NEW SERIES-VOL. III-NO. 14.

## PUBLISHED WEEKLY PENTON & DARLEY.

27月日大卫71月1日月日

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION. Single copies, Two DOLLARS per year, invariably in Myance. No subscription received for less than six months.

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Attoincy	#ŝ	Law and	Solicitor	in.	Equity,
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## NORTH CAROLINA ARGUS. SPEECH OF HON. BEN. H. HILL, OF GEORGIA.

North

Delivered in the Copital at Milledgeville, Novem-ber 15th, 1860, at the request of many Mem-bers of the Georgia Legislature, and published at their solicitation.

at their solicitation. In submitting his speech for publication, Mr. Hill accompanied it by a note, saying : "I see nothing in the remarks inconsistent with anything beretofore written by me. There is a prodent and improdent way of accomplishing the same good. I think some of our friends are hasty. Let us keep right and 'make haste slowly." I have discussed a policy of resistance, but I am ready to yield it for a better when I can find it. That policy which can most cordially unite our people, and most effectually redress our grievances is the one I shall prefer."

Ladies and Friends : While I am speaking to you to night, I carnestly beg for perfect quietness and order. It seems to be a general idea that public speakers feel highly complimented when their opinions are received with boisterous applause. I do not so feel on any occasion, and certainly would not so regard such a demonstration now. The occasion is a solemn and serious one, and let us treat it in no light or trivial manner. One more request. I have invoked good order. I yet more earnestly invoke your kind and considerate attention. No people ever assembled to de-liberate a graver issue. This government is the result of much toil, much blood, much anxiety and much treasure. For nearly a century we have been accustomed to speak and boast of it as the best on earth. Wrapped up in it are the lives, the happiness, the interests and the peace of thirty millions of freemen now living, and ef unnumbered millions in the future. Whether we shall now destroy that Government or make another effort to preserve it and reform its abuses, is the question before us. Is that question not is the question before us. Is that question hot entitled to all the wisdom, the moderation and prudence we can command? Were you ever at sea in a storm? Then you know the sailor often finds it necessary; to enable him to keep his ship above the wave, to throw overboard his freight, even his treasure. But with his chart and his compass he never parts. . However dark the heaven or furious the winds, with these to can still point tu. polar star, and find the port of his afety. Would not tu."

Dangars are on every side. Let us throw overboard our passions, our prejudices and our party feelings, ho sever long or highly valued. But let us hold on to reason and moderation. These and these aloce point always to the fixed star of Truth, by whose guidance we may yet safely come to shore. We must spree. We do spree if we but knew

it. Our people must be united to meet this crisis. Divisions now would not eally be unifortunite, but exceedingly disastrous. If divisions arise they must find their origin in our suspicions and jeal-cusies Let us give these suspicions and jealous-What lesson have we here? We have seen

## WADESBOROUGH, N. C., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1860.

Carolina

ays: The Constitution is the cause of every divi- and there was no obstruction to his march sion which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It (the Constitution) has been the fountain and father of our troubles, make no impression on the British regulars.

has been the fountain and father of our troubles, by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize nor agree. The only hope of the slave is over the ruins of the Government. The dissolution of the Union is the abolition of slavery." One of the share and long honored Senators of the starts - a Senator even helper the ing the General's boasts, and seeing his thought-ing the General's boasts, and seeing his thought-

Senators of that party—a Senator even before the existence of the Republican party—said to the nominating Convention of that party: "I believe that this is not so much a Convention to change the administration of the Government, as to say of arguing without warmth, or giving up any whether there shall be any Government to be administered. You have assembled, not to say with reason or common sense." whether this Union shall be preserved, but to Braddock was considered, on all hands, to be whether this Union shall be preserved, but to say whether it shall be a blessing or a scorn and hissing among the nations.

logically and practically against the Constitution calculating difficulties, nor looking forward to, and the Union. And we complain that this party and providing against, obstructions. is warring upon us, and at the same time, and in the same way, and by a necessary consequence. warring upon the Constitution and the Union."

arty having thus acquired the control of every and then acted the hero. lepartment of Government, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial-in several of the Northern States, and having thus used every department of the State Government so acquired, in violation of the Constitution of the United States, in disregard of the laws of the Southern States, and in atter denial of the property and even liberty of the citizens of the Southern Statesthis party I say, with these principles, and this his. he came to himself, and his first exclamation

and the Judician. Here, then, is a party seeking to administer the Government on prine, ples which must destrow the Government-proposi. g to preserve the Union poot a basis on which the Union, in the very nature of things, cannot stand; and offering peace on terms which must produce e, vil war.

Now, my friends, the next question is, shall these grievances be resisted? I know of no man who says they ought not to be resisted. cannot be based on our interests or our purposes, for these are and must be the same. Divisions ought to be resisted—resisted effectively and at

custes Let us give these suspicions and jealous-ies to the winds. Let us assume as the basis of differences running high-even apparent bitter-poble work." Who does not know the history of

thought, would stop him only three or four days,

point he had asserted, be it ever so incompatible

brave, gallant and fearless officer.

Here, then, are two men, both brave and n I could quote all night, my friends, to show that the tendency of the Republican party is to disunion. That to be a Republican is to be country. The one was rash, thoughtless, never

ile arranged his express, and sent forward the news of his victory beforehand. But the other was cool, calculating, cautious, wise, and moder-6. We complain in the last place, that this ate He was a man who thought before he acted;

Now, for results : Braddock was surprised be fore he reached the Fort. His British regulars fled before the yelling Indians, and the raw American militia were slain by them. Braddock himself fought bravely, and he was borne away from the field of his shame, leaving more than half his little army dead; and himself senseless with a mortal wound. After the lapse of a day, We are at sea, my frie."ds. The skies are of the Federal Government, and are seeking to se-for arfully darkened. The billows."Il threateningly. of the only of th was, "who would have thought it ?" Again he For more than a century he has slept near Fort Necessity, and his only history might be written

for his epitaph-He was brave, but rash, gallant, but thoughtless, noble, but bigoted. He fought hastily, died early, and here he lies. The young Washington was also brave, and in the thickest of the fight. Horse after horse fell from under him. The bullets of the Indians whistley around him and through his clothes, but Providence spared him. Even the Indians

declared some Gou protected him. So cool, so brave so wise and thoughttin! was the conduct of this young officer, before, during, and after the battle, that even then a distinguished ann " points him vived.

Ac Stat Silvery

In state; that the delendant was not guilty and conditions of the provided not be delivered up.
We often appeal to the history of our fathers our generations and hasty resentances of the point of the conspirators in the John Brown raid.
The inscorable logic of this party, on such a pression was array time delivered up.
We often appeal to the history of our fathers our generation and hasty resentances of the point of the conspirators in the John Brown raid.
The inscorable logic of this party, on such a pression of property in slaves. It was made by slave the the delense and wisdom on the other.
During bur colonial bistory, the English Government of the general granddok to America to dialoge and drive back the French and Indians.
The same of the general consequences of the point is alway at the great Northwest. It was not the is one command the daty of recovering the history to fill the arraying the campaign, assigned to his own command the daty of recovering the bis own command the daty of recovering the bis of from the issues ry to say the greate and drive back the greate Northwest. It was not to take and the incoment of the point for the point is in a very short period. Durguese. He never thought of any difficulties in the way of success.
The same tarned date the hones of the point is in a very short period. Durguese when the politicians and the conding, why have we not complained the daty in any difficulties in the way of success.
The same tarned disciples of this party, would stop him only three or four day. sue. Thus it has never approached, but receded from a political solution, and increasing in excitement as it has progressed, all statesmenship, North and South, is dwarfed to a mere wrangling about African slavery. Slavery will survive, but the Constitution, the Union and peace may not. The Southern States will continue to raise cotton, but the boping subject of tyranny in the earth may not continue to point to the beautiful success of the experiment of self government in America.

While the storm which England raised in America has been going on, England has been trying to raise cotton in India. She has failed Her factories are at home, but her cotton can't come from India. She must have cotton. Four millions of her people can't do without it. It must come from the Southern States. It can't be raised in the South without slave labor. And England has become the defender of slavery in the South.

I will frankly state that this revolution in English sentiment and policy has not yet reached the Northern people. The same causes must. slowly produce it.

But while the anti-slavery sentiment has spread in the North, the pro-slavery sentiment has also strengthened in America. In our early history the Southern statemen were anti-slavery in feeling. So were Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Randolph, and many of that day, who had never heard the argument of the cotton-gin, nor studied the eloquent productions of the great Mississippi Valley. Now our people not only see the justice of slavery, but its Providence too. The world can never give up slavery until it is ready to give up clothing and food. The South is a magnificent exemplification of the highest christian excellence. Sheis feeding the bungry, clothing the naked, blessing them that curse her, and doing good to them that despitefully use and persecute her.

We say again, that even the history of the slavery agitation in this country does not justify the very conclusion that abolitionism has been always progressive. Whenever popular senti-ment in politics has condemned the agitation, abolitionism has declined. Many instances could be given. In 1348, the abolition candidate for the Presidency received about 300,000 votes. At the end of Mr. Filimore's Adminis tration, in 1852, the candidate of that party received about half that vote, and a fugitive slave could be recovered almost without opposition in any Northern State. Even the Act of Massachusetts pullifying the fugitive slave law of 1793 had not been applied to the new fugitive slave law of 1850, after the agitation had been re-

These, and many other similar reasons, we urge for believing that all the enumerated griev. for his life he dare not refuse.

**WHOLE NO. 118.** 

long ago. If the grievance has been by men of our own choosing, why have we not complained before? Let us begin now. Let us begin with Mr. Buchanan. A few days ago, and perhaps now, a fugitive is standing protected by a North ern mob in a Northern State, in definance of tree United States Marshal. Let us demand now that Mr. Buchanan enforce the law against cust rebel and against that State which protects him, or suffers him to be protected on her soil. Let us have out the army and navy, and if they are not sufficient, let there be a call for volunteers. Many of us say we are ready to fight, appious to fight. Here is a chance. Let us tender our services.

If the laws now existing are not sufficient, let us have them sufficient. It is our right. We are entitled to a force bill for every clause in the Constitution necessary to our rights. What have our statesmen been after that these laws are not sufficient? Some of these nullifying grievances have existed since 1843, and is it possible that our statesmen have been all asleep, or lost and forgetful in wrangling about slavery? Let us

begin now and perfect our laws for the enforcement of every constitutional right, and against every rebel enemy. Let the convention add to the contingencies of disruption in the Georgia platform. Let the refusal to enforce the laws granted for our protection and defence be one contingency, and the refusal to grant the laws needed for that protection and defence be another

contingency. A VOICE. How long will you wait ?

MR. HILL. Until the experiment is tried ; and both the demands enumerated may be tested, and the contingencies may transpire before the fourth of March next If they do not, if a longer time shall be needed, Mr. Lincoln cannot do us dawage. As you heard last night, he cannot even form his Cabinet unless he make it acceptable to a Democratic Senate. And I go further and say that he cannot get even his salary -not a dime to pay for his breakfast-without

the consent of Congress. Nor would I have the Southern States, nor even Georgia, to hesitate to demand the enforcement of these laws at the hands of Mr. Lincoin, if we cannot test it before. The North demand ed of a Southern President the excution of the law against a Southern State in 1833. Now let the South compel a Northern President to execute the laws spainst a Northern people ; yea, the very rebels that elected him.

A VOICE. Do you believe Lincoln would in sue his proclamation ? MR. HILL: We can make him do it. It is

his oath. He will be a traitor to refuse. and we shall have the right to hang him. He dare not refuse. He would be on Southern Territory, and

A VOICE. The "Wide Awakes" there.

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every argument that we are all ambition he to find that way, and unite our people in the advocacy of that way. I have listened with enroest attention to the

cloquent speeches made by all sides, and I believe a common ground of agreement can be found, if not for universal, at least for very general agreement. Those who hold that the Constitution is

In the first place, what are our grievances All the speakers, thus far, even the most ultra, have admitted that the mere constitutional election of any man is no ground for resistance. The mere election of Mr. Lincoln is on all sides admitted not to be the grievance Our State would not be thrown on a false issue on this point. We complain, in general terms, that the anti-

slavery sentiment at the North has been made an element of political power. In proof of this we make the following speci-

fications :

1. That a large political party has been organized in the Northern States, the great common idea of which is to prohibit the extension of slave-ry by congress and hostility to slavery generally. 2. That this party has succeeded in getting the control of many of the Northern State Legislatures, and have procured the passage of acta nullifying the fugitive slave law, encouraging the rescue of fugitives, and seeking to punish, as felons, citizens of our Southern States who pursue their slaves in the assertion of a plain constitutional right.

3. That this party has elected Governors in Northern States, who refuse, some openly and others under frivolous pretexts, to do their plain Constitutional duties, when these duties involve the recognition of property in slaves. 4. That Northern Gourts chosen by the same

party, have assumed to declare the fugitive slave aw unconstitutional in the teeth of the United States Courts, and of every department of the United States Government.

5. We complain that the Northern States, thus controlled, are seeking to repudiate every Con-stitutional duty, or provision in favor or in recognition of elavery-to work the extinction of slavery, and to seenre to the negro social and political equality with the white race; and, as far as possible, they disregard and nullify even the laws of the Southern States on this subject. In proof of this complaint we show that Northern Governors have actually refused to deliver un fugitives from justice, when the crime charged against such fugitives recognized under State laws property in slaves. Thus, a Northern man married a Southern la

having a separate estate in slaves. He deceived the lady, stole her negroes, sold them and pocket ed the money, and fied to a Northern State. He was charged with larceny under the laws of the State in which the crime was committed. A true bill was obtained and a demand was properly made for his return, and the Governor of the State

must be one way better than all others. Let our nounces that treason to the South and the man a wide spread and ever spreading country-strugresist Lincoln and demand in medicite secession. His adversary pronounces that freason to the Constitution and the man a disunionist.

wrong, and the Union bad perse, of course will on which he was elected. Neither will resist the ated to the glory of the end, or cut short in the

and that point is the election of Lincoln. We and then let us go to work to meet this crisis that dare not, we will not let this erisis pass without is upon us. a settlement. That settlement must wipe out ex- Though there are various modifications of opinday.

selves, and our State, and our cause.

unfounded, and that our disputes on this point had their origin in hasty conclusions and thought-less mistakes, let us, with an encouraged charity and forbearance, advance to the next step in this argument.

shall determine the mode, the measures and the the world will show that such fanaticism is never time of this resistance?

My reply is : The people through their dele-gates in Convention duly assembled.

It is not necessary for me now to urge this point. Here again we have had disputes without differences.

have the pleasure of announcing to night that the prominent leaders of all shades of opin-ion on this subject came together this day and agreed that it was the right and privilege of the the evil, none can be effectual. people in convention to pass on these questions. On this point we have disputed a week, and to day, acting as Georgians should act, we came to-gether in a spirit of kindness, and in fifteen minutes our hearts were all made glad by the discovery that our differences or disputes were ly so in its nature, nor was it so in its origin. founded on groundless suspicious, and we are Slavery has always existed in some form. It is all for the people in convention to say how and when, and by what means we shall resist. then, and by what means we shall resist. I never beheld a scene which made my heart- England owned the West Indies, and there she

question of difference. With my heart full of kindness, I beg my friends to accompany me now to that question. I do believe we can agree again. My soleum conviction is, that we differ campetitors. She desired to cripple or break as little on this as we did on the other point, in down the cultivation of the cotton plant in the

every argument that we are all equally honest, and equally desirous, in our various ways, of se-come jeers and gibes defiance. One man says Washington; yet, who can tell it? Our glorihe will not resist Lincoln. His adversary pro- ous revolution, that wise Constitution, this happy, Black Republican. Another man says he will gling millions, fired on by example of his suc-

What do you mean by Lincoln? Stop. and added, if the wisdom of him who redeemed our define. The first means by Lincolo, the man country can be continued to those who inherit it. elected, the second means by Lincoln, the issue The last hour of Constitutional liberty, perpetuagree to nothing but immediate disunion, and such I shall not be able to affect. In the first place what are consistent in the state of the glory of the edu, or cut short in the and did agree all the time they were disputing! Washington. Behold Lare the sudden destruction These grievances are our real complaint. They of the rash man and his followers, and the still un-have advanced to a point which makes a crisis: folding success of the cool and thoughtful man,

> isting grievances, and arrest threatened ones, ions, there are really but two modes of resistance We owe it to our Constitution, to our country, to proposed. One method is to make no further efour peace, to our posterity, to our dignity, to our self respect, as Union men and Southern men, to have a cessation of these aggressions and an end secede at once, and throw ourselves upon the conto these disturbances. I do not think we should sequences. The other method is to exhaust cerwait for any further violation of the Constitution. Itaig remedies for these grievances in the Union, The Constitution has already been violated and with a view of preserving our rights and the even defied. These violations are repeated every Union with them, if possible ; looking, however, We must resist, and not to attempt to re- to, and preparing for, secession as an ultimate resist, and to do so effectively-even to the full ex-tert of the evil-will be to bring shame on our-not be remedied, and completely remedied, and ended in the Union.

Having agreed on our complaints, and dis-covered that all our suspicions of each other are seem to be, I maintain a point of complete re-Irreconcilable as these differences, at first view.

Now, let us look to the reasons urged by the advocates of these two modes of redress.

The advocates of the first mode declare that these grievances are the fruits of an original, in-Who shall inaggurate this resistance? Who nate anti-slavery fanaticism. That the history of convinced-is never satisfied-never ends but in victory or blood. That, accordingly, this fanaticism in the Northern States has been constantly progressive, always 'getting stronger and more impudent, defiant and aggressive ; and that it will never cease except in our subjugation, unless we tear loose from it by dissolving the Union. These advocates say they have no faith in any re-sistance in the Union, because, in the nature of

rejnice more sincerely. Ob, that I could see the had some slaves. She had possessions in the same spirit of concord on the only remaining East Indies, which she believed were adapted to East Indies, which she believed were adapted to the growth of cotton, and which article she desired to monopolize. The Southern States were her only dange

made for his return, and the Governor of the State to which he fled refused to deliver him up on the ground that to commit hereine a man must steel property, and as alsoes were not property accord-ing to the laws of the Northern State, is could not be property according to the Southern State, that therefore the Southern Court, Jury and Governor were all wrong in obeying the laws of their own State, instead of the Northern

ances-the results of slavery agitationable by remedies within the Union.

But suppose our reasoning all wrong? How shall we be convinced? Only by the experiment; but in the nature of the case, nothing but a trial can test the virtue of the remdies proposed. Let us try these remedies, and if we ed, our only remedy is to hide. No, my friends, full, this failure will establish the truth of the we are not afraid of anybody. Arm us with the positions of the advocates of immediate secession, and we shall all join in that remedy.

For, let it be understood, we are all agreed that these grievances shall be resisted-shall be remedied -most effectively remedied-and if bushes. He who feels and knows he is right, is this cannot be done in the Union, then the Union afraid of nothing, and he who feels and knows h must go. And we must not let this crisis pass is wrong, is afraid of nothing too. without forever solving this doubt. If the Union and the peace of slavery cannot exist together, then the Union must go; for slavery can Heaven will never let it go, and it must have peace. And it has been tautalised and meddled with as long as our self-respect can permit.

But what remedies in the Union do we propose? I will answer:

The grievances enemerated are of two kinds -existing and threatened. The existing actual grievances are all violations of the Federal Contitution and Federal laws, either by Northern citizens or Northern States. Now, what does good statesmanship, good logic, and common tense naturally suggest? Why, that the Federal Government shall enforce its laws. No State can enforce, or punish, for the violation of a Federai daw. The power offended mus tadequately punish the offender. The punishment must be such as to redress the past, and by certainty and terror secure the future. The Federal law is offended. The Northern States and people are the offenders. The South is damaged by the of. demand respect for their rights, can have no fence. This gives her the right to demand the rights worthy to be respected. Our fathers deredress at the hands of the Federal Government. and if that Government, for want of will or jured, and not until the Government was deaf power, shall not grant the redress, then that to the voice of justice and consanguinity, did lovernment is a demonstrated failure. And when Governments end, self-defence begins. their separation. It is not the cowardice of fear We can then take redress in our own way, and but the courage of right and duty to demand re-

to our entire satisfaction. Let the Georgia Convention meet. Let her not simply demand, but command, that this war this government now tested. The crisis is on us, on slavery shall cease-that these unconstitution- not of our seeking, but in spite of our opposial acts and proceedings shall be repealed and tion; and now let us meet it. abandoned by the States, or repudiated and redressed by the Federal Government. Let her laws. If fifteen Southern States will take the invite all the States to join in this demand. If Constitution and the laws and his or the states the no others will come to their duty and meet with them in the face of the Preside at, and demand us, let the fifteen Southern States join in this de- their observance and enforcement, he cannot remand, and let the penalty of refusal, even to the fuse. Better make him do is than any one else demand of one State, be the abandonment of the It will be a magnificent vi odiestion of the power Union, and may other even harsher remedy each and the majesty of the taw, to make the Presi State may think her rights and honor require.

1833, South Carolina was refusing to obey a Fed- terror to the hearts of evil doers for a century to

fore, must manage to set free the slave, sod turn the South over to some inadequate peasantry sys-tem, something like the coolin system. To this end England raised a great cry of philanthropy in behalf of the poor negro. As a show of sin-

Mr. HILL. Very well, if we are afraid of the "Wide Awakes" we had better surreader without turther debate. The "Wide Awakes," will be there if we secede, and if they are to be dreaded, our only remedy is to hide. No, my friends, laws of our country and the Constitution of our fathers, and we fear no enemy.' Let us make war upon that Constitution and against those laws, and we will be afraid of every noise in the

We were told the other night, by a gentleman urging immediate-secession, that we had never had a member in Congress but who was afraid never go, the necessities of man and the laws of to demand the laws for the enforcement of these Constitutional rights. And this is true, but whose faults is that? Shame upon us that we have been afraid to demand our rights at the hands of our own Government, administered to this hour by men of our own choice, and yet insist on our courage to sustain us in seceding from that government in definnce of its power. No, we have a right to go out, but let us know we must exercise that right before we go, and how can we know it unless we ask first? Declaration of Independence, which you invoke for an example, says a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires us to declare the causes which impel us to the separation. When we separate and allege our grievances as our causes, and mankind shall ask us if we attempted, even demar,ded, a redress of those grievances in the Union before we went out, shall we hang our heads and say no? A people who are afraid to manded, yea, petitioned, and warned and conthey acquiese in the necessity which demanded dress, at the hands of our Government. -

1 confess I am anxious to -ee the strength of

I believe we can make Lincoln enforce the dent enforce the law, wen to hanging, sgains, the very rebels who have chosen him to frample We have an instance before us; a President the very rebels who have chosen him to trample nade at the instance of the North: When, in upon it. It will be a vindication that will strike 1833, South Carolina was refusing to obey a Federal law, in the execution of which the Northern States had an interest, Congress passed a Force bill, and put it in the hands of a Southern President for enforcement, even with the army and the firwy and the militin, if needed. Let us turn our battery against Northern rebels. The constitutionality of the act which South Carolina resisted was donbted. A Southern States never nullified, nor refused to obey, a plain constitutional law. But here are the Northern States and people, nullifying and setting at defiance, the