, and reaching the feelings, the prejudices, the religious and political principles of men, as well as the political power of the States had hitherto always been preceded or attended by every mode of forming and eliciting the public opinion, which is the vital movement in a Republican Government. But in the late overthrow of all the adjustments of the most anxious question which Congress has had to deal with, from its first to the present session, not a whisper of the design was permitted to reach the public ear until its success was sealed by the private arrangements of the politicians in Congress, in conjunction with the President. The measure when publicly presented was at first veiled in the Committee's Report, as being but a reference to the Supreme Court of a question involving the constitutionality of the compromises—then as a conclusion that the compromise of 1820 was superceded by the compromise of 1850, but this interpretation of the Bill, covertly contained the repeal of the compromise of 1820—that of 1850—and also the compact with Texas; by which all the Territory reserved by each of them as free from Slavery in the territorial condition, was opened up to its admission.

This Bill of intrigue, passed in conclave, by the aspiring politicians, to subserve personal interests, was well understood by themselves and their partisans to be a bonus for the Southern vote in the election of President, but it was ushered into Congress as the voluntary offering of the North to the South to the principle of equality. It was thus divested in the eyes of the South, of being a breach of faith on their side. It came as a free gift to them from the Chief Magistrate and other leading men, Representatives of their Northern brethren.

They were not aware of the treachery of these Representatives to their constituents, nor did they anticipate the excitement which has ensued from the wrong, aggravated by the betrayal by which it was attended, nor the dangerous consequences likely to follow. Multitudes of honest patriots in the Slaveholding States, who love the Union, would willingly restore the compromises, the work of the great men of their own region. They are sensible of the fatal effects of its dissolution upon the peace and prosperity of the confederacy, and of the inevitable destruction of the security in which they hold the Slave Institution—of the frightful scenes of civil war and Slave insurrection which might arise out of the collisions between the two sections—on the one side wearing the aspect of a war of conquest, for the extension of Slavery,—on the other a war of defence to preserve the rights of the emigrants who have gone from their bosom. But these men of good faith who respect engagements, and above all, the engagements which have produced concord and happy ties between the States of the Union, find their section, already embarked in strife by the combination of politicians, who seek personal advantages by the power it gives them over the masses. Warfare always commits the power and interests of the many, to the few chiefs who manage it; and so the whole South is at this moment in the hands of politicians who have contrived the movement, to strip the North of its interests, as provided for in the several compromises; and the best men of the Slave holding States, who are sensible of the iniquity cannot venture to declare their sentiments, lest they incur the imputation of deserting their own section in a contest in which defeat would be humiliation, and for which the leaders who have produced it, would subject them to the charge of failing to stand by the cause of their peculiar Institutions.

The persons who have sent me to this Convention, are the first of the slave holding region who have come forward to vindicate the cause of our common country against this sectional influence. They are a body of business men of Baltimore who feel, that their city especially and the State of Maryland have a great stake depending on the preservation of the Union and the peace of the country. If the bonds which unite the two portions of the Union, distinguished by free and slave institutions should be severed, the nature of the different interests growing out of the species of property in which it consists on one side, must involve continual conflicts for its recovery, when flying to the other for freedom, and the animosity thus engendered cannot fail to bring on those protracted and bloody wars of ambition and conquest which have characterized nations of contiguous Territory in every age and which have produced the most relentless hostilities between those of kindred blood. The wars between England, Scotland and Ireland—the wars between France and England—of France and the northern nations of the continent—wars which make up the history of Europe, would have their parallel here. Maryland would become the Belgium of this side of the Atlantic—the Potomac the Rhine. The shores of all our great Rivers dividing the hostile States would frown with fortresses and centuries of bloodshed ensue, unless the peculiar cause originating the strife, which make an early end of it, by the intestine war of colors hastening its own extinction.

Those I represent, abhoring the thought of civil war pressed on the mind of every man by the sectional feud, which although now showing its violence only upon a remote frontier, is nevertheless at work in every spirited heart on the continent, have desired me to submit to this Convention, convoked to take the initiative in the nomination of a chief Magistrate to uphold the cause of the Free States in the controversy, a proposition marked by justice and moderation, to restore good feeling, and concord, and certainly there never was a contest where the plain honest idea that directed Jackson's administration was of such easy aplication in settling a difficulty. Let the North *ask nothing but what is clearly right, and submit to nothing that is wrong*, and it cannot fail to bring the quarrel to an honorable termination. The dispute about the Teritories was adjusted so satisfactorily to the whole country that all parties, however, widely differing on other subjects made it a point to give in adhesion to the settlement in every subsequent election—all the candidates for the Presidency before and in the last canvass in obedience to the several nominating conventions, stood upon it as a platform.

The present Chief Magistrate did more. By the very terms of his Inaugural address, closed by a solemn oath, he may be said to have sworn his allegiance to the compromises of the Slave question, declaring they should not be disturbed if he could prevent it during his term of service. He renewed the vow in the message to the first Congress he met; and before its close became the active instrument in abolishing every compromise made on the subject since the foundation of the Government. It was done with the suddenness of the explosion of a mine of powder. The system planned by Jefferson and his compatriots to prevent the extension of Slavery and its dangerous tendency to disruption of the Union—the safeguard superadded under Monroe's administration, Lowndes, Pinckney, Calhoun, Crawford—all the great men of the South aiding; and Clay especially distinguishing himself, after two years of struggle, in its effectuation—the late disposition of the controversy about the Mexican acquisitions accomplished by the same great man; supported by Webster, Cass and by Benton also on the main point—the exclusion of Slavery by the prohition of the Mexican laws, in a word all the real statesmen of the country, compromises on the subject made by, and pronounced by them as binding in honor as the compromises of the constitution, were blown up by the accession of President Pierce and Mr. Douglas, to the scheme of Mr. Atchison and a few Nullifyers who prepared the mine.

Now the simple remedy for this ruin is to rebuild the work overthrown, and nothing is easier, if resolved upon by the North, and persisted in without regard to party names or party cries—or individual designs or predilections. There is not an honest patriot in the North of any party who does not condemn this act of bad faith.—Many, it is true, warped by schemes of selfish ambition and looking to their advancement thro' Southern influence, say the mischief done, cannot be repaired. The compromises cannot be restored because the Senate and the President hold a veto to forbid it. There was immeasurably a stronger veto against the expunging Resolution—the ball which Benton solitary and alone, put in motion. But public opinion triumphed then over the strongest wills and the ablest men of the country. It cannot be withstood by the puppets now on the scene. In the meantime, the strong representation of the North in the House can hold everything in abeyance until the Nation's voice shall pronounce its irresistable decision.

That the South will acquiesce in it, whatever the violent men, who seek a dissolution of the Union to make Charleston the New York of the South, none can doubt. How can it assume the attitude of nullification, and war upon the compromises and compacts of its own seeking—matured by its own greatest Statesmen, under which they have enjoyed peace and safety for two thirds of a century, and the subversion of which makes the tenure, not only of the domestic Institution, but of all they hold dearest in public or private life, depend on the chances of civil war. Whenever this issue comes, the North will find an auxiliary in that same Union party in the South, that sustained Jackson, and my constituents will have the proud pre-eminence of having first given in their adhesion to this, the really patriotic party of their section.

The repeal of the repealing clause of the Nebraska Kansas act, would be the finale of all the existing commotions and of the eager ambition which originated them. *If this single line is inscribed on our Flag we shall conquer under it*—it will be the Union Flag.

The repeal of the Kansas Nebraska clause, overthrowing the rights of the Free State, is, a vital pressing exigency. It is the issue made by the a[illegible] of the administration, and is the only one [illegible] the existing excitement. It should be [illegible] in the [illegible] of Representatives, as a practical mode of redressing the wrong and rebuking the aggressors, and to give notice; that the majority of the people of the Union mean to vindicate their rights and the cause of Free Institutions, in the most direct manner; and also, that Slave holders may have warning in advance, not to hazard the property they value so highly, in a Territory from which by solemn covenant Slavery was interdicted, and which the sovereign power of the country has resolved to reinstate. This warning is necessary to preclude the plea of vested rights; as having effect in favor of such as go into Kansas or other Free territory with Slaves; a plea which was urged successfully in Missouri. It is necessary too to estop owners of slaves from claiming indemnity for slaves, freed by the act of Congress, recognising such Territory on coming into the Union as Free. Even if Kanzas were admitted at the present session of Congress as a Free State, the Repeal ought to be urged to prevent the repetition of the Kanzas outrages, in New Mexico, Utah, and all the Territory of the United States, the Nebraska act having (inviolation of the prohibitory, laws or treaty,) opened them all up to similar invasions. For these reasons, and many more that might be urged, touching the policy of the measure, I hold that every issue should merge in that of *Repeal*.

There is one view more which duty to my Southern constituents prompts me, to present for consideration. In the South, both the old parties, Whig and Democratic, have blended their strength, to secure the conquest of the free territories for the Slave Institution. Mr. Caruthers a staunch Whig of Missouri when asked where were the Whig party, answered that its soul had transmigrated into the Democratic body in the South and while pronouncing the proudest eulogium on Henry Clay whose principles he still held as his political faith, admitted that the measure on which the slave holding section had planted its standard had identified in its support the Whigs and Democrats of the slave holding states, however differing on other questions. The South Americans, although all connection with them, was reprobated by the Democratic Caucus of the House and by the official organ of the Administration at Washington, were constrained to support Mr. Aiken, the Administration candidate for Speaker at the close of the contest. This proves that all political organizations hostile as they are on all subordinate questions upon the sectional policy of extending Slavery to Territory hitherto free, are one and indivisible. The success achieved by the Southern Politicians by inducing all the Northern aspirants for the Presidency to run a race for the favor of the South, in showing who would go farthest and fastest to make surrender of the rights of their constituents to the slave-holding section, leaves no public man in the South any other alternative than to relinquish his position, or insist on that great conquest for the slave-holding interest, to which it was contrived to give the appearance of being a voluntary boon tendered by the North to the South. It is this strategy which renders it impossible at this time for those among the people who favor the compromises, to rally in the South to maintain what they are sensible honor and good faith recognizes as binding, because made by its own statesmen, then in command of the Government, and sanctioned by their own consent. In the South, there can never be a party, to assist in redressing this wrong until the North dispels by its unanimity, the illusion, that its people are willing to acquiesce in it.

The hopes depending on party leaders, controlling everywhere the old organization of the Democratic party in the free States and the influence and patronage of the administration, have done much to stifle the voice of the masses in the free States. If they will in the approaching Presidential election unite all parties, indignant at the violation of the rights of the North, to assert them, as all have united in the South to deny them, the injustice will soon be remedied. When the North is true to itself, there are multitudes in the other section who will perceive the iniquity it has suffered, but who would never see it, if tamely acquiesced in. There are thousands in the South who are sensible of the danger to themselves in the breach of the compacts about Slavery—who estimate truly the consequences of a rupture of good feeling between the sections and who rather than bring matters to the arbitrement, to which they seem to be hastening, would willingly see the broken compacts restored—but if from want of concert of action, the North, however, injured and excited can make no effectual resistance, it may prepare for a repetition of indignities and wrongs to which those who offer them will set no limit when there is no bond to submission. This Republican Convention is a nucleus which it may be hoped will gather around it, the masses of the North who are resolved to redress the wrong perpetrated by the passage of the Kanzas Nebraska Act. "Republican party" was the early designation of that which subsequently took the soubriquet of Democrat at first given in derision. Mr. Jefferson in his first inaugural, calling the parties by names under which they then were arrayed against each other said "we are all Republicans, we are all federalists." He meant, doubtless, that there were certain great principles in which both agreed embraced in their designations, however, much they disagreed about matters of policy and modes of administrating the Government.

The Federalists gave their support to the Republican form of government. The Republicans were devoted to the federal compact both agreed in opposition to royalty, and in opposition to a severance of the federation, and leaving the States to drift as petty nations detached from each other. May not those who have organized with a view to correct what they consider mere error in the legislation and administration of Gov't. under whatever party name or watchword they rally, unite with those who do not agree with them about the measures or mode of reform on points which involve nothing vital, to redeem the government from an infraction of the fundamental laws, on which they believe its peace and prosperity certainly depend, and possibly its unity as a nation. Cannot all parties in the North unite in such a crisis, to preserve what they in common feel to be paramount to all other questions in controversy which have heretofore divided them, and cannot all rally under a Republican Standard to defend the cause of free institutions and the Union against the aggression of interested and ambitious men, who make Slavery means of combining a sectional force to accomplish their designs against them, and especially the theis moment be lost the cause must be lost!

The great object of defeating this attempt, by putting all questions of difference in abeyance for the time, does not imply a surrender of other party principles, or of the organizations to be employed to give effect to them hereafter. But such is the reluctance of men who have battled for a cause under a banner to which they have given their affections—so loyal are the hearts of good men, even to the badges they have worn and which they honor that they will not desert them for others, although they feel the necessity of uniting with those whom they have once opposed, in support of still dearer and more important interests. I think this noble feeling should be consulted by this Convention in the arrangements it may make to produce concert among all parties who place the preservation of the free territories (from Slavery (and as a result the preservation of the Union,) above all other subjects of controversy, and it is to be hoped that measures be adopted to induce all the friends of this cause, who are unwilling to take part in nominating candidates for the first and second officers of the Government in the Republican Convention, to send delegates to separate conventions under their own party designations, to meet at the same time and place to confer upon the subject of the nominations, and in conclusion, if found necessary and practicable, to unite in a Mass Meeting of the Representatives of all Parties, drawn together to confer in regard to the means of extricating the country from the threatening and most alarming posture in which it is now placed—surrendering for the occasion all questions of minor differences of policy, and reform and personal predilections, for men of this crisis, and giving, as did the patriots of the Revolution the whole heart to the cause and nothing but the cause, and thus by joint counsels ensure a glorious triumph for the conservative principle of our Government—the public will. The candidate of such a mass meeting would stand above the conflicts of partisan politics, and like the elevated chiefs who led in the establishment of our Independence, would value no man but as a contributor to the success of the great cause of the country.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

On motion, the address was received as the sentiments of the Southern friends, and ordered to be printed.

On motion, the Convention adjourned to three o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At three o'clock, Mr. Blair took the Chair, and called the Convention to order.

Mr. Draper, of New York, said that in consequence of the non-arrival of the cars, on which were various delegations, it became necessary to postpone the actual business of the Convention; he would, therefore, move that the Convention adjourn until half-past six o'clock, P. M.

A gentleman moved that when they adjourned, they would adjourn until the hour named.

Mr. Draper said he intended to follow his motion with a motion that the Convention permit a temporary organization to give gentlemen from the different States an opportunity for the expression of their opinions. The adjournment would give an opportunity to the Committee appointed during the morning session to prepare their report.

A gentleman whose name we did not learn, in an emphatic manner hoped that would not be done, for to-morrow was Saturday; some of the delegates started ten days ago for this Convention, and they were here eager to do something.

Mr. Draper said that was just the thing; if they were ready to do anything, why do it.

The gentleman replied that he might say if the cars did come they would not be prepared for business; some would be lukewarm and go home.

Mr. John A. Foote, of Ohio, said he was in favor of the motion for this reason. They had the honor of being presided over by Mr. Blair, and they did not want to ask too much of him. Therefore, if the motion be adopted, he would be at liberty until the evening session.

Mr. Sinclair, of Michigan, wanted to know if the President saw fit to retire, whether a Vice President could not take his place.

Mr. Foote replied that the chairman belong-