

# The Sumter Banner.

DEVOTED TO SOUTHERN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, NEWS, LITERATURE, AGRICULTURE, SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

W. J. FRANCIS, PROPRIETOR.

"God—and our Father Land."

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## THE SUMTER BANNER.

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**TERMS.**  
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**To the Public.**  
In conformity with my Card of the 28th, I now lay my Address before the public. In so doing I feel that an apology is due. The Address was not written to publish, nor did I ever imagine that circumstances could occur, which would render its publication necessary. It was my expectation simply to discharge a duty which had been assigned me by my class-mates, deliver the Address, and there let it rest. But I have not been permitted thus to act. The force and unrelenting measures which have been pursued against me, leave me no alternative, but to obtrude my views upon the public, painful as the duty is.

As to the views contained, I desire to be fully and distinctly understood. I assert positively that the Address is as now published, contains precisely the same and all the positions and principles, which I advanced at its delivery; that the language of the manuscript itself has been accurately followed, except in such slight verbal alterations as were necessary to accuracy, and that beyond this the only changes in it, are in those short passages which are marked in brackets, to which I call attention. In such parts as were extemporized, I uttered no sentiment inconsistent with, or more extreme than these. This is my emphatic and truthful declaration.

With it I give the Address to the public with cheerful confidence. I doubt not but that to many the views will seem ungrounded, impracticable and visionary; but I feel safe in believing that the candid and impartial reader will fail to discover a particle of that arrogant and intolerant spirit, or a symptom of those aristocratic and tyrannical sentiments which are so abhorrent to true Republicanism, but which have been ascribed to me. I feel sure that when the Address is soberly and impartially perused, the community will be at a loss to discover any just cause in it, for all the clamor and bitterness against the author; and that it will be as ready to meet out warm justice, as it has been to judge and denounce. To all who have spoken timely words in my behalf, I return my most heartfelt thanks. And to those who have misapprehended, I can only say, here is the Address, judge for yourselves.

Respectfully,  
W. R. TABER, jr.

### Essentials of a Republic.

When Thomas Carlyle declared that "after ages of constitutional government, mankind knew but imperfectly yet what liberty and slavery is," he uttered a sentiment, as mortifying to the vanity of the evangelists of modern democracy, as it is sadly and certainly true. Indeed, the assertion that wonderful and permanent advances have been made towards the absolute perfection of human government, has in all times, and in none more than our own, been exultantly made by those whom a calm philosophy brands as political outlaws and highwaymen. We need not tax history further than the last half century, to furnish ample confirmation of this. If anything can add bitterness to the woes of the French Revolution; if it were possible to aggravate the horror, with which fiendish and bloody doctrines widowed that beautiful land, it is the reflection that the miserable victims were at each step deluded by chimeras of liberty and happiness, portrayed in golden hues, by the very workers of their destruction.

And in our own day, have we not seen the people of Hungary, Italy, Germany and France too again, incited by the declamation of political mountebanks, launch into revolutions, from which, after perilling all the acquisitions of former toil and experience, they have sunk back into impotent exhaustion, into abysses of misery and oppression, more intolerable than before?

The political revolutions in Europe during the last half century, have very generally assumed the Democratic type.

The pressure of population, with

other causes, has enhanced the hardships of poverty, and arrayed in fearful antagonism the despised and grim sons of labor, and the bloated possessors of wealth. From this antagonism, our country has hitherto enjoyed comparative immunity; and the spectacle which she has exhibited, of precocious growth in wealth and power, of plenty and individual liberty, has excited among the masses of Europe a thirst for democratic institutions, in the foolish hope that their establishment would be the dawning of realizations, long dreamed of and panted after. They have been told by their leaders, that property was a crime against the equality of nature—that royalty and kingly institutions were monstrous usurpations—that government was a puppet to be put up, or cast down, as it favored or opposed their rampant ideas—that all governments were despotisms, which in any limitations were imposed upon the will of the mob; in a word, that the only lawful and just government was the majority of numbers; and that upon the graves of kings, and the ruins of ancient systems, a secure freedom would bloom forth, to bless with peace and abundance.

Need we tell how in every case these fair hopes have been wrecked? How in Germany, when her freely chosen representatives assembled in ancient Frankfurt, in the Roman Saal, the Hall consecrated by so many glories of the past, where Frederic Barbarossa, the Ortos, and the Henrys, the Hohenstaufens and the Hapsburgs received the silver crown of Charlemagne; how they marched thence, amid the shouts of the people, the thunder of artillery, and the waving of national flags of black and gold, to commence their solemn deliberations in the Church of St. Paul; and how, as the fruit of this bright promise, true freedom went down beneath the orgies of red republicanism!

Or shall we tell of Hungary, that bulwark of European civilization, against which the Moslem host was shattered; how the people, crazed with the dreams and fancies of a wild enthusiast, dashed like caged birds against their bars, longing for the free air without, which had they reached, their weak pinions would have essayed in vain. And of Italy, torn and bleeding now, her families decimated by execution and exile—the terrible retribution of the lessons of her democratic leaders.

Such is briefly a sketch of Democracy in Europe during the last half century, and full indeed of warning to us—the sons and citizens of this great Republic. Isolation from the influence of other nations is impossible now, when steam, the press, and free emigration are commingling the race of men, and leveling national peculiarities. Our rich argosies are frightened with more than the production of distant skies. They bring to us the opinions and influences of every school and people—the noxious as well as the good. To analyze and discriminate so as to adopt or reject, is a necessity demanded by our hopes and our existence; for nothing can be clearer than that the seeds of death are ready fructifying among us, and that principles fatal to republicanism are gaining rapid mastery.

I would then, gentlemen, address you, the young soldiers of principles sanctified with patriotic blood and wisdom, you the hopes of a beloved State, second to none in the excellence of her institutions, you, lastly the foster sons of this College, upon a few of those prominent principles, which constitute the essentials of a true and enduring Republic.

The two greatest dangers which beset all human governments are the extremes of Radicalism on the one hand, and stagnant inactivity on the other. Both are equally hostile to liberty and civilization, just as the unfettered violence of the madman, and the stupor of the opium eater, alike cannot consist with individual well-being. The tendencies to either varies greatly with the character of the people, and the political system under which they live. With absolute and despotic governments, the tendency is most intense to the latter; but with the free and liberal, the proclivity is equally strong towards the opposite extreme of radicalism. In this, as in all things else, the path of sound wisdom lies, in that happy medium which we call *Conservatism*. And hence it is, that a people which tempers its progress by the experience of the past, exhibits the first element of a great and lasting prosperity. That policy which ignores the past and its sober lessons, which rejects as inadequate and imbecile, whatever is wounding to vanity, or unwelcome to grasping ambition—in a word, that policy which substitutes the ideal for the real, the

mushroom for the oak, blights everything it touches with distemper and death.

"Government," as has been well said, "is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human wants; it is the greatest of all wants, at least in a Republic, is self-control. That Government which limits and restrains least, depends for permanency upon the stable and harmonious character of the people. And if it be true, that "that is the best government which governs least; it is so only where its action is suppressed by the wholesome self-control of the governed. The Autocrat of Russia can well be indifferent to the opinions which ferment and threaten in the bosom of his subjects; for the dread Knout is his ready minister, and bayonets bristle at his beck. Here is a government of force, and not of opinion. The wildest and most heretical doctrines may agitate the hearts of the masses; but they move not the deep planted rock, against which, they fret. Conservatism, in such a system, in any, where force compels obedience, is the certain policy of the government. It wants no change which may loosen the grasp, conservatism is the safeguard of the people. They constitute the government, and they have nothing to fear from it, but what they should fear from themselves. Conservatism, therefore, protect them against themselves. It is a great public conscience which rebukes the sacrilegious thought and unmurders the reckless arm. It is that hearty and steadfast discrimination between the stable and transient which is not charmed with the fancies, nor led blind by fair promises, but which while it gropes through the night of political crisis, ever and anon casts its eye upwards to those unchanging stars of truth and wisdom that have in all generations gladdened the hearts of faithful men.

We are told that conservatism is an anti-progressive principle, and that the limbs of a mighty and free people should be unloosed in their march. The answer is simple and direct. True conservatism is the highest and only sure element of advancement. And certain it is, that all this country has achieved, worthy of a great people or of history; all that will command the admiration of future ages, or abide the shock of time, is the honest fruit of this policy. And so it must be in the future. The tree of a prosperous State is no upspring of a day. It demands a careful and elaborate culture. Its growth is of the past. Far down and wide its roots extend, drawing thence life and beauty.

In the eloquent language of Coleridge, "with blood was it planted, it was reared in tempests, the goat, the ass, and the stag gnawed it; the wild boar whetted his tusks on its bark. The deep scars are still on its trunk, and the path of lightning may be traced among its higher branches. And even after its full growth in the season of its strength, when its height reached heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth, the whirlwind has more than once forced its stately top to touch the ground; it has bent like a bow, and sprang back like a shaft."

In arms and in arts, in laws and government, in science and morals, we would see this almost magic land develop and expand, until it overflowed in prosperity.

We would see our Republic like some tree of the primeval forest, spreading over the face of nature its stalwart arms, defiant of the storm, crowned with fruitage and shooting aloft perennial green. But it cannot attain or approximate to this, under the lead of irreverent propagandists. Compare the conduct of England in 1688, and France in 1790, and mark the contrast. See how, amid all the confusion, blood and fanaticism of that day, the people of England still cherished the maxims and institutions of the past; how they clung to the old ark and covenant of liberty, and law, and at least remodeled a freer and more enlightened system, upon tried foundations. She came forth from that crisis vigorous and full of hope—the healthy blood bounding through her veins—her head erect, and her eye clear, and onward she strode, conquering and to conquer. Not so with France in her trial, a century later with this example by her side. In the confidence of self-vaunted wisdom she despised everything which wore the sanction of time, save crime and impiety, and the world knows how bitter was the fruition, not yet complete! Here were two neighbors, the one conservative, the other radical. England's progress was that of the sun steadily culminating in the heavens, each step brighter than the last. The progress of France, was the meteor swallowed up in gloom. Well may we say with Burke, "we have consecrated the State, that no man should ap-

proach to look into its defects, or corruptions, but with due caution; that he should dream of its reformation by its subversion; that he should approach to the faults of the State, as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe, and trembling solicitude. Reform, therefore," says Bacon, "without bravery or scandal of former times and persons; yet, set it down, to thyself as well as to create a good precedent as to follow them."

Conservatism then, as we understand it, is the highest type of progress. I feel, gentlemen, in thus urging upon you conservatism, as the bulwark of republicanism, I speak to those in whom education, habits of life, and political position, dictate a ready assent. I shall again recur to it, in a practical manner.

It is now universally admitted that the education of the people is essential to the permanency of Republican institutions. To oppose this doctrine is to incur the charge of hostility to enlightenment, and a leaning to aristocracy. The question, therefore, of the propriety and policy of public education, may be considered as passed upon. The State, is the party to whom this duty is very properly assigned, as comprising the people in their organic body, and as demanding duties and services of the citizen, of the nature of which she should inform him. Republics, more than all other political systems, require a higher state of moral and mental training in the whole mass of citizens. This, then, being the admitted object, the question remains as to the best means to attain to it—a problem far, very far from being successfully solved.

Above all ancient nations, the system of education among the Athenians is most worthy of notice. A State, whose territory was less than many of our districts with a population of but 20,000 voting citizens, but which has left models in politics, poetry, history, philosophy, and the arts, which after the lapse of more than two hundred years still ennobles the minds of men, must have pursued a system of education as sublime and wise, as its achievements are triumphant and enduring. In the language of another, "a people who could bear to have their follies lashed by an Aristophanes, who fully appreciated the lofty attic tragedy, who corrected the language of Demosthenes, must have had an intellectual refinement never since equalled."—What then was the training which bore such fruits?

The education of the Athenian was chiefly oral and public, though not in the modern sense. Poetry, like music, was then given to the world not in cold type, but the accent, the voice, the play of countenance, and the enthusiasm of the composer accompanied his verse to the hearts and imaginations of his hearers. If philosophy, eloquence, laws or morals were taught the master of each sat aloft in the orchestra, his own instrument in hand, performing his part in the grand harmony. With each lesson was impressed the venerable mien, or the genius lit eye of the speaker. There was no annoyance to tempt the pen of calumny or scurrility, to scree the anarchist and the poisoner, while it scattered the treason of the one, or the herbance of the other. And if they reaped the evils of the oral system, they certainly escaped the equal if not greater of the written.

If the former made them the fitting audience of the seductive orator, it saved them from the noiseless and fire-side pollution of the latter. If vice and dishonor had their eloquent advocate, so also had virtue and patriotism, and if the Athenian chose wrongly, he at least did not ignorantly. His judgment was exercised hastily in the crowded Agora, rather than calmly in his closet, so neither did it fester over incendiary pamphlets and chilling incantations. If he was captivated by brilliant sophistries from the mouths of demagogues, he was spared their deep infusion into him from the press.

But the most striking feature of the education of the young Athenian, was its animating and inspiring character. See him as he bends his lithe form in mute attention to the discussion, of Plato and Anaxagoras—as he drinks in at the Ecclasia a love of liberty and honor, fresh from the lips of Solon and Demosthenes—hear him as he joins in the chant of Homer's songs—see him as at the Theatre, his vivid nature hangs entranced by the chorus of Euripides—as at the festivals and olympics, the deeds of heroes and sages never forgotten, are sung in lyric numbers, firing his young mind with dreams of fame, as his love of the beautiful is steeped in admiration of the Parthenon, and the decorations of the Propylea—mark his breast swelling with pride of country, as he beholds the bronze statue Marathon, or enters the Odeon, whose

outset met by natural obstacles. But again, Does this system, well-nigh barren as it is of intellectual fruit, cherish morals and instill virtue? If it does not, the very objects for which it is instituted, the promotion of public virtue, as essential to republicanism, are defeated. This is the test, and the common school system must stand or fall by it.

Now, let us admit, for the sake of argument, that this system does educate intellectually, it may well be doubted whether it even then promotes morals. Indeed, although at the first glance there would seem to be direct connection between intellectual enlightenment and virtue, that the light which kindles the mind should also penetrate the heart; yet history is full of examples of the highest illumination of the one, linked with the deepest depravity of the other. The last generation in France, and the present in Germany, are both melancholy instances in point. "And the most learned eras in modern Italy were precisely those which brought the vices into the most ghastly refinement." More intellectually is deficient of God and man. It knows no law, no impulses, no checks, save the dictates of its daring ambitions. Its type has been admirably drawn by the great novelist of England, in the character of Randal Leslie—the man in intellect—the demon in heart.

But what is the state of morals where this system prevails? In Prussia, whose boast is the enlightenment of her people, crime and vice are great on the increase. In France, where the Prussian system has been adopted, they exhibit no diminution. In the United States there is still a sadder spectacle. In New England, where we are told, this system has been eminently successful, where reading and writing are taught to all, crime, vice, and infidelity are progressing in a fearful ratio. It is attempted to explain this, by the influence of emigration. But the statistics show the increase to be independent of it. While the South

retards, because she hesitates to adopt and establish this meager, insufficient and unsatisfactory system of public education, enjoys comparative and unexampled immunity from all.

But this reading and writing system, is not only unproductive of public virtue, but tends directly to a mental demoralization, no less fatal to Republicanism than licentiousness and vice. Place the young mind under a tuition like this where no fixed principles in morals or politics are taught, where knowledge is circumscribed within a few dogmas, and where even this narrow training ceases at the very moment when the mind is awake with inquiry and speculation—then turn it out to pasture in the "unweeded garden," which a licentious Press has planted, and what is the result?—Can it surprise us that such a mind, vain because of its meager learning, not yet subdued into that beautiful humility which, according to Bacon, true knowledge fosters, should at once launch into wild speculation? Need we wonder that the instrument thus entrusted to unskilful hands, should be used, not to prune, but to destroy? Or that a mind so prepared, should at once fall a victim to specious fallacies, and mad theories; that it should greedily absorb the light and seductive, and reject the thoughtful and sober? Here is one great clue to the radicalism of the North. Here is the fountain of that torrent of insens, which is swallowing up literature, morals and politics, and has cast upon society again, the buried offal of exploded falsehood. The youth who leaves the common school at the North feels the pains of authorship within him. Originally his sole thought, and the more extreme and radical he is, the stronger and better his claim. Eager publishers calculate the success of the new work, by its congeniality to popular ideas and passions, and forth it goes in blue and gilt to minds as anchorless and weak as his own. Enter the cities of the North, embark on her steamers, ride on her railroads, go into the country, and everywhere you will find the appetite of her so-called Reading Public, dieted on literary garbage. Cheap infidelity, socialism, and vice, are served up in every form to suit the palates of the million.

I yield to none in support of a well-regulated free press. I know that it is the tongue of liberty, and the sword to tyrants; that it has disenfranchised and developed opinion. But the conclusion cannot be avoided, that among a people educated up to the point of the Northern system, the absolute Free Press will become a sure demoralizer, by ministering viciously to vain and unstable minds.

At a Convention of the Superintendents of the Common Schools in New England, held this Fall in New Haven, these views were presented in startling colors. In an Essay by the Rev. Cyrus Pierce of Massachusetts.

The chief defect is, that it does not go far enough. It should be carried beyond the point of merely supplying means. The State should see to it as far as practicable, that the means are not abused. This is the basis of all legislation against the publication of obscene and corrupt works. And the State when she assumes the education of the citizen, should zealously strive to protect him from pollution, just as a wise parent watches over the mind and heart of his offspring. (With such safeguards, reading and writing would become the most beneficial instruments in a people's progress and happiness.) If then, this system fails, to elevate the people intellectually—if it does not diminish vice and crime; if aided by a licentious Press it fosters mental vanity, wild speculation and immorality—if, in a word, it falls short of its object, the welfare of the Republic, what is the system really conducive to that end?

The first object of public education should (and by public, I mean State) be to inform the people of the nature of their government, the rights and duties of the citizen. Prof. Lieber in his admirable essay upon Anglican and Gallican liberty, enumerates this among the duties of all free systems. We believe that, as regards the larger portion of the citizens, government will fail when it attempts more; and its effects results grand and beneficent indeed, when it does this much.

And here we again recur with confidence to the Athenian system. It was in the Ecclasia, in the public courts, and the debates of statesmen, that the Athenian imbibed the principles of his government, and learned his rights which he so well defended, and the duties he so nobly performed. We too have our Ecclasia in our public assemblies, our open Courts and our Legislatures, where the nature of our institutions are discussed and defined, and where a high public spirit can be fostered. To these sources are the people of this State greatly indebted for the superior acquaintance with their government, and the patriotic spirit which distinguishes them. From the lips of Calhoun and Medfife they have been wisely taught the rights and duties that befit and adorn a free people. The lives and teachings of such men are the best books of political wisdom, and they will be remembered not because read, but because they have been seen and heard and will descend as heir looms from father to son.

But there is a requisite higher than this in the education of the citizens of a Republic. It is an elevated tone of honor and morals. And what school so fitting as the home for these? Home education, enforced by the sweet influence of the parent, and the gentle dependency of the child, can alone engraft upon the nature those qualities needful to the man and the citizen.

No system, however comprehensive can dispense with its blessings and benefits. A people whose homes are the altars of principles and honor, have the best of common schools at their own hearths, to prepare them for their career. Here indeed has God blessed the South. Around our homes grow alike the hopes of youth and the recollections of age; and in that social intercourse so fairly our pride, generosity and honor, purity and intelligence find a genial soil. These are the essentials of the education of the citizens of a Republic. I do not say that further education is not highly advantageous to the citizen of a Republic, nor do I deny that in proportion to their progress in a knowledge of all the arts and sciences, will they prosper and develop. But my subject is the "Essentials of a Republic," and I am seeking to define accurately the limits of such an education, without disputing the certain blessings to flow from greater culture.]

But when State education goes further, when in keeping with the spirit of the age, it seeks a broader basis let her rear institutions like this (the S. C. College). Let her concentrate light upon the hill-top whence its rays will pierce the dark valleys and illumine the path of the climber, rather than scatter feeble candles, whose uncertain lights dequy the unwary into pits and quagmires. Let the pupils of this and similar institutions, step forth into life deeply imbued with the spirit of our institutions and worthy principles. Men whose presence and example shall radiate patriotism and honor, and who in the doubt and fury of political crisis, will command the gaze and guide the steps of the erring. When she does educate, let her educate efficiently. Let her build upon the basis of the home and family, an intellectual superstructure, grand and comprehensive, blending individual excellence with State pride, making the man a part of the State, and the State a part

(CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE.)

\* See Garnett's Address before the Virginia University, to which I take the pleasure of acknowledging great obligations, in the preparation of this address.

† Burke's Essay on the Revolution.

\* Statesman's Manual.

† Garnett as above.