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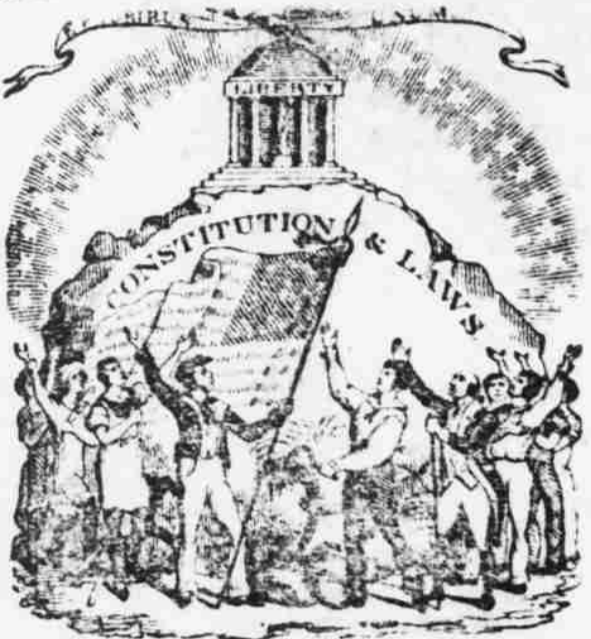
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The Tarboro' Press,

BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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POLITICAL.



General Assembly.

REPORT OF THE MAJORITY

Of the Joint Committee, on the subject of Slavery, submitted to the General Assembly on the 10th ult. by Mr. Saunders:—

WHEREAS, The people of North Carolina have ever cherished a lively and cordial attachment to the Union of the States, and entertain the most sincere desire for its preservation; and whilst, in the opinion of this General Assembly, the slaveholding States have suffered great wrong by some of the measures enacted at the last session of Congress, called the compromise acts; yet as these measures have become the law of the land, it is the duty of the South to acquiesce, so long as they shall be adhered to and enforced in good faith; and so long as Congress shall abstain from the adoption of any other measures touching the institution of slavery, calculated either to endanger its security, or to destroy the guaranties of the constitution: Be it therefore

Resolved, That the fugitive slave act passed by Congress at its last session is in strict conformity with the provisions and requirements of the constitution of the United States, and if carried into execution in good faith, is calculated to give security to slave property; and any failure on the part of the Federal Executive to enforce, or any attempt on the part of the judicial authorities of the free States to obstruct its execution, would not only constitute just cause of complaint on the part of the South, but would be such a gross dereliction of duty as could not fail to weaken those ties which bind together the States of the Union.

Resolved, That the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; the interdiction of the slave trade between the States; the refusal to admit any new State into the Union because of its recognition of the institution of slavery; the total repeal of the fugitive slave act; or its modification so as essentially to impair its force and efficiency; would, in the opinion of this General Assembly, amount to such a clear, deliberate, and palpable breach of good faith and flagrant abuse of power, as to demand of the freemen of North Carolina the most determined resistance, and justify them in uniting with the other slaveholding States to uphold and maintain their just and violated rights.

Resolved, That whenever all, or any one of the acts mentioned in the foregoing resolutions shall have been passed by the Congress of the United States, the Governor of this State be, and he is hereby required, to convene the General Assembly, at such time as he, in his wisdom, shall deem fit, in order to take into consideration the solemn duties which we owe to ourselves as freemen, and of our existing relations with the Federal Government.

And whereas, it would be both proper and expedient to restrict all trading intercourse with the non-slaveholding States, so long as there shall exist a well-grounded apprehension, either as to the repeal of the fugitive slave law, or its non-execution; and as there now exists just grounds for such apprehensions—

Be it therefore **Resolved**, That it is ex-

pedient to impose an *ad valorem* tax upon all articles of merchandise of the growth, manufacture or produce of the non-slaveholding States which shall be brought into and offered for sale within the State, from the first day of August next: *Provided, however*, the Governor shall be authorized and required, by and with the advice of the Council of State, to suspend the execution of said law until the meeting of the next General Assembly, if it shall satisfactorily appear that the fugitive slave act has been faithfully executed.

REPORT OF THE MINORITY

Of the Committee on Slavery, submitted to the Legislature of North Carolina, on Wednesday the 11th ult.

The minority of the committee, to whom was referred sundry resolutions upon the subject of negro slavery and federal relations, in addition to the resolutions agreed on by the committee, ask leave to report to the Legislature additional resolutions, to which they request their assent:

The minority believe that the time has arrived when it becomes a matter of imperative necessity, both for the salvation of the Union, and the correct administration of the General Government, that the States should ascertain distinctly whether they have any rights, or whether the tenth section of the amendments to the Constitution meant nothing, and should be considered as meaning nothing.

It cannot be denied, that since the establishment of the Constitution of the United States, there has existed two parties in the country, one contending, that said Constitution delegated only certain enumerated and defined powers, and that all the powers incident to sovereignty, which were not therein granted, were reserved to the States respectively; the other party contending that the Government created by that instrument was a consolidated Government, with no limits to its power but its sovereign will and pleasure. Although in the career of ambition, and strife of sectional interests, these great landmarks of party may have been forgotten for a time, or partially obliterated, still, in the opinion of the undersigned, they cannot be overlooked, without great danger to the people, and a final overthrow of our republican system of Government. To the neglect or forgetfulness of the limited character of our Government, are solely to be attributed our present difficulties and dangers. When we regard the vast extent of the American Union, reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, embracing in its wide domain individuals of every habit and nation, and every variety of interest, it requires very little political sagacity to foresee, that if we acquiesce in the doctrine that the Government at Washington is all powerful, and that the States have no rights, we will very soon erect an imperial tyranny under the form and outward show of a Republic. Let us regard for a moment what would be the condition of the slaveholding States under a consolidated Government.

A consolidated Government must always respond to the wishes of a majority of the aggregate mass of the whole people of the United States. And can we doubt what that wish is now, or shortly will be, upon the subject of slavery? If we do, we must shut our eyes to the numerous signs which are visible in every part of the political horizon. It is said, Congress will never interfere with slavery within the bounds of a State! Even suppose we could have the most undoubted assurance of this fact, there are means of annoyance and destruction of this institution without venturing within the limits of a State, which an all powerful and consolidated Government can easily put into operation. The individual right of resistance to tyranny, or revolution, was certainly not all that was meant by our complicated theory of Government, if it was a great deal of useless labor was taken to express a right we enjoy in common with the poor slave, or the humblest worm which is trod upon—the mere robber's right—

That they should take who have the power.

And all should keep who can."

It would be an humble boast of our experiment in the science of Government to

admit, that it meant nothing more than this.

The wise men who framed our Government, were not only lovers of liberty, but they established certain checks and balances with a hope of preserving & perpetuating that liberty, and among the chief and most efficient of these, were the rights reserved to the States, in their organized committees as political powers. The true question then for us to decide is this, does the State of North Carolina, as an organized political community, possess the right to secede or withdraw from the Union, in case the General Government willfully omits or refuses to fulfil her constitutional obligations, or in order to protect her citizens against an unconstitutional or oppressive act of the General Government; and for the purpose of making that protection effectual, can she command the undivided allegiance of all the inhabitants within her territory?

Unless the people of the State possess this right, and have not surrendered it by the Constitution of the United States, it is sheer folly to talk of their reserved rights—they have none, and the sooner it is known, the better it will be for all parties concerned. This right was undoubtedly intended by the framers of our theory of Government as the great safety valve of the Union—the only means by which it could be preserved, and prevented from rushing, upon one hand, into consolidation, to the destruction of our liberty; and upon the other, into insurrections and domestic violence, destructive of all order.

It is said by many, who admit the right to exist, that it is imprudent *now* to assert it. The minority cannot perceive any imprudence in asserting it; but on the contrary, they believe, that its distinct and unequivocal avowal, will do more to settle our difficulties, and awaken the whole North to the danger she is bringing upon the Union, than all the resolutions of resistance and rebellion we can pass. The majority of the people of a State will never consent to withdraw from the Union, except upon the most solemn deliberation, and the fullest conviction, that such a step is the only resource left them to protect their rights from intolerable tyranny and oppression.

Among the few subjects which could possibly induce a State to withdraw from the Union, negro Slavery stands pre-eminent. This institution forms the substratum of southern society. It is so intimately connected with our social and domestic relations, that its destruction, or material injury, would not only produce universal poverty, but overthrow States. This vast institution is unknown to a majority of the States of the Union, and is regarded with hostility by a majority of the people of those States; certainly then, if any question can ever arise, of sufficient magnitude to call into action any reserved powers, which may exist, for the preservation of the Union and protection of the people, this question is one.

The minority believe it is a grievous error and a bitter sarcasm against the honor and justice of the people of the United States, to assert, that the exercise of this power would necessarily destroy our Union. The Constitution of the United States makes provisions for its amendment; should any one State determine to withdraw from the Union, before taking that step, she would doubtless inform the rest of the States, and the world, of the reasons which had induced her to take so solemn and important a position. Would it not then be the interest, as well as the duty, of the other States, so to amend the Constitution of the United States, as to dissipate all such fears, and remove the danger which had forced the withdrawing State from the Union? We are continually amending State Constitutions; why is it we cannot amend the Constitution of the United States? Is that the only instrument of the kind which is so perfect that it cannot be amended? Let the constant agitation and discussion of its powers answer the question. Upon this slavery question alone, why should not the Constitution be so amended, as to calm the fears of the Southern people, and place beyond doubt, that Congress never would, in any manner, attempt to interfere with it, nor deny to the southern States their rights as equal members of the confederacy?

No doubt, a State, previous to withdrawing from the Union, would propose to the other States such amendments to the Constitution as she might think her safety required, and it would be for the other States to decide whether such amendments were unjust or could not be assented to.

But it is certainly unworthy of American wisdom and experience to say, this constitution cannot be amended, or that we cannot trust the justice and fairness of our countrymen with the task of amending it. The non-slaveholding States certainly, could not object to settle this question forever, and place it for all future time beyond the reach of political agitation, unless they intend hereafter, when might makes right, to avail themselves of a doubtful or contested power for some injurious purposes.

Should the State of North Carolina admit that she has no right under any circumstances, to withdraw from the Union, but must rely for her protection upon what has been called her natural rights, and resort to rebellion or insurrection, she releases thereby her own citizens from all allegiance to obey her commands; for, if she has parted with all her sovereignty, she has no claim to obedience in such an emergency. She may raise the standard of revolt, and collect around her banner all the disaffected and discontented, but in doing so she admits she is guilty of treason, and all who follow her fortunes may share the fate of traitors. In all civil conflicts "the king's name is a tower of strength," and the soldier is doubly armed, who believes that his cause is not only just, but lawful.

The right to withdraw from the Union, as a last appeal to the justice and forbearance of the other States, the minority believe is not only indispensable for the safety of the States, but is in strict conformity with our theory and form of government, and was so understood and meant by its framers; else, why was the tenth amendment attached to the Constitution, which expressly reserves to the States all powers not granted? This amendment was attached to the Constitution at the instance of those States which, by their acts of ratification, expressly required it, and among them none were more urgent than Massachusetts. That State ratified the Constitution with this proviso: That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution, are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised."

What these reserved powers were, or how they were to be exercised, the minority cannot apprehend, if the ultimate right herein insisted on, is denied or abandoned.

The minority will not insult the understandings of the members of the Legislature, by an argument to convince them, that the right herein contended for is very dissimilar from nullification, nor can it be confounded with that doctrine, except by individuals who are willing to deceive the people to aid their selfish and sinister purposes.

In conclusion, the minority, for fear of misapprehension, beg leave to state, that they propose the following resolutions, with no view of advocating or urging disunion; on the contrary, they yield to none in their sincere attachment to the Union of the States. They believe the Constitution of the United States, honestly and fairly administered, the greatest triumph of human intellect and virtue, but that in order to insure the objects for which it was ordained, it should be administered with the same justice and forbearance towards the weaker members of the confederacy, with which it was established. When, however, it ceases to pursue the glorious objects of its institution, and is seized upon by a dominant majority to insult and oppress a smaller portion of the confederacy, the only refuge from intolerable tyranny and oppression will be found under the banner of the several States.

With the view, therefore, of asserting the rights of the States, and convincing the world, that the people of North Carolina do not deny a primary allegiance to their native State, but as an ultimate resort, will rally around her banner in the hour of trial and danger, as the ark of their salvation, the minority propose the

following Resolutions, and ask their adoption:

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States is a compact between sovereign and independent States, and all powers not therein delegated are reserved to the States respectively—that among the attributes of sovereignty retained by the several States, is that of watching over the operations of the General Government, and protecting her citizens from unconstitutional abuse on the one hand, and securing to them, on the other, strict fulfilment of the obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the General Government.

Resolved, That the people of North Carolina, as an organized political community, have the right to secede or withdraw from the Union, whenever a majority of the people, in convention assembled, shall decide a withdrawal necessary to protect their property or persons from unconstitutional and oppressive legislation by the General Government, or whenever, by the failure of the General Government to fulfil her Constitutional obligations, the people of the State may deem such a step necessary, in order to secure the enjoyment of the rights, privileges and protection guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States; and in such an emergency, a majority of the people of North Carolina, acting through the organized authorities of the State, would be entitled to the sole and undivided allegiance of all her citizens.

Respectfully submitted.

HENRY T. CLARK,
WM. B. SHEPARD,
G. W. CALDWELL,
W. W. AVERY,
SAM'L J. PERSON,
SAM'L N. STOWE,
MARCUS ERWIN,
W. J. BLOW.

Joint Committee.

From the Raleigh Times.

President's Proclamation.—Texas Boundary Bill—The Washington Republic publishes the proclamation of President Fillmore, announcing the acceptance by the State of Texas of the Boundary Bill, passed at the last session of Congress, declaring said act to be now in full force, and that the State of Texas is bound by the terms thereof, according to their true import and meaning."

The New York Tribune learns that a movement is afoot among the capitalists in California to have the Constitution of the State so changed as to introduce African slavery.—ib.

Musical Cradle.—Mr. L. F. Whitaker, of this place has invented a "self-swinging musical cradle," and has taken measures to secure a patent for the same. An engraving, with a description of this cradle, appears in a late number of the Scientific American. "The cradle," says the American, "with this improvement, is like the pendulum of a clock; it answers all the purposes of one, in combination with a spring and gearing, to keep the cradle swinging for a number of hours, and to play some tunes at the same time, like those of a musical box. The American adds that "this is a very neat and useful invention, and should meet with general favor."

This cradle must be greatly superior to the "baby jumper." That affords only one kind of music—that of the little one itself; but this gives at the same time a delightful swinging motion, and music with "variations." Of course every fond mother who can afford it, will have a "musical cradle."

We wish the ingenious inventor the most abundant success in disposing of his cradles.—Raleigh Standard.

From the Fayetteville Carolinian.

The Legislature of Texas has accepted the proposition of the U. S. to give ten millions for a part of her territory. There were only 6 votes against it in both houses. Money is too scarce in Texas to refuse such an offer as that. But it was an outrage upon the other States.