

The object of the association which it is proposed to organize today sir appears sufficiently clear from the first article of the Constitution which I have first submitted to your consideration. There it will be sure that these objects are to organize the people of this district the better to promote the union of the South and more especially to bind them to support their nation state in any course which she may be driven to pursue in defense of her rights.

Such organizations as these Mr. Chairman are by no means new. They are the creatures of dark and troublous times, the spontaneous promptings of men who are threatened with common dangers. In those gloomy days which immediately preceded the Revolution similar associations to this were formed all over the thirteen colonies and in them our fathers swore eternal hatred to tyrants and now when the fifteen southern states are threatened as were the thirteen colonies with the loss of their liberties the people are binding themselves closely together and are swearing alters which their fathers built to defend their rights and to resist unto death the tyrant of the North. As you have heard from Col Orr such associations have been formed in every district of our state with one or two exceptions and in many other of the southern states and now it is high time that we mountaineers were speaking fro though our district is poor and thinly populated yet our people are brave and true of heart and the world should hear this and understand it.

I will trespass but a few moments sir on your time and the patience of my fellow citizens present while I endeavor briefly a point their attention to the necessity of such organizations as this. I need not advert to the many outrages which have been perspicacious to the many instances in which the constitution has been violated by the factions and unprincipled majority which now rules the government these have been shown to you by our representative in Congress in language more clear and favorable that I could hope to use. For years the North has nourished dark and insidious designs against our independence. For years she has kept hid in her

midnight councils the black and traitorous purpose of destroying by a silent and imperceptible revolution the original character of the Federal Government.

At first she approaches her ends with slow and cautious steps stealing along through crooked and secret ways while we slept happy in our fancied security she was by her deep and midnight machinations sapping the bulwarks which had been created around the Constitution and one by one have those bulwarks fallen guarantee after guarantee has been destroyed power after power has been usurped until now she has the constitution and beneath her feet and backed by a fierce and turbulent majority which is divided from the minority by contending interests and geographical line she is ruling the land with a lordly and undivided sway, and she is ruling it for her aggrandizement and for our everlasting destruction.

The nature and character of the government she has entirely changed and from being as it originally was an association of sovereign states united for their mutual benefit and protection it is rapidly becoming a consolidated nation whose laws are to be enacted only for the good of the majority and in which the minority are to have no rights but the base right of being governed as t it may please their masters. In this mad and headlong struggle for power no means have been to wicked he used and no justification has been to sacred to be touched by their foul contaminating hands. No consideration of justice no feeling of humanity no principles of religion have been sufficient to restrain them. They steal our Negroes or council them to run away and when our people go to reclaim their property they murder them in their streets. They send emissaries amongst us who steal from plantation to plantation breathing the breath of sedition and counseling our slaves to cut the throats of

their masters and now thy openly avow the accomplishment of a purpose in its consequences the darkest against which human reason can provide as for which human pity can shudder and which will present to the world a picture of desolation and of blood the darkest which will ever be found in the annals of the human race – a bankrupt nation, and race afraid against race in all the fierce hostility of servile war for such sir such must be the consequences of the emancipation of our slaves.

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But the loss of our Negro property will not be the only end which the north has in mind. We will lose every right and every liberty which belongs to the name of freemen. When the slaves are emancipated and made our equals if they do not exterminate us or drive us out of the country we will lose one fifth of our representation in congress we will lose all power to share in the management of the nations and in the emoluments of the government and when we are ranged and oppressed we will have left to us no mode or manner of redress. We will be taxed to support Northern manufacturers and to build up Northern commerce. We will be taxed to open her rivers and harbors and to repair her highways and bankrupt and powerless and friendless in the earth with each succeeding generation our poverty will be come poorer and our wretchedness more dependant more unredeemable.

Is this not then a dark and dangerous hour and should we not begin to unite in some means of defense? For if we resist not now when will we? Will it be when the North has multiplied her power by the occupation of more free states and the great changes which are going on in the government have become firmly fixed and established by the lapse of time or will it be when we are warring hand to hand with our slaves? Now sir now is the time this is the day of salvation another year may be forever too late.

But we are told sir that we ought not to resist because war may be the consequence and war is horrible sir all freedom has been purchased by blood and war becomes a holy thing when peace has been made the instrument of oppression.

We are told too to be quiet and submit because of the union which is the handiwork of our fathers and because of the glories which associated with the name. And so were our fathers told to remember the greatness of their union with England and the luster which it spread upon them and they loved that English union because connected with its memory were the names of their fathers and the names of many generations but when that union became the means

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by which they were to be oppressed they cut themselves loose from it preferring liberty to glory and so will it be with us sir for when the hour comes and we are forced to choose we will show that we love our rights and the rights of our children better than we do with the Yankees.

What has this union with the yankees been to us that we should love it above all things else we have filled its armies we have fought its battles we have paid its taxes but we have shared little of none of the spoils from the peculiar geographical commercial and agricultural situation of its two grand divisions it has been the means of enriching the north at our expense the means of making one vast repository of wealth. It given them the monopoly of our trade and of our markets it has made them our merchants our factors our agents our bankers our carriers our manufacturers we pay the taxes and they receive them and through these various sources it has been computed they draw from us annually 75 or 80 millions of dollars ~~and this is the sort of Union we are told save and to perpetuate to the remotest posterity.~~

~~But there is yet another argument used against our resistance which is the basest which has ever yet been broached to honorable ears. It is this, Pardon me for mentioning it to this honorable assembly. That we should make an unqualified submission because we are the weaker power and might be overcome in the contest~~

And while the north has been craving this immense percentage from her stock invested in this co-partnership concern what has it profited us? What have we received for that immense track of country known as the North Western Territory, for Iowa, for Wisconsin, for Minnesota, for Oregon, for California all of which we have given to the North? What equivalent have we for the wealth of cities the affluence of her manufactories the riches of her commerce Nothing sir nothing but the benefit of being allowed to receive our laws at her hands Nothing has it given us but to those who have the will it has given the power to work our destruction.

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Yes sir we are told to submit because we are few and weak and because our oppressors are rich and powerful. Were ever such arguments used to brave and honorable men? They are the arguments of slaves and cowards and are of themselves insulting to every manly nature. Why the meanest insect that crawls in the dust will turn and sting the foot that tramples it and should we prove ourselves baser than the very worms of the dust! Shall we submit to insult and injury and patiently bow our necks, to the yoke because the oppressor is stronger than we? No! by the great God of our fathers no for there is a spirit abound amongst these hills and mountains a love of freedom and a hatred of tyrants a spirit which has divided us since the days of the Revolution a spirit which has made every hamlet a temple and every hearth stove an altar of liberty and which will in the hour of danger fill the hearts and warm the hands of our country men to emulate the great deeds of their brave and noble sires.

Why these were the very arguments which were used by the Tories, the submissionists of those days, to our Revolutionary sires. When England in the pride of her power sought to oppress our fathers and when they spoke of resistance they were told by the Tories the submissionists that it was folly to think of resisting the great power of England's King, they were told that it was better to submit at once than to be whipped into measures. But did our fathers submit listen to such base and cowardly councils? No, all honor to our brave war like sires they arose in the majesty and in the might of men who fight for freedom and girding their armor on went forth to conquer or die on the battlefield. They knew that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong they knew that right and justice was on their side and trusted that the God who governs the hosts of heaven and rules over the armies of men would be with them and give them the victory and through the hireling of the oppressor oversaw their country blasting it with the blackness of desolation and death

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and with all the horrors of civil war, burning their homes and violating their wives and butchering their children though their blood ran like rivers from the mountains to the sea and their bones whitened in a hundred fields yet they triumphed at last yes few and weak as they were they triumphed at last.

For freedoms battle once began  
Bequeathed from bleeding, sire to son  
Though baffled oft is ever won

*[The lines above are quoted from a poem called "The Giaour" by Lord Byron]*

And so, so if the worst comes to the worst we will know them our foes.

Why is it that the bearing of our people is so exacting and noble why are their footsteps so manly and free it is because they feel independent and proud, independent in the knowledge of their rights and proud in the consciousness of power and the spirit to maintain them.

Tell me not then that the sons of Carolina will desert her in this her hour of fear.

Could they be so base the winds that are blowing so gently today over our beautiful land would have in tempests around us and the sky which is smiling so serenely upon us, the same sky which looked down on the battles of the Revolution would lower in darkness and burst in thunder upon our degenerate heads. Oh no we will not submit for the children of Carolina must ever be free and so long as the Palmetto waves in the breeze so long will they rally around it by hundred and by thousands will they fall in defense of their rights, aye the last Carolinian will die in the breach.

With his back to the field and his feet to the fire, And having in battle no blot on his name Look proudly to heaven from the death head of fame

As for me sir I am ready I had two grandfathers and thirteen granduncles in the revolutionary war. One of them fell at the Cowpens riddled by fourteen balls another fell at Kings Mountain and another at Yorktown. I have a father and three brothers and we are all ready to die in the same great and glorious cause for “Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.” [*Translation from Latin: “It is sweet and fitting to die for your country.”*]