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BY GEORGE HOWARD.

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POLITICAL.



FOR THE TARBORO' PRESS.

A NATIONAL SERMON.

Or, a few thoughts on Nullification.

By an American Farmer.

Written in 1833, but in consequence of the Compromise, not published until now.

First book of Kings, xii chapter, verse 4: Thy father made our yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee. Verse 10: My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins. Verse 11: And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.

The wise man Solomon said, there was nothing new under the sun, and indeed it seems true; for in this case before us, of the kingdom and nation of Israel, we see as clear as day light the present crisis of American affairs; and the plea and petitions of the South Carolinians to the General Government for relief from the Tariff grievances, to correspond as near as possible with the plea of the ten tribes of Israel to King Rehoboam, for a redress of their grievances. And by reading this chapter, the General Government may see as clear as the sun at noon-day, which way they ought to steer the American bark, and what may be the fatal effect to this nation if they do not redress grievances. For the ten tribes were never after united to the other two, and wars on wars were the effect of this split between the tribes or twelve States of Israel.

Here, Congress men, look with open eyes and see the path you must and ought to tread; or you may be, by one act of yours, the cause of fifty different wars in this country in time to come, like this one circumstance did in Israel, by Rehoboam's not redressing the grievances of his subjects on petition. We will say, you crush the South Carolinians in a moment. Stop, pause awhile; the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. There was a God in Israel that managed the affairs of the nation, and mark this, that he never suffered them again to be united. But oh, the blood, the blood, that this one proud overbearing and hard bearing act and counsel of his young ministers brought on that nation, that might have been so easy to all human appearances settled at first, by Rehoboam's granting the petitions of his subjects. Remember, there is a point to which human nature can bear; then nothing but death can damp the patriotic flame. Remember, grievances endured and suffered by our fathers, and not redressed by Great Britain on petition, were the cause of our Revolution; and must you not be mad, or out of your senses, oh, you Houses of Congress, not to hear the voices of our oppressed, complaining South Carolinians; our brethren, our bone and our flesh, our sister and help purchaser of liberty at the price of treasure and blood in the revolutionary struggle.

Or, will you shut your eyes against the light of all past experience of nations, and pursue the proud, the down, hard bearing, and mad policy of Rehoboam and the British nation, and thereby produce a revolution and perhaps a never ending separation of these United States; that have become the light of nations, the terror of despots, the boast of the sons of liberty throughout the world, and the happy asylum to the outcast and oppressed of all nations of the earth, that can possibly tread American soil. Never, no, never, when you can so easily profit by past experience. Lighten your hand, break the yoke, burst the cords, and spread joy to the sons of liberty; stop the mouths of tyrants, who laugh and

mock at Republican governments. Dry up the tears of patriots, and do honor to the sleeping heroes of the Revolution, who fought, and bled, and died, to purchase such a boon for you. I call heaven, and General Washington, and his host of liberty's bleeding martyrs, to witness your mad and proud policy, if you do not listen to the grievances of the South, and redress them speedily, and save the Union of this nation; since you can see as plain as the nose on your face, the whirlpool that is before you, by the light of past experience.

I shall now take up my text, with some of the circumstances relating thereto. It is clear, from reading this chapter and others, that the nation of Israel at the death of Solomon, to external appearance was in a very prosperous condition; gold and silver was in great plenty, so that it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon. His sumptuous palace was built; the famous temple a house for Pharaoh's daughter, &c. &c. Yet it is also clear, that the people of Israel were groaning under very heavy and grievous burdens at the same time; and I will show you the reason why. First, the king's table every day was a vast burden on the people; for it was thirty measures of fine flour, and three-score measures of meal, ten fat oxen, and twenty fat oxen out of the pastures, an hundred sheep, and roebucks, and fallow deer, and fatted fowl. What a heavy tax this on a nation! Add to this, forty thousand horses for chariots fed every day, and twelve thousand horsemen with clothing and food. Here are a million or two at once, I take it. Add to this, the pay of all his great officers, with a hundred other contingent expenses for the government of the nation of Israel. We may say four or five millions, at once. But what was the worst of all, this was the vast expense of a peace establishment, for there was no war in the days of Solomon.

Now add to all this, the oppression of hard labor in building of houses, not for themselves but for the king or nation; for leaving out the mighty labor and cost of the temple, the king's house must have been both costly and oppressive to the people, for they were employed about thirteen years in these public works. But oh, heavens, when I tell you they were not left at their liberty, but levied by the government out of all the tribes of Israel—to do what? why, to work for the king and nation. Thirty thousand cutting timber of cedar in Lebanon, sixty thousand bearing burdens, and three thousand three hundred officers to oversee them. Here you see almost one hundred thousand men at work on internal improvements like slaves for the king. Is it any wonder that Israel under these circumstances complained of grievances and a heavy yoke, when it had galled their necks for thirteen years. Solomon was rich, it is true; yea, the richest of kings; but the people were poor, very poor, in the latter part of Solomon's reign; for his household expenses, his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines, were not to be maintained without a vast expense to the government. Besides, the vast internal improvements made in the kingdom, as well as thirteen years loss of labor. And this is the effect of internal improvements in all nations, a rich government, but poor people and they oppressed.

This was the reason, and I think reason fully sufficient, for Israel's laying their petitions of grievances before Rehoboam, their young king. And had Rehoboam taken the lenient, the pacific course and measures to relieve the burdens of the people, he would not have had his kingdom curtailed, distracted, and divided as it was, by those measures which he and his ministry pursued, of still holding the burdens on his people. His subjects asked nothing but what was their right, nothing but what might be said was the language of reason; and withal they presented a very humble petition to their young king, with promises of future and continued fidelity to the young king, as they had to his father, on lightening their burdens of labor and taxation. Labor is one of heaven's rights to all men, and he or they, that take away this right from man without his consent, is a tyrant and an usurper of the rights God has given man for the support of himself and family.

But hear their petition: Thy father made our yoke grievous, now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father and his yoke which he put on us lighter. For heaven's sake, what was there so unreasonable in all this? They did, like the South Carolinians, not ask to have all burdens of government removed; but only some part of their hard burdens and services removed, so that they might bear yet, and get along in their affairs in this life. I ask, was there any disloyalty in their petition to their young king? No, there is a manifest willingness yet to serve. They had an undoubted right certainly, as well as the South Carolinians, to petition their king or government for a redress of what they thought their grievances; and they, it is certain, used this right in great humility as subjects of that kingdom, as well as the

South has done. Rehoboam, you know, took three days to consider on this subject, like the Houses of Congress have done; for they have taken two or three sessions to consider on the Tariff grievances of the South. Now I should have thought, that it would not have taken Rehoboam, nor the House of Congress neither, a day, no, not an hour, when the matter is so plain from the past experience of nations. But oh, he had his ministers to consult, and they a set of young ministers too; not the old ones of his father, for had he, Rehoboam, taken their advice, the States of Israel had not been divided. But no doubt these young outs wanted to supplant his father's old ministers, and get in.

And here, fellow citizens, arises off the distraction and destruction of nations; from our wanting to get in, to share the loaves and fishes. What was the counsel of Solomon's old ministers of state? He, you will not doubt, was a wise king; and of course, his ministers of state may be ranked among the none such. Let us hear, fellow citizens of the United States, for the instruction of the Houses of Congress, what advice these wise old ministers of state give in this crisis of affairs in the nation of Israel; which is analogous to the crisis of the present American affairs. Here comes their counsel: And they spake unto him, saying, if thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words unto them, then will they be thy servants for ever. Here, oh ye men of Congress, is the voice of the wisdom of ministers of state in the days of ancient times, at a crisis like ours. Will you, oh I call upon you in the name of heaven, and by all that is sacred to God or man, to listen to this counsel and act accordingly; for it is the counsel of wisdom, it is the safest advice that you in this crisis of Southern complaints can take. For I ask you, in the name of God, is it not as much your duty to hear the petitions of the people, or a State, as it is for them to obey your lawful or constitutional mandates? You are our servants, and we are yours; and it is the interest of all to be united and serve each other. And I beg you to remember, that all sovereign power, whether of kingdoms or States, lose their right to rule men in a moral point of view, when they become oppressors and take away of the rights of men. Such a government is no longer an ordinance of the great God of heaven, for and because it destroys those very rights he bequeathed man in creation.

Whenever the established laws of nations or States are contrary to the dictates of reason, and take away the rights of men, they cannot, according to the laws of God and the consciences of men, be lawfully obeyed. For in such a case, any man can resist them and not sin, but have a clear conscience towards God. Such was the case of the patriots of the Revolution, they could see a field of Britons slain & weltering and smoking in their blood, and feel no guilt of conscience; because they had put the Americans upon the necessity of killing them in defence of those rights that God had bestowed on man as his inalienable rights, and therefore the blood was on the British ministry, and not on the heads of the Americans. And in case men are not able to resist unjust and unreasonable laws, they should rather suffer than obey them; and every subject in a nation has a right to judge of the laws of that nation, whether just or unjust. For God himself has submitted his laws to our judgment and understanding, and calls upon us thus to obey. And if you should say, the common people do not understand the laws of their country; I then say, they can't transgress, because you make a law beyond their comprehension. I say, the common people are competent judges of all matters of State, for self and national governments; for on them the burden of all governments fall, and they should be the chief regulators. It is true, they may not understand the tricks and intrigues of lawyers, nor the manoeuvring of statesmen to get their hands in the treasury; yet if the designing would let them alone, they will do right and do for the best, the best for all; but the designing, for the few.

For I assure you, that the lowest class of the nation know how to count their money and value their precious labor, as well as my Lord Secretary of State. Why then should not the voice of our sister be heard and granted, since she is as capable of judging of laws, money, and labor, as well as others? I say, break the yoke and set the nation at peace, or you will repent it when too late. What, for heaven's sake, will you risk this republic for a few hundred thousand dollars? Don't, for old George's sake, do like Rehoboam, reject the counsel of his old ministers and listen to his young ones, and so refuse to remove like him this Tariff grievance, and divide the United States like he did the twelve States of Israel; and bring on us and our children, and children's children, wars unnumbered. Oh, let not the American soil drink the blood of its sons, but of tyrants and her invaders.

Let us read the advice of Rehoboam's young men in the text: My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins—I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions. Oh, ye Houses of Congress, what foolish advice this, as the end proved it to be. Be wiser than these young ministers, and this fool hardy young king; don't put to sea in a storm. These were vigorous measures, measures that had a tendency to irritate hearts that were already galled to the quick, and not to conciliate, and mollify, and make peace. Don't tread on that ground, for it is too dangerous, as the end shewed. Oh, how astonished must these dutiful subjects of the king have been, when they heard such a cruel and hard answer from their young king to their humble petition for a redress of grievances, as stated in the text. Methinks they stood amazed, but I am sure they grew mad and vexed worse than ever, for they revolted from the house of David from that day; and stoned Adoram, whom the king sent to pacify them.

No doubt the king and his young men thought, that threats and perseverance from his majesty, would soon humble and kill the pride of these groaning Israelites; or that they would fall out among themselves, and so there would be an end to their opposition and complaints; or that this insurrection was all owing to Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, and a few other factious fellows, that led the people astray; and that they were at the head of all this, and could not long agree, because every one would want to be the great man. Or, that if a few of the king's troops who were well disciplined were sent after them, that they would soon return to their duty through fear, as it was only a mere party, and no doubt he thought a few out of the thousands of Israel. But he was fatally mistaken when it came to the test. Ten tribes went off, and his party was but a handful, when the people were sounded. Matters had now come to a crisis in Israel, the full extent of the division was seen, while before only a few spoke out. So in all revolutions, the greatest part for certain principles lie concealed, until forced out like Israel, by further over bearing measures.

And here, fellow citizens, you can see what would have saved the union of the Israelitish states; and that was, a change of men and measures in the ministry. But this young king and his proud young men, you may be sure, had not love enough for the union to resign their post; nor would not, or could not, see the danger of their measures of government before too late; and thus the nation was shipwrecked, for want of better and older pilots. I ask you, if it was not madness and folly in Rehoboam, thus to act and dash the union of Israel to pieces, merely for the sake of being called brave, or not rescinding oppressive measures? But alas, there was honey comb made in the treasury by these men's labors and taxes, and therefore the king and his ministers were not willing to resign the helm to others, nor let them off with less taxes.

I tell you, fellow citizens, it is hard to say what a people will do, when fully provoked by bad measures in governmental affairs. I should say, it was not good to provoke a people, lest that government be the cause of the outrage that may be committed by a vexed people, conscious of their rights, and so bring their blood to be required at the hands of the governors of the nation. For sure I am, if bad measures and unjust laws that take away the rights of men, be the cause of blood's being shed, that the promoters of those measures must bear the blood of the slain; as the Saviour has said, wo unto that man by whom the offence cometh. And who can help being offended, when his labor and money are taken away without his consent, by unjust measures in a government, and given to another to riot in luxury and debauchery, as did Solomon and no doubt his ministry, as he set them so bad an example; for the text says, he loved many strange women.

We will now just glance over the subject in a way of application, to see the analogy in this case of Israel, and the present state of American affairs. And first, the nation of Israel in the days of Solomon had been badly oppressed, by means of their labor being taken away from them and expended on public works of the king and nation. You will recollect, that labor is money; money or labor is when taken away a taxation, and that all revenues in any government arise from labor. And you may just as well tax a man's hands as his purse, produce, property, or necessary wants; for they all amount to the same. Solomon had laid a heavy tax of labor on the Israelites for thirteen years, to build all his public and national works; they were now done and finished. We hear of no petition from them, until all are finished; they seem to have borne their burdens with much patience. Then don't you think, now they ought of right and of justice to themselves, to have this tax of labor

removed. This is the yoke and service complained of, and the grounds of their petition. I say their claim of rights and petition are well founded, and ought to have been granted by the young king.

Now, sir, to compare. The American government has been much in debt, in consequence of last war and other necessary charges. Have not the South Carolinians, like the Israelites, paid faithfully their quota of labor to carry on these public works? But they are now, like the public works of the States of Israel, finished. The national debt paid, the South Carolinians now, like the Israelites, petition for a release from further labor or taxation. What say you, Congress, is not their right and petition well founded, and claim just? They now want, like Israel, to work for themselves, and do no more labor for the nation than may keep the wheels moving. And can you in justice say why they should not? I think you cannot in justice say, that they should not now work for themselves; for the right of labor is a God-given right to every man, and you have no right to take it away; if you do, they have a right to complain, and resist your taking it away and justly too. And no king nor government has a right to take any more from the subjects thereof than for the good of the whole, and not the few in any government. And this the Constitution gives Congress, and no more; and Congress has no right to tax our labor, our purse, produce, property, wants or wishes than is sufficient for the expenses of government. And whenever Congress does or shall lay a tax, or duty, or what not, to carry on any works, or internal improvements, that are not for the good of the whole nation, but for the benefit of a few individuals, or any one particular State or section of country, wherein the whole Union is not benefited less or more, they become oppressive Solomonians, and that part oppressed thereby has a right to complain and petition for redress of such grievances, and may justly resist when not granted. And so did Israel of old, as true patriots, and set up for themselves under Jeroboam, their first king; and for this reason the union of the States of Israel was broken forever. Take heed.

But we will now come to the very root of the matter, or the main cause of this grievance; and that was, that all this vast taxation of labor of the ten tribes or States of Israel, was expended mostly for the benefit and in the State of Benjamin, for the aggrandizement of that State, and the benefit and wealth of its citizens. And the State or tribe of Benjamin joined the tribe or State of Judah; for the famous city of Jerusalem stood in the State of Benjamin, a few miles from the line that divided the States of Judah and Benjamin. Here it was that most of the tax or labor of the ten tribes was expended, on these States and to the benefit of the citizens thereof; while their own States and selves received no benefit from their labor. And further, the State of Judah was by far the largest State in the Union of the twelve, and the most populous. Here is the gall then, here is the grievance that harrows the heart and enrages patriotic blood. Shall we, the ten States that have equal rights with Judah and Benjamin, be always at work for them, to raise their cities to splendor, and ours lie in ruins; to erect famous and splendid houses and public works, for the good of these two States, and we have scarce houses to shelter us, by means of our being always from home to work for them? Good heavens, this won't do for us; let Judah and Benjamin work for themselves, and let us work for ourselves. Is not this right, say, ye men of Congress?

Here, in a short manner, you have a fair view, and the effects of the cursed projects of internal improvements in one State and not in others; and laying a tax to benefit one or two States, and aggrandize them on the expense or labor of others. This was the gall in Israel to the ten tribes, and raised their mood not to be allayed without redress of grievances. So I tell the General Government, with all the candor of a free citizen, that the system of internal improvement, either to be put in practice by a State or the United States, is and cannot help being in any shape that the wisdom of all your heads can put it, any other thing than a system of oppression on the many to aggrandize the few. This is my logic. And that you have no right to expend the money or labor of one State to the advantage of another; if you do, the heart of the Americans will rebel, as did the ten tribes; for they were conscious it was wrong, and so am I, and I think you must be also.

(remainder next week.)

JOSHUA LAWRENCE.

Gov Reynolds, of Missouri, has offered a reward of \$600 for the apprehension of Orrin Porter Rockwell, charged with the crime of feloniously shooting Killburn W. Boggs, with the intent to kill him; and of Jo. Smith, charged with being accessory before the fact to the crime of the said Rockwell; or \$300 for either of them. *Raleigh Star.*