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NORTH CAROLINA ARGUS SPEECH OF HON. A. H. STEPHENS.

My object is not to stir up strife, but to allay it; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason. Good governments can never be built up or sustained by the impulse of passion. I wish to address myself to your good sense, to country, which here I will call the National your good judgment, and if after hearing you Democratic party, because that is the cognomen met-friends. We all have the same object, the party elected from New York to the next Consame interest. That people should disagree in Republican Governments upon questions of pub-lic policy is natural. That men should disagree upon all matters connected with human investigation, whether relating to science or human conduct, is natural. Hence in free governments parties will arise. But a free people should ex. vania, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Indiana, press their different opinions with liberality and other States, notwithstanding its distractions, charity, with no acrimony towards those of their fellows when honestly and sincerely given. These are my feelings to night. Let us, therefore, reason together. It is not my purpose to say aught to wound the feelings of any individual who may be present; and if, in the ardency with which I shall express my opinions. I shall say anything which may be deemed too strong, let it be set down to the zeal with which I advocate my own convictions. There is with me no

intention to irritate or offend. Pellow-citizens, we are all launched in the same barque; we are all in the same craft in the wide political ocean; the same destiny awaits us all, for weal or for wee. We have been launched in the good old ship that has been upon the waves for three quarters of a century, which has been in many tempests and storms, has many times been in peril, and patriots have often feared that Though new storms now howl around say to you do not give up the ship; do not aban-don her yet. If she can possibly be preserved, in her."] And there may be leaks in her, but ship has been eaved with the richest cargo after many leaks, and it may be so now. [Cheers.] I do not, on this occasion, intend to enter into barrasments which press so heavily upon us all at this time. In justice to myself, however, I must barely state upon this point that I do think much of it depended upon ourselves. The consternation that has come upon the people is the result of a sectional election of a President of the United States, one whose opinions and avowed principles are in antagonism to our interests and rights, and we believe, if carried out, would subvert the Constitution under which we now live. But are we entirely blameless in this matter, my countrymen? I give it to you as my opinion that but for the policy the Southern people pursued this fearful result would not have occurred. Mr. Lincoln has been elected. I doubt not, by a minority of the people of the United States. What will be the extent of that minority we do not yet know, but the disclosure when made will mind but little doubt that whoever might have been the candidate of the National Democratic party would have been elected by as large a majority as that which elected Mr. Buchanan or Mr. Pierce. Therefore let us not be hasty and night, [Mr. Toombs,] and to whom I listened

as the peace of the country in the Union, be first myself, as much as I admire this Union, for the done. [Applause.] glories of the past or the blessings of the pres-The first question that presents itself is, shall ent; as much as it has done for the people of all the people of the South secede from the Union these States; as much as it has done for civiliin consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to zation; as much as the hopes of the world hang the Presidency of the United States? My coun- upon it, I would never submit to aggression upon trymon, I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnest- my rights to maintain it longer; and if they canly that I do not think that they ought. In my not be maintained in the Union, standing on the showen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought rupting every tie which binds the States toto stand by and aid still in maintaining the Con-stitution of the country. To make a point of re-sistance to the Government, to withdraw from it will look for new safeguards elsewhere. This is election of a man to the Presidency, and that, it may not be; but let us do all we can, so that in too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the future, if the worst come, it may never be the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the said we were negligent in duing our duty to the Government without becoming the breakers of last. that sacred instrument ourselves? Withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the two this Union has been a curse up to this wrong? Whatever fate is to befull this country,

does of our system. The President of the United States is no Emperor, no Dictator; he views whenever the country is in danger, as to the best policy to be pursued, I am here. For these reasons and these only do I be peak a calm, patient, and attentive hearing.

My object is not formally a government that better protects the liberties of its people, and secures to them the blessings we enjoy. [Appleuse.] I think that one of the evils that best us is a surfeit of gress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him. In the very face for which we are not to the priceless blessings. and teeth of the heavy majority which he has obtained in the Northern States, there have been I rge gains in the House of Representatives to the Conservative Constitutional party of the disagree, let us agree to disagree, and part as we it has at the North. There are twelve of this gress, I believe. In the present House there are but four, I think In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio and Indiana, there have been gains. In the present Congress there were 113 Republicans, when it takes 117 to make a majority. The gains of the Democratic party in Pennsyl have been enough to make a majority of nearly thirty in the next House against Mr. Lincoln Even in Boston, Mr. Burlingame, one of the noted leaders of the fanatics of that section has been defeated, and a conservative man returned in his stead. Is this the time, then, to apprehend that Mr. Lincoln, with this large majority in the House of Representatives against him. can carry out any of his constitutional principles in that body? In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. This after the loss of Bigler, Fitch, and others, by the unfortunate dissensions of the National Democratic party in their States. Mr. Lincoln cannot appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate—he cannot form a Cabinet without the same consent. He will be in the condition of George the Third, (the embediment of Toryism.) who had to ask the Whigs, they should have to give it up—yea, had at times almost given it up—but still the gallant ship is ceive a Cabinet atterly opposed to his views. And so Mr. Lincoln will be compelled toask of the Senus, and the tempest beats heavily against us, I ate to choose for him a Cabinet, if the Democracy of that body choose to put him on such terms. He will be compelled to do this or let the Govand our rights, interests, and security be main. ernment stop, if the National Democratic men, tained, the object is worth the effort. Let us (for that is their name at the North,) the Connot, on account of disappointment and chagrin servative men in the Senate, should so determine.

applause, mingled with interruptions. giving you my views in a calm and dispassionate So we ought not to complain of that, manner, and if any of you differ with me you can, on any other occasion, give your views as I show, I think, that a majority of the constitution. am doing now, and let reason and true patriotal, conservative voters of the country were against ism decide between us. In my judgment, I say, him; and had the South stood firmly in the Con- under such circumstances there would be no posvention at Charleston, on her old platform of sible disgrace for a Southern man to hold office. principles of non-intervention, there is in my No man will be suffered to be appointed, I have no doubt, who is not true to the Constitution, if Southern Senators are true to their trusts, as I cannot permit myself to doubt that they will be. My honorable friend who addressed you last

the Senate has to concur. No man can be ap-

could be justly considered untrue to the interests

Breckinridge Senate had given him, even though

rash in our action, especially if the result be at-tributable at all to ourselves. Before looking to extreme measures, let us first see, as Georgians, that every thing which can be done to preserve mit to any Black Republican aggression upon our rights, our interests, and our honor, as well our constitutional rights. I will never consent support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere it be secured? In my judgment it may be ; yet

let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engagements. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found in the last moment standing on the deck with the flag

of the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. [Applause.] Let the fanctics and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects are there in the administration of justice. You may select the wisest and best men for your judges, and yet how many them. I shall speak more presently of their acts. But let not the South, let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election has been for what we wished; but the election has been in or constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government, and go out of the Union on that recount, the record would be made up hereafter against us.

The Constitution of the United States waving and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects are there in the administration of the States, I shall the constitutes unaterial wealth and prospect to the south and outweigh the administration of the States, I shall the comstitutes unaterial wealth and prospect to the south and outweigh the administra the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount, the record would be the Union on that recount. England, said Mr. Toombs.] England, my friend says. Well, that is the next best I grant, but I think we have improved upon England others, to speak of matters of the deepest principles are against the Constitution, and if he carries them out it will be destructive of our rights. Let us not anticipate a threatening evil. If he violates the Constitution, then will come of its defects, taking most of the good and leaveness the union of the treatment of the good and leaveness the union of the treatment of the union of the union of the good and leaveness application of the record would be the Union on that record would be earth. [England, said Mr. Toombs.] England, my friend says. Well, that is the next best I grant, but I think we have improved upon England. Statesment tried their apprentice hand on the government of England, and then ours was rights. Let us not anticipate a threatening evil.

If he violates the Constitution, then will come of its defects, taking most of the good and leaveness the constitution is the union of the contraction of the good and leaveness the contraction of the contraction of the good and leaveness the contraction of tion or subject, connected with this life that concerns a free people so intimately as that of the Government under which they live. We are now indeed surrounded by svils. Never since I south the country been so environed with difficulties and dangers that threatened the public peace and the veryex.

If he violates the Constitution, then will come our time to act. Do not let us break it because, forsooth, he may. If he does, that is the time one trace in gout many of its errors, and, from the whole, constructing and building up this model Republic, the best which the history of the world be injudicious and navise to do this sconer. I do not anticipate that Mr. Lincoln will do any this Government with that of Spain, Mexico, the thing to jeopard our safety or security, whatever may be his spirit to do it; for he is bound by the continuational checks which are thrown around that time senders him powerless there east, to Turkey or China. Where will you see following the case, in its direction of the good and leavents and our many of its effects, taking most of the good and leavents and our many of its errors, and, from the whole, constructing and building up this model Republic, the best which the history of the world gives any account of. Compare, my friends, this Government with that of Spain, Mexico, the South American Republics, Germany, Ireland, (are there any sons of that down-trodden nation that time senders him powerless there east, to Turkey or China. Where will you so following the case, to Turkey or China. at mischief. This shows the wis- go, following the sun in its circuit round our globe, to find a government that better protects

We listened to my honorable friend who addressed you last night [Mr. Toombs] as he recounted the evils of this Government. The first evil of which he complained was the fishing ounties, paid mostly to the sailors of New England. Our friend stated that forty-eight years of our Government was under the Administration Southern Presidents. Well, these fishing bounties began under the rule of a Southern President, I believe. No one of them, during the whole forty-eight years, ever set his Adminstration against the principle or policy of them. It is not for me to say whether it was a wise policy in the beginning; it probably was not, and I have nothing to say in its defence. But the reaon given for it was to encourage our young men o go to sea and learn to manage ships. We had at the time but a small navy. It was thought phere around us. Its benefits are so silent and best to encourage a class of our people to become unseen that they are seldom thought of or appreequainted with sea fairing life; to become sailrs; to man our naval ships. It requires pracice to walk the deck of a ship, to pull the ropes, to furl the sails, to go aloft, to climb the mast, and it was thought by offering this bounty a nursery might be formed in which young men would one section of the country as well as any other. ry were equal to any that England brought against is no equal part of the earth with natural resources us. At any rate no small part of the glories of that war were gained by the veteran tars of country known as the Southern States, stretching America, and the object of these bounties was to from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, is fully foster that branch of the national defence. My equal to the picture drawn by the honorable and opinion is, that whatever may have been the rea- eloquent Senator last night in all natural capaci-

at the reverse of an election, give up all as lost, Then how can Mr. Lincoln obtain a Cabinet as heretofore, be displayed in having this bounty, let us stop them if we can; many a stout old are tied, when he can do nothing against us? was the tariff. Well, let us look at that for a it.

hold office under Mr. Lincoln. But I ask who country almost as fearfully as the slave question the history of the reasons or causes of the em- appoints to office? Not the President alone; now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South was given him by a Democratic Senate? [Mr. cils. Reason has triumphed] The present ta-Toombs interropted, and said if the Senate was riff was voted for by Massachusetts and South of Georgia required it, to hold an office which a if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my

> Mr. Toomas. That tariff lessened the duties. and they were made just as low as Southern men now at. If reason and argument, with experience, produced such changes in the sentiments of Massachusetts from 1832 to 1857 on the sub-[Applause.]

Another matter of grievance alluded to by my ruled so well, and has been continued through policy of these laws and my own do not disagree. One of the objects was to build un a commor.

power. This object was accomplished. We never be restored to us again. [Applause.] this State should pursue towards those Northern wise but to foreign countries, which puts us in administration, and short comings of many kinds, tempted to nullify the fugicive slave law. I know the front rank of the nations of the world. Eng. but, in spite of these defects and errors, Georgia that in some of these States their acts are preland can no longer be styled the mistress of the has grown to be a great State. seas. What American is not proud of the result? Whether those laws should be continued was a great crisis, but not so fearful as this, for States in the case of Prigg against Penrsylvania, is another question. But one thing is certain, of all I have ever passed through this is the most. That decision did prochim the decrine that the no President, Northern or Southern, has ever yet perilous, and requires to be met with the greatest State officers are not bound to earry out the prorecommended their repeal. And my friend's calmness and deliberation. There were many visions of a law of Congress; that the Federal Govefforts to get them repealed has met with but smong us in 1850 sealous to go at once out of crument cannot impose duties upon State officials, little favor, North or South.

Government, notwithstanding all its defects?

in illustrating home facts in his record. This look upon as a great and I fear a fatal temptagreat fact of our unrivalled prosperity in the Union, tion. as it is, is admitted. Whether all this is in spite to say the least, problematical. On the one side under the command of such spirits as Commodore they only saw their own nakedness. Porter. Now that the coast is clear, that our ciated. We seldom think of the single element, of oxygen in the sir we breathe, and yet let this simple and unfelt agent be withdrawn, this lifegiving element be taken away from this all-pervading fluid around us, and what instant and appalling changes would-take place in all organic son at first, this bounty ought to be discontinued ties. But how many ages and centuries passed

Carolina was ready to nullify or secode from the ens into life, takes root, and develops in form, pointed without the consent of the Senate. Union on this account. And what have we seen? nature, and character. Our institutions consti-Should any man, then, refuse to hold office that The tariff no longer distracts the public count tute the basis, the matrix from which spring all of the Legislature. our characteristics of development and greatness. Look at Greece; there is the same fertile soil. Democratic it was for Mr. Breckinridge ] Well, Carolina. The liou and the lamb lay down to- the same blue sky, the same inlets and harbors, living Greece no more," [Applause ] Deshonorable friend, that every man in the North cendants of the same people inhabit the country, Mr. Lincoln should be President. [Prolonged that works in iron and brass and wood has his yet what is the reason of this mighty difference muscle strengthened by the protection of the In the midst of present degradation we see the I trust my countrymen, you will be still and Government, that stimulant was given by his glorious fregmen's of ancient works of art; tom-Mr. STEPHENS. Yes; and Massachusetts with language they spoke. Upon them all Ichabod it. Let us not rashly try the experiment; for if for an act of aggression; that is my position. cial American marine by giving American bot- it fails, as it did in Greece and Italy, and in the Now, upon another point, and that the most because a man has been constitutionally elected, my position. The only question now is, can cial American marine by giving American bottons in the wrong. We are pledged to main they be secured in the Union. That is what I tons the exclusive carrying trade between our South American Republics, and in every other tain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn am counselling with you to night about. Can own parts. This is a great arm of national place wherever liberty is once destroyed, it may

con-elf to of our Government and its workings; I mean been the same great people that we are to-day? as well as the duty of the General Government at to

rogress in the development of wealth and all the that marks our civilization. Have we any asunterial resources of national power and greatness surance that had we regarded the earnest but as the Southern States have under the General misguided patriotic advice, as I think, of some of that day, and disrupted the ties which bind Mr. Toombs. In spite of it.

Mr. Stephens. My honorable friend says we have? I think not. Well, then, let us be carehave prospered in spite of the Government. ful now before we attempt any rash experiment Without it, I suppose, he thinks we might have of this sort. I know that there are friends, done as well, or perhaps better than we have done. whose patriotism I do not intend to question That may be, and may not be. But, as res. who think this Union a curse, and that we would pacts the great fact that we have grown great be better off without it. I do not so think; if we and powerful under the Government as it ex- can bring about a correction of those evils which ists, there is no conjecture or speculation; it threaten us-and I am not without hope that stands out bold, high, and prominent, like your this may yet be done—this appeal to go out, with Stone Mountain, to which the gentleman alluded all the provisions for good that accompany it, I

When I look around and see one prosperity in of the Government, whether we of the South would every thing-agriculture, commerce, art, science have been better off without the Government, is, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as in motal advincement, and our we can put the fact against only speculation and colleges -- I think, in the face of such an exhibiconjecture on the other. But, even as a question, if we can, without the loss of power, or any tion of speculation, I differ with my distinguish. essential right or interest, remain in the Union, ed friend. What we would have lost in border it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to do wars without the Union, or what we have gained so. "Let us not too readily yield to this temptasimply by the peace it has secured, no estimate tion. Our first parents, the great progenitors of can be made of. Our foreign trade, which is the the human race, were not without a like temptafoundation of all our prosperity, has the protection when in the garden of Eden. They were tion of the navy, which drove the pirates from led to believe that their condition would be betthe waters near our coast, where they had been tered; that their eyes would be opened; and buccaneering for centuries before, and might have that they would become as gods. They in an been still had it not been for the American navy evil hour yielded; instead of becoming gods,

Plook upon this country, with our institutions, commerce flows freely outwardly and inwardly, as that Eden of the world, the paradise of the we cannot well estimate how it would have been universe. It may be that out of it we may beunder other circumstances. The influence of come-greater and more presperous; but I am the Government on us is like that of the atmos-phere around us. Ats benefits are so silent and unseen that they are seldom thought of or appre-cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy, instead of becoming gods, we will bedome demons, and at no distant day will commonce cutting one mother's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these difficulties, great as they are, like come perfected in these arts, and it applied to creation! It may be that we are all that we are wise and sensible men, and consider them in the in "spite of the General Government," but it light of all the consequences which may attend The result of this was that in the war of 1812 may be that without it we should have been far our action. Let us see first clearly where the our sailors, many of whom came from this nurse- different from what we are now. It is true there path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to trend therein.

I come now to the main question put to me and on which my counsel has been asked. That is, what the present Legislature should do, in view of the dangers that threaten us, and the wrongs that have been done us by several of our confederate States in the Union, by the acts -the reason for it at first no longer exists. A before these capacities were developed to reach of their Legislatures nullifying the fugitive slave bill for this object did pass the Senate the last this advanced stage of civilization ! These same law, and in direct disregard of their constitution-Congress I was in, to which my honorable friend hills, rich in ore, these same rivers, same valleys, al obligations? What I shall say will not be in contributed greatly, but it was not reached in the and plains, are as they have been since they came the spirit of dictation. It will be simply my House of Representatives. I trust that he will from the hand of the Creator; uneducated and own judgment, for what it is worth. It proyet see that he may with honor continue his con- uncivilized man rouned over them for how long ceeds from a strong conviction that according to nexion with the Government, and that his ele- no history informs us. It was only under our in- it our rights, interests, and honor, our present quence, unrivalled in the Senate, may hereafter, stitutions that they could be developed. Their safety and future resort, "the ultima ratio redevelopment is the result of the enterprise of our DEALERS IN CORN, PEAS. OATS, BYE. WHEAT, but let us see what can be done to prevent a which would aid him, or allow him to violate the so obnoxious to him, repealed and wiped off from people, under the operation of the Government else fails. That may come. On this point I am wreck. [Some one here said "the ship has holes in her, "] And there may be leaks in her, but disrupt the ties of this Union when his hands the statute book. The next evil that my friend complained of our people without these never would have done patriotic effort to prevent it while there is ground The organization of society has much to do for hope. If any view that I may present in I have heard it mooted that no man in the State moment. About the time I commenced noticing with the development of the natural resources of your judgment be inconsistent with the best inof Georgia, who is true to her interests, could public matters this question was agitating the any country or any land. The institutions of a terest of Georgia, I ask you as patriots not to repeople, political and moral, ere the matrix in gard it. After hearing me and others whom which the germ of their organic structure quick- you have advised with, set in the premises according to your own conviction of duty as patriots. I speak now particularly to the members

There are, as I have said, great dangers ahead. Great dangers may come from the election I have spoken of. If the policy of Mr. Lincoln then, continued Mr. S , I apprehend no man gether; every man in the Senate and House from the same .Egean, the same Olympus; there is the and his Republican associates shall be carried out. Massachusetts and South Carolina I think voted same land where Homer sung, where Pericles or attempted to be carried out, no man in Georof Georgia, or incur any disgrace, if the interests for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And spoke; it is in nature the same old Greece, but it is gia will be more willing or ready than myself to defend our rights, interest, and honor at every hazard and to the last extremity. [Applause] What is this policy? It is, in the first place, to exclude us by an net of Congress from the Territories with our slave property. He is for using silent. I am addressing your good sense. I am vote and I believe every other Southern man, ples with craaments and inscriptions that excite the power of the General Government against wonder and admiration—the remains of a once the extension of our institutions. Our position high order of civilization which have outlived the on this point is and ought to be, at all hazards. for perfect counlity between all the States and unanimity voted with the South to lessen them, is written; their glory has departed. Why is the chizens of all the States, in the Territories, this so? I answer, their institutions have been under the Constitution of the United States. It asked them to be, and that is the rates they are destroyed. These were but the fruits of their Congress should exercise its power against this. forms of government, the matrix from which their then I am for standing where Georgia planted grand development sprung. And when once the herself in 1850. These were plain propositions, institutions of our people have been destroyed, which were then laid down in her celebrated platject of the tariff, may not like changes be effected there is no earthly power that can bring back the form as sufficient for the disruption of the Union, there by the same means-reason and argument, Promethern spark to kindle them here again, any if the occasion should ever come. On these and appeals to patriotism-on the present vexed more than in that ancient land of cloquence, poe. Georgia has declared that she will go out of the Union; and for these she would be justified by question? And who can say that by 1875 or try, and song. [Applause.] The same may be Union; and for these she would be justified by 1890 Massachusetts may not vote with South said of Italy. Where is Rome, once the mis-Carolina or Georgia upon all those questions that trees of the world? There are the same seven hills same; I said it then; I say it now, if Mr. Linnow distract the country and threaten its peace now, the same soil, the same natural resources; coln's policy should be carried out. I have told and existence? I believe in the power and effi- nature is the same; but what a ruin of human you that I do not think his bare election sufficient ciency of truth, in the omnipotence of truth, and greatness meets the eye of the traveller through cause; but if his policy should be carried out. its ultimate triumph when properly wielded. out the length and breadth of that most down. in violation of any of these principles set forth in trodden land! Why have not the people of that the Georgia platform, that would be such an act Heaven-favored clime the spirit that animated of aggression as ought to be met as therein prohonorable friend was the navigotion laws. This their fathers? Why this sad difference? It is vided for, If his policy shall be carried out policy was also commenced under the Adminis- the destruction of her institutions that has caused in repealing or modifying the fugitive slave law tration of one of these Southern Presidents who it. And, my countrymen, if we shall in an evil so as to weaken its efficacy, Georgia has declared hour rashly pull down and destroy those institu- that she will in the last resort disrupt the ties of all of them since. The gentleman's views of the tions which the patriotic band of our fathers last the Union; and I say so too. I stand upon the bored so long and so hard to build up, and which Georgia platform, and upon every plank, and say, We occupied the same ground in relation to them have done so much for us and the world, who can if the aggressions therein provided for take place, in Congress. It is not my purpose to defend them now. But it is proper to state some matter the prediction that similar results will I say to you, and to the coople of Georgia, keep not ensue? Let us avoid it if we can. I trust your powder dry, and let your assailants then ters connected with their origin.

[Applause.] I would wait

have now an amount of shipping, not only coast. There are defects in our Government, errors in States which by their legislative acts have attended to be based upon the principles set forth the Union, to disrupt every tie that binds us to- that they must execute their awa laws by their own These, then, were the true main grievances or gether. Now, do you believe, if that policy had officers. And this may be true. But still it is