

# TARBORO' PRESS.

Whole No. 869.

Tarborough. (Edgecombe County, N.C.) Saturday, October 29, 1842

Vol. XVIII — No. 43.

## The Tarborough Press,

BY GEORGE HOWARD.

Is published weekly at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per year, if paid in advance—or Three Dollars at the expiration of the subscription year. For any period less than a year, Twenty-five Cents per month. Subscribers are at liberty to discontinue at any time, on giving notice thereof, and paying arrears—those residing at a distance, must invariably pay in advance, or give a responsible reference in this vicinity.

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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. (continued.)

And now we come again to compare the complaints of the ten tribes, with our brethren's complaints of the South. The tax of labor levied by Solomon on the ten tribes, mostly benefitted the two tribes. For thirteen years this was their grief, this was the gall; but they endured until they saw it was time to speak out. Now I would ask, who or which of the States does the tax of tariff, duties benefit, a few or the whole of the States? Did not the States of Judah and Benjamin cleave to the young king and his measures? Yes, and why? Because these two States got all the benefit of the labor of the other ten; and so well they might be ready to arm and fight their brethren, to bring them back to subjection, and for what? that they might still be aggrandized from their labor. And they would have done so, had not God interposed for the distressed ten tribes, and prevented the war. And here you can see also, on which side God will be in America, and you know on whose side he was in the Revolution. And you can also see that those States benefitted by tariff tax, will support tariff measures and fight their brethren, it is to be feared, to keep tariff labor pouring in to increase their wealth and aggrandize themselves and States, as would Judah and Benjamin. For man is now about what he always was, he is nothing bettered by the age of time.

I ask the question again, which of the States are benefitted by the tariff duties? Is it the Southern States, Northern, Western, or Eastern? or, are all of them equally alike benefitted? or is it like it was in Israel, the Southern planters have worked for the Northern States these thirteen years, like Israel of old? Yes, sir, the case of the Southern States and that of the ten tribes is parallel; therefore, you hear their complaints in the same manner. And I am afraid the effects will be worse than that of Israel, and that God will not interpose until much precious blood is shed; unless Congress should be wise enough to take the counsel of Solomon's old ministers, and speak good words unto them, and serve them by taking off the tariff, and so make peace. Then will they be their servants for ever, if not, you will see if there is not a Jeroboam set up to the sorrow of this nation for ever.

What is the difference between Solomon's levying three months labor at a time on Israel, and Congress levying a tariff tax on the Southern planters? the difference is only in the article, for labor has to pay the tax in both cases. Judah and Benjamin could well bear the tax and not complain, because they were benefitted by such a tax of labor on Israel. So could the North well bear the tariff without complaint, because they are, like Judah and Benjamin, benefitted by the labor of the South. For the North, like Judah and Benjamin, get their own labor and that of their brethren in the South in the bargain.

Is not the tariff a protecting system to Northern manufacturers? you won't deny

this. I ask what right has Congress, from the constitution, from justice between man and man, from equity or reason, to tax a South Carolina planter to support a Northern manufacturing man? Has not Congress the same right to reverse it, and to tax a Northern manufacturing man to support the Southern planter? The power that can do the one can do the other. Why then not do so, and thus turn the scale of complaint of grievances? I think there are much better reasons for taxing manufacturers than farmers, for you all know that the farmers are the life blood and sinews of all governments. Why then bear them down by protecting system? For the king himself is served by the field.

Then I say, if Congress does make a protecting system, the farmers are first entitled to it, and not manufacturers. But I tell you in plain words, that a protecting system is brother to the system of internal improvement; they are both the accursed principles of tyranny and oppression. Among tyrants they both begun, and it is tyranny that wants to hold them on in the world. There is no justice between man and man in either of the systems no more than there was for the ten States of Israel to work for the two States, and thus be kept from their own farms for the profit of others. The South Carolinian employs his capital in farming, the Northern man in manufacturing; say, don't these two men possess by the constitution of the United States the same rights? Then what right has Congress to tax the one more than the other, much less to tax the one to support the other? For it is in effect taking the money out of a Southern planter's pocket, and cramming it in the Northern manufacturing man's pocket. It is law thievery, there is neither Constitution, justice, equity, nor good reason for so doing. Says one, the manufacturers must be protected, they can't get along without. Then let him follow some other trade. Has not the planters good and better reason to say, you must protect me also? How then will you do it? No they may live if they can, for you.

Thus you put burdens on the South to benefit the North, by your protecting system; yet they must not complain, nor be heard if they do. Will you crush them? Take heed, God is on their side, they ask nothing but their rights, founded in the constitution, justice, equity, and reason. You may lose some of your heads in the scuffle, for aught you can tell. Don't for the Lord's and the nation's sake, push matters by such measures to the crisis, to which Rehoboam did; you may repent it, when too late. For when a people are conscious of their rights, and conscious of their wrongs, and wrong is still urged on them, take care, your ship will strike a rock and burst in splinters. Then haul to, and lower sail; dismiss your protecting system as a species of tyranny, and give peace to the South and quietness to the nation, and let the printers go to sleep, for they must be tired by this time of the fuss; and for your children, and children's children's sake, save the Union.

To Senators and Representatives, I am not yet done comparing. Rehoboam and his young ministry no doubt thought, that these complaints of grievances came from the head of Jeroboam and a few more factious leaders; and if they could intimidate them, and the few that had been poisoned with their principles, or at least destroy this little factious band of complainers, then peace would ensue, although the measures were bad; and all Israel would quietly return to their duty, and still continue to bear their burdens. For no doubt he thought this faction was small, or else he would not have hazarded the Union and loss of the ten tribes, which were the greatest part of his kingdom. Nor could he have foreseen the number of his subjects that were affected with this grievance, or he would have taken the advice of his father's old ministers, and made their yoke lighter, and thus have saved the Union. So may you, Senators and Representatives, think that all this complaint of South Carolinians comes from the head of a Calhoun, a Hayne, a Smith, or a few factious fellows; and that at most it is but a little band of factious Nullifiers, who have been poisoned by their leaders; and if these were but off, then the South would return to her duty. Don't for God's sake, be deceived, like Rehoboam and his ministry. The printers may tell you a thousand things you will never find true, about Union men and Nullifiers, and make the Nullifiers but a unit, and the Union men tens of thousands. All that is nothing. Remember, men have consciences, and their consciences will force them to do what all your laws, swords, cannon, and bayonets can't do; they will, when it comes to the test, be governed by the dictates of their consciences in this affair. Reason will speak out, and your bad policy be condemned as unconstitutional and unjust.

Little did Rehoboam think, that there were ten tribes that would espouse this cause. Little did he think, to see this factious band such a host, when they had

crept forth from their holes. So let me forewarn you, that you do not, nor cannot now ascertain any certainty in this matter. For there are no doubt tens of thousands, yea hundreds of thousands of Nullifiers I fear in all the States sleeping in their dens; that have not, like Israel, showed themselves, who will if you urge bad measures show themselves to the nation, a formidable host to her cost of blood and treasure. For heaven's sake don't risk it, like mad Rehoboam, in not granting the South a redress of complaints. If you do, bad will be the times; for these Nullifiers, whose consciences tell them they are oppressed, and whose reason dictates to them their rights, and whose hearts respond and say, we have sued for our right and can't be heard by the General Government, will come forth from their holes like fiery dragons, and bears and tigers robbed of their whelps; the smell of gun powder, nor the thundering of cannon, nor glittering of steel will not make such men afraid, because they have got a clear conscience. Such men as these can fight father, brother, uncle, or fellow citizen, and feel no sting, but that of you have forced me to kill you, in defence of the rights God has given me; I am sorry truly, that you would pursue such a mad course as to compel me to kill you, my right is my right, and I will have it or die in the attempt. Such men as these were the bleeding patriots of the Revolution. Don't scorn such men as these, though a handful; for ten thousand of such men can whip thirty that have had consciences and a bad cause; or that fight for honor or treasure, for rights is the dearest jewel of man.

Gentlemen, I am not done yet with my comparing. No doubt Rehoboam and his young ministry thought, that a few of the troops that had been well disciplined, and kept on hand in Solomon's peace establishment, would be sufficient to put an end to all this clamor about rights and grievances. And shall I, the king of all this realm, and we the ministers of state, bow or bend to this faction, and grant them their wishes? No, no, our pride disdains the deed. No, never let it be said that the king and his ministry and all Israel, did bend and stoop so low in humility as to be trampled on. And what is worse than all, and still worse precedent that we should pass laws and the people won't obey them. This we can never submit to, we will force them into obedience; for we will be judges and not they, of the course this nation shall pursue. Oh, pride, when will Republican principles humble thee! Are we, gentlemen, your servants, or you ours? You tell the people that you are willing to serve them, and come forward to do so; and I ask you, how you can serve a people, by bringing ruin on the nation, as a disunion must certainly do.

I need not cite you to Greece, Israel, and Rome; these things, gentlemen, you understand, that disunion was the ruin of all. This is the first step to the downfall of all Republics. This, gentlemen, you know. Is it not better then, gentlemen, to lower sail, heave ashore, and bow a little, than ruin our glorious country by pride and stiffness? You had better give up the helm to other hands, than be swept off of deck for not bowing to the trees that may be in your way, and thus letting the American ship split to splinters on the rock of disunion, perhaps never to be repaired. You may think, like Rehoboam, that a few cutters, a man of war or two, and some thousands of the well disciplined troops of your peace establishment, will be sufficient to compel the South into obedience to your mandates. Don't be mistaken, like Rehoboam. There will be more of them than you expect, and I shall not marvel in this affair, if you push measures, that it turns out as it did in Israel, that every State in the Union leaves the Northern States to themselves; for the same reasons that the ten tribes did. And what was that? say you. Why, recollect, that the ten had worked for the two, by the acts of Solomon's government, as long as they could bear it. And so has the South for the North. For I feel assured, that when the test comes, you will see a change that I now could point out, but shall not, of thousands and tens of thousands that are taken for friends.

So, gentlemen, for heaven's sake don't pursue these harsh measures; but do honor to yourselves by stooping to the wishes of the South, and save our country from the blood of her children. I tell you, gentlemen, I would divest myself of the last shirt to support the Union; but not those harsh and unconstitutional and unjust measures, that have been persevered in, in some degree. For if the Union is broken, the nation is gone, the Lord knows where; to anarchy, and confusion, and blood; or the prey of some despot or tyrant, and may groan in her fetters, and grind in the prison of tyranny for ever. God forbid. Then, gentlemen, stop, pause, cool, think, meditate. Don't take a long time to consider, not three days, like Rehoboam, nor three years, nor thirteen; for if blood is shed, count, I say, count the Union gone. Yes,

blood shed, is the dissolution of the Union at once.

Gentlemen, if I had a million of dollars, I would give it rather than the Union should be broken, if it was only for the honor of Republican principles, and the honor of my country that gave me birth. Are not the tyrants of the earth in league, and united to bind their fetters on mankind and make them wear their chains of cruelty? And shall we, the sons of liberty, be disunited? Oh, ye printers, tell it not in England, lest they rejoice, publish it not in France, lest Lafayette, the friend, the father, and hero of seventy-six, become sad and mourn over his children. Let not Russia and Spain hear the news, nor Poland and Greece, lest the children of liberty that have come to the birth, die in the womb. Oh, Americans, have we come to this; for the tyrants and despots of the world to make a wide mouth and cry, aha, aha, so we would have it, you see no Republic can last long; you see mankind has not virtue enough to be free, nor to enjoy liberty; you see they need a master, our Government is best, it is best for men to be slaves, and have a despot, a tyrant, a king, an emperor, than be free. Oh, heavens, interpose and save my country, save republican principles for my children. Turn the hearts of our rulers to rule in the fear of the Lord; and exercise pacific measures to maintain the Union; and oh, that it may be bound together as with bands of iron. Every citizen in the Union should know no majesty but the laws of his country, around this standard all should rally for their support, it is the duty of all; but those laws should distribute and protect all rights equal, from the king to the beggar. For it cannot be the duty of any citizen to know or support unjust, unreasonable, or unequal laws, not founded in moral equity and justice. And if the laws of the protecting system is such, the old farmer is a fool in politics. Both Senators and Representatives, I shall now let you off, hoping you will take the advice of Solomon's old ministers, and speak good words to the Southern people, and serve them by taking off the tariff; then will they be your servants for ever, or so long as you shall distribute equal justice to all the States, I will vouch for them.

Brother South Carolinians, permit an old gray headed farmer to say a few words to you, in the heat of your passion. Listen a moment to the language of a friend, and a man of years. Have you thought seriously and deliberately upon this all momentous affair of Nullification? If you say you have, I beg you in the name of God and all that can be sacred and dear to you, your wives and children, and fellow citizens, to think again; and then take time to think again; let your passions cool, and then think again. For of all the subjects that ever your mind was set upon, religion excepted, this is of the greatest importance to you, your family, State, and fellow citizens in general; as well as those glorious principles of republicanism, and the honor of your country, on the eyes of all the nations of the earth. All is here staked on this one act of yours. Oh, for heaven's sake, let me as a friend tell you, to think and look well before you leap out of the frying pan into the fire.

Will you put your brethren upon the necessity of crimsoning their sword with your blood? Oh, never let it be so said, for what is a nation without union, nothing but a prey to despots and usurpers of every and any sort of tyrants. Surely it becomes the duty of all to support the Union of the States, forasmuch as it is for the good of all, the wealth and protection and respectability of all and every citizen that inhabits her bounds, or that shall sail under her flag in any part in the world. Have you weighed the matter of disunion, a little handful to yourselves? You see the United States is now off in difficulties with other nations, and her rights as a nation can hardly be respected; will not your commerce bring you into difficulties with the nations, how then will you protect your rights, or enforce them? Think for a moment, that you as a single State then must put up with the insults of the nations and greater grievances than those you now suffer. Indeed, you had better of two evils choose the least. For surely you should blush to ask the United States to protect you, since you would wilfully break from the Union, and leap into the fire. Would she not do right to let you burn up for your madness and folly? Oh, think seriously, that a disunion is your own ruin, and what is worse the ruin of all perhaps. And will you in your vexation ruin such a glorious country, where we live like kings, and not slaves; and ruin yourselves and family, in the bargain.

Besides all this, brethren, only think of the numerous wars it will bring on this country, by your disunion, as it did on Israel. Do you not know, that the two tribes and the ten were every now and then at war, as long as the nation of Israel lasted? Do you not know, that the surrounding nations, sometimes had war with the two tribes distinctly, and sometimes with the

ten; and sometimes they were forced to unite for to protect themselves against a besieging enemy? Why then, for heaven's sake, break the Union for a few thousand dollars, when your unity is your strength and your protection; and without this Union, what is your strength against the nations of the earth, that may assail your rights? Worse than the tariff. What shall we do for you? we can't acknowledge your independence; for this you already possess; we can't treat with you, for you belong to our body. What shall we then do for you? Dismiss you from our body, or remove the tariff? I say, remove the tariff. And if we dismiss you, you are enfeebled and disgraced, and thereby you will disgrace us, and our glorious country and principles of government. Thus for heaven's sake, think and cool, and be pacified a while, hoping the best Congress will in time do all that is right; wait with more patience, don't rush precipitately on fate, and hurry the ruin of your own selves, and enter the presence of Almighty God in a fit of madness, unprepared to meet him in peace. Stay on the plains of time, until he shall please to call thee over to eternity.

Besides, you do not know, nor can you foresee, what such a civil war may end in. You can't see what course and direction such a war may take, nor what principles may yet be agitated to give it many directions. It may become a social war, or a war of extermination; or end in one or two despotisms, to enslave you and the rest of the States. And how then? You will still be worse off. Think, I pray, think; and cool and reflect on so awful a step as you are about to take, a step that may ruin you and your children for ever. Will you see your fertile fields laid waste, your houses, towns and cities without a man to inhabit them over sixteen and under sixty? Shall your own soil drink your blood, and be drenched with the blood of your brethren and relatives? Shall your wives be left to mourn your rashness and untimely fate? Will you leave your children fatherless, on an unmerciful world, without a guide and instructor, and die in the anger of your soul; and your fair virgins without a bridegroom, to cherish and make happy the days of their youth? Shall your land become a solitary place, so that he that passes through shall say, behold the folly of man in a fit of resentment.

Brethren, stop, cool, pause—lower sail and come ashore, and sit down calmly and reason on the subject with the greatest deliberation; for your rashness may prove your ruin, and that of the unborn millions after you, that shall rise up and curse you folly for selling for a trifle their birthright to liberty, in a fit of your anger. I admit with my whole soul, brethren, that your claim is well founded, and your petition for redress of grievances just, and your demand for your rights such as should be granted; but, my brethren, I do not nor cannot approve the rash step of Nullification, or a disunion. Because I set more by the United States than what I do by what little I possess; and more by the welfare of all, than I do by my own welfare; and more by the welfare of all the States, than by my own State—besides the regard for the unborn, whose rights and liberty we hold in trust for them. And I tell you, if we once begin to war among ourselves, there is no knowing where it will end, nor what the issue may be. All nations have had their judgments and times of reckoning, and when the balances have been struck, they have sunk to rise no more.

Think, Americans, think. This will be a disgrace to our nation and our principles of government wherever the news shall come, that we are at war among ourselves. God forbid! Strike not a blow! Set still, cool, and then talk and reason it out; and if you then can't agree, summons a Convention of all the States in the Union, say one man for every ten thousand, and let them try as a jury of honest citizens, this case between the General Government and South Carolina, before one blow is struck; or, if there should be a blow struck on either side, I call for an armistice of twelve months, for the trial of this case. And if on the trial there should be three-fourths on either side, the other shall submit to the decision, and set the nation at rest and the printers to sleep; and save the effusion of the blood of brethren, the honor of our country, and our principles of government. For I tell you, disunion is war—and war is death in the pot of liberty.

JOSHUA LAWRENCE.

**Duel between two Indians.**—Two Choctaws, living in the parish of Rapides, Louisiana, fought a deadly duel a few days ago. The weapons were rifle; the muzzles were placed within six inches of each combatant's breast, and at the firing, which was simultaneous, both fell dead.

**To take grease out of silk.**—If a little powdered magnesia be applied on the wrong side of the silk as soon as the spot is discovered, it is a never failing remedy—the stain disappearing as if by magic.