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TT Rev. FREDERICK RUSH, is a travelling Agent for this paper, and is authorized to receive subscriptions and receipt for the

ORATION,

Delivered in Clarendon on the 4th of July, 1851, by John P. Rich-Ardson, Jr. Published by request. BRADHAMS, July 4th, 1851.

John P. Richardson, jr., csq.
SIR: We have been appointed a committee to request of you, for publication, a copy of the eloquent Oration which you have just delivered. Allow us to express the personal gratification which your compliance would afford us. Very respectfully,

L. F. RHAME, C. R. F. BAKER, Committee. J. McCAULEY,

BRADHAMS, July 4th, 1851. To Messrs. Rhame, Baker, and

Mc Cauley. Gentlemen: Reluctant as I was to have undertaken the duties of an occasion to which recent events have nance to obtrude my youthful and unprofitable reflections beyond the limited circle of those whose patriotic entertainment they were alone intended to promote.

the behests of my fellow-citizens of the American lines. Clarendon.

youth (to which I belong) are ready to perform their duties to the State, it will, to the utmost of my hopes object of its mission.

Very respectfully, &c., John P. Richardson, Jr.

Oration.

in comparison with the present and their actual and prospective influenwrought and are still operating on the human destiny. On no recurrence of this day, consecrated as it has been to national reminiscences, are reflections of this kind calculated to assume a deeperinterest or a more solemn import. Whether in retrospect or prospective-whether on the threshold of new events or in the initiative of the future, or only in the wake of preceding causes-whether, in short, it be the past, the present, or the anticipated -there are well as for exultation.

clapsed since the political world has broken, as it were, its leaden cerements of despotism. Little more than this short cycle of time has transpired, when loyalty was the only political virtue, bigotry the only test of religion, and right accessible alone the quivering bowels of the slave warmed the feet of his tyrant lord, when the bastile was a living tomb for at! violated allegiance; and when, as now, the law rules the prince as well

similar a character in the short epoch of seventy-five years, in which

they are actually comprised. That all this should exclusively be world wide intelligence, to convulse nations, and yet to leave all purer, prepared by no moral or historical

Who does not glide through the long geance without. lapse of ages between Pericles and In the estimate of the difficulties Jefferson, to look for high examples of consummate statesmanship? — things perhaps are too often forgotten. It would be well for us, in view added so deep and so important an better displayed than in Marion ? -interest, I yet feel still greater repug- David slew his giant a lversary with too of our day and generation, to re a sling; the Roman Consults noble call them, both for example and inson fought and conquerred the ene. struction. my's champion in single combat. - When the insubordinate spirit of But when we search history for an Boston had provoked the ire of the

erating intelligence. miration. Impediments to success, to the crown. resists danger, the firmness that with- ilar circumstances of oppression, was demand?

the palace as the cot. it requires cer-tainly the utmost stretch of imagina-tion to compress incidents of so dis-tion to compress incidents of so disance-history furnishes no such example of moral sublimity, as that of the gallant patriots by whom it was achieved. The arm of Brutus was nerved by the secret treason of an the work of a few doomed and persecuted men, who, under the denuncia- of Hampden and Sydney were sustions of an angry sovereign and a tained by an invading army and an powerful empire, had the boldness to invincible leader. Napoleon conassert their own rights and their quered for glory and fought for amcountry's freedom, would have been bition; but our ancestors, for national announced in prophesy as the blind-est infatuation. That a light should revolution of France was but a popuhave gleamed from the councils of | lar tumult, the outpourings of an enthese wilderness reared patriarchs to raged and frantic people, confident of mantle the christian world with a their strength, engorged with blood, flood of civil and political radiance, to and her councillors at once the tools, illumine the dungeon and to confla- the victims, and the instruments of a grate the throne, to beam unquenched | national phrenzy. There was neither through the blood of revolutions, to terror nor suffering to deter them; rise undimmed above the hecatombs | naught to overcome or restrain but of mactyred and martyring victims, their own madness. But to the to enlighten the intellect, to spread a great minds who conceived the independence of our country-how striking-how overwhelming the conbrighter, calmer than before, was, in- trast. It was not, in its incipiency. deed, one of those wonderful phenom- the great mass of the popular mind ena which mankind could have been moving onward, and resolutely impelled to achieve it. It was not the experience to anticipate.

Nor is this all. We have been placed, by the events of this day, as whole nation—the loud applauding high on a pedestal of moral as of po- echoes of a popular sentiment; but litical intelligence. Who ever heard the patriotic inspiration of a few great previous to its development, of a tol- minds-contending with the timeerated and harmonized religion in the rooted loyalty of the age-the long midst of evangelical enthusiasm? Of and fendly-cherished allegiance of party strifes to preserve, and not to destroy, the constitution? Who estroyethe liberal favors of a mighty timates virtueus heroism, military re- archal government- the ignominy of nown, and an ennobling patriotism, a traitor's death—divisions within, but by the standard of Washington? and a nation's and a monarch's ven-

than in Sumter, or a Fabian wisdom of the duties and obligations witch oppression has devolved upon those

amples of personal exploits they fade | British Government, its first measure In complying, therefore, with your request, I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that in no sense of my own appreciation of its merits could I give a pling a British major at head of his higher avidence of a millingness to personal exploits they had not retaliation was to abolish its privileges as a "port of entry." Public clamor cried aloud against the men and the counsels that had brought to share in the dangers of the contest. Nor was she, too, without her own democratic discounters. While this avalation was to abolish its privileges as a "port of entry." Public clamor cried aloud against the men and the counsels that had brought this avalation was to abolish its privileges as a "port of entry." Public clamor cried aloud against the men and the counsels that had brought this avalation was to abolish its privileges as a "port of entry." Public clamor cried aloud against the men and the counsels that had brought to share in the dangers of the contest. higher evidence of a willingness to column, and marching with him this exclusion upon them; and Hansacrifice personal considerations to through the hottest of the action to cock and Adams had to endure the execration of an enraged commercial But to the arts, the sciences, and community, stimulated by an avidity If it can in any manner, however, to literature, have we not given an for gain, and for a time overshadowserve to evince the patriotic feeling impulse and an epoch, quite as meming them with the indignation of a with which that class of Carolina orable as the moral and political dismayed and terrified constituency. phenomena to which we have alluded? Had they taken counsel of fear or in-Could steam, for instauce, have exterest, where now would have been panded its distance annihilating influ- that dearly cherished commerce, that and wishes, have accomplished the ence under the iron pressure of en- metropolitan prosperity, those high slaving laws and institutions? Could attainments in letters and the arts, the fettered mind have extended its which have long since made Boston investigations to such vast far-reach- the Athens of the Western hemising results? Could the lightning- phere. When, for the purpose of winged telegraph have sped its noise- conciliation, a general pardor and Memory and imagination are, less and trackless way through the amnesty was proclaimed to all who doubtless, the most inseparable of the thick gloom of a despotic age? Could had been engaged in the late popuhuman faculties. It is difficult to thought have been free to investigate, lar tumults of the day, Hancock and shackled to roam or to toil, commerce declared to be reserved as examples speculations on the future. We may have penetrated its remote recesses, of royal vengeance and retribution. not evoke the shade of departed and man himself nerved to deeds of Popular confidence for a time forsook events without contemplating both emprise and of daring, in the hoary them, like timid birds frayed away age of a feudal imbecility, or under by the storm; and when elected to the ces, and the changes which they have the ponderous trappings of an abso- Congress which passed the Declaralute government? No, it was reserve tion of Independence, they could ed to our age to achieve them, to our find but two hundred of their fellow to kindle the lamp of this world-regen- I could offer you on the fact. The templation of their magnificent re- prise, so powerful the opposition, so fanatical monster, threatening our ated our property. It approached materials enough in the topics they the difficulties, the endurance, the wealthiest men of America, ap- those institutions are even now tet- of the wood a little stick, (but a little Little more than half a century has and feel as if they could aspire to amazement, "there goes a million,"

the familiar and identical objections of our own day, and surely we can point you to no higher evidence than he past to realize or to controvert Even under the far better auspices the much higher incentives, and the

nobler aspirations that their example has presented for our imitation, we feel and we know full well the chilling influence of timid and distracting counsels like these in repelling injuries and averting aggressions of tenfold the magnitude and outrage of theirs.

What, then must have been the stern virture of those men -contending with foes within, a host without, few, persecuted, divided, and proscribed -against remonstrances, menaces, rabble fears, and creaking counsels, who, for principle, (an abstract principle, only to evade an insignficant tax,) stirred up all the elements of national strife, invoked the storms of war, and stood unscathed, unterrified, and undismayed amidst its rage and its desolation? Posterity would do but imperfect justice to their motives ,we should render bat a miserble homage to the heroism of those who achieved our national independence--were we to suppose that it was the result of unanimous counsels of popular deliberation, or harmony and concert of action. No; it was the few, the wise and noble few, who were in the van of the contest then, like South Carolina now. Those like our Calhouns, our Mc Duffies, and our Elmores, leading, instead of being led by popular enthusiasm. Nay, when the battle of Lexington was fought, Georgia was not there-as she is not here now. Even South Carolina was then reposing in prosfostered favorite, nursed in the lap of a fond and indulgent parent of their danger, and the deliberate-country. When aroused from her ness of our purpose to defend them slumbers by the reverberations of the battle's roar, it was not to delibeate, but to act; i was not to purchase by submission a selfish exclusion from treasure of the States has our inde-

domestic dissensions. While she was battling with a foreign foe at Fort Moultrie, Eutaw, and Camden, and winning laurels from Europe's bravest soldiers, her Hichardsons, her Sumters and her Marions were alike contending for hard carned victories over the bloody royalists of the

district of 96 and the indemitable loyalty of the interior. Much may be said to excuse the treasonable opposition of those who felt no wrong, who saw no principle involved in the contest, who knew no allegiance save that of loyalty, who had experienced the favors, the mildness, and beneficence of the British heart that nestled it. 'We planted it emulate the heroes of their own ad- east upon a losing die, and forfeited and energy of action, a vigor of pre quest, and so small a favor, the

achievements is truly to be estimated. rived for action, that British power no less illustrious examples of the he- planting. In this aspect of our revolution, it would overwhelm opposition, that the role endurance with which they may

harassments, wearisome marches, and bloody sufferings;-he had something more precious than gold who possessed salt for his food; he slept upon a bed of roses when some temporary success of Sumter or of Marion enabled him for a mement to suspend his vigils or his fears of some marauding enemy. In battle always beaten, but never conquered; in strategy often foiled, but nevertheless victorious. If we assaulted, it was, perhaps, to be repelled; and yet seldom without the object to be obtained. If we marched forward, it was but to retreat again with precipitation, perhaps; but without loss or dishonor, and often to occupy (as if by fortune or accident) a still more eligible position. In short, it was the tactics of Fabius, with tenfold the endurance and the difficulties, without a Cannæ to accelerate his triumph. Nor less, too, was it the bold energy of a Marcellus, with more blood, and toil, and suffering; but with infinitely more limited means and inadequate preparation either to

acheive or encounter it. And would not one tithe of this bold, persevering energy be sufficient to rescue and preserve the destinies of South Carolina as a sovereign, free, and independent State? Or are we, fellow-citizens, too degenerate to imitate the example of our ancestors, even to the tenth degree of their gallant bearing? Are our institutions more worthless than a pound of tea? Is our State unworthy of the sac ifice? Or were we deluded, or did we but perpetrate the mockery of a cruel jest, when we proed to the world the imminence ness of our purpose to defend them at all hazard and to every extremi-

Out of the blood, the toil, and the

the horrors of war, but to rush in the pendence been achieved, and our

to share in the dangers of the contest. it a puling and new-born babe-it relations, what are our rights; what process." But American ingenuity, Nor was she, too, without her own has grown up into a vigorous man- are our duties and what is our re- it seems, has discovered a more sumhood. We cherished it a rickety dress? child-it has become a champion, a monarch, a master, and a tyrant .--We protected its infancy through all the storms of war--its cradle was rocked by the dying struggles of patriots-its infancy sustained by the generous blood of sovereign States, until, spurning the lap that nurtured it, it rose like a young Hercules from his swaddling clothes, to strangle its nurse and to perpetrate parricide. We took it a cold and senseless asp to our bosom, until, animated by its warmth, it has stung--nay, it has poisoned and corrupted the generous government-who had grown pros a mustard (the least of all) seed, and and is, by the reservation of all other perous and rich under its liberal pa- watered it with our blood and our powers to the States,' as expressly recur to the past without indulging the mind elated to soar, the limbs un- Adams were especially excepted, and tronage and efficient protection, and affections, until it has grown to a prohibited, as it would seem, from whom religion itself, as well as prejudred and the unclean birds of substituting its own construction of the miser's avarice, or the fenatics dice and education, had taught to the air have lodged and brooded and the constitution for the constitution lust, by compounding rights and love, to revere, and to venerate as a nestled therein.' We established it itself. mother. But when, at a time and for our general and political welfare, occasion like this, all have writhed but it has usurped a domestic and under the oppression-when all have spiritual dominion, and claims to seen and acknowledged the aggres- possess the right, as well as feel the sion and the danger; when the most obligation, of expurgating us of the revolution to inspire and awaken citizens bold enough to vote for them blind have seen, the most patient sin of slavery. It came a stranger bounty and protective laws, we are in peace; and now they arrogantly them, and to the genius and the vir- as their representatives. Their after have exclaimed, the most hopeful ---poor, and hungry, and naked, constructively pointed to the caption demand that we shall render up the tue of our ancestors to conceive and lives are the strongest commentary have despaired, and the most for seeking our aid and hospitality; but of an act under the acknowledged very capital itself, by the profits of bearing have grown restless; when when warmed by our firesides, cloth one became the distinguished Presi- this government, which we have done ed by our bounty, and strengthened The cost and sacrifices of great dent of the first Congress, the other so much to establish, which we have by our good cheer, it derided the and heroic actions are, however, but the friend and successor of Washing made so many sacrifices to preserve, host, monopolized the hearthstone, too apt to be overlooked in the con- ton. So hopeless seemed the enter- has become a sectional despotism, a dismissed our servants, and approprisults. Dazzled by their splender, perilous and deterring the prospect, rights, plundering our property, and us with the mock humility of the animated by their glory, men forget that when Charles Carroll, one of uprooting our institutions -yes, when hatchet in the fable, which besought suggest for thought and anxiety, as the contumely, and the privations, proached to sign the Declaration of tering to their fall, may we not ex- stick it asked,) to make for itself a through which they are accomplished Independence, all exclaimed, in utter pect of South Carolina, and even of helve, as its sharp edge would otherthe South, a unanimity of counsel, wise be useless. So modest a reparation, such as no people ever be- forest thought it would be unreasonadoubtless, constitute the highest mer- Nay, all that has deterred us from fore manifested in a degree so terrible not to comply with. But no been abolished, in the common doit in attaining it. The fortitude that the assertion of our rights under sim- ble- and no cause could more justly sooner was the hatchet armed with its | main of the North and South, when handle, than the trees began to fall, stands temptation, the soul-subduing urged then with ten times the force, But if the history of that age af the forest disappeared, the shade was patience that wears away opposition, and infinitely more truth and applifords us valuable lessons of the mo- succeeded by the sunshine, the through treason and rebellion. When the self-sacrificing martyrdom to prin- cation. It was said that the pro- tives and independents to defend ploughshare uprooted the bosom of

as the subject, protects the governed as well as empowers the governor, as well as empowers the governor, and asserts a majesty as high above and asserts a majesty as high above as the subject, protects the governor and triumph of human daring and virtue. The subject triumph of human daring and virtue. Operation had been pledged or professing through martyrdom, our creation—this unnatural monster of our own care and nursing. We now stand related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Deliberating through martyrdom, our creation—this unnatural monster of our own care and nursing. We now stand related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Deliberating through defeat, encour- of our own care and nursing. We now stand related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Deliberating through described to the standard related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Operation had been pledged or profession and that our independence, our creation—this unnatural monster of our own care and nursing. We now stand related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Operation had been pledged or profession to be regained untended. A we now stand related to this found triumph of human daring and virtue. Operation had been pledged or profession as the subject of the united to the standard profession had been pledged or profession had been pledged or profession as the subject of this found triumph of human daring and virtue. The subject of the subject of

hold no protection, neutrality no strong by endowments of both land refuge, the farm deserted and devas | and money; we have given it territotated, and the security of the camp to be purchased only by privation, al limits; and it has not only lavishly distributed them to others, to our utter and special exclusion, but converted them into dens and places of refuge for our plundered property. We have paid more than two-thirds of its enormous debts, incurred not enure to the injury of the confederaonly against our remonstrance and cy, and that the peaceable secession our counsels, but by a system of profligacy, corruption and extravagance, that might well justify the most scrupulous honor in repudiating; we have contributed more than twothirds to its forty millions of revenue; we have defrayed all its lavish expenditures, even while condemning tional majority to tax, to plunder, and reprobating them; we have sub- and oppress- and a free soil confedmitted to taxation, while her very eracy to enforce them? Most evils proceeds are even now as once be have some mitigation, and it is selfore, appropriated to arm myrmidons dom that a rule can be established and prepare fortresses for our enslavement and destruction; we have does not work some corresponding borne this onerous and unequal bur- advantages. In submitting to endure den from the profits of our slave the oppression of the government, we labor, and, satiated with taxing, they might at least as reasonably hope to now threaten to take away, and, like enjoy its protection. But while itself Pharaoh of old, deprive us of the straw, while they still demand the same tale of brick; and yet we still cling to a union with them. Still we clasp, we feed, we pamper, and nestle in the warm bosoms, and nurture with the generous blood of these sovereign States, the ingrate, the monster, and the parricide. Yes, still we hug the chain; still we kiss the rod; still we suffer, endure; and yet we cherish, and fondle, and confide in it. Yes:

"Though a monster of such hideous micn, As to be hated, needs but to be seen; But seen too oft, familiar with its face, We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

Is it not well to pause in this proclivity to the consummention of our ruin? Is it not well to consider the peril of submission, or acquiescence in wrongs and exactions like these? Is it not well to reflect (even in its worse aspect) whether we should bear the intolerable ills we have, or resolutely rush to end them?

For the purposes of common defence and general welfare only we consented to institute this government by a written compact with the other sovereigns of this Union, and raign, the fortress is to be the tribuby which each of the parties reserved to itself the right of secession hereafter, by virtue of the same authority by which they acceded to it then. To guard against constructive power, it specifically stated that all powers not granted in the Constitution were reserved to the States.

The government, therefore, can possess or exercise no power which it has not derived from that compact:

with these clear and obvious restrictions on its authority? Why, when of their protective duties on our inwe claim the interposition of the constitution against the operation of of enjoying our domestic institutions guise of a revenue system. When we appeal from this self-constituted decision, the army and the navy of the Union are invoked to be the stern arbiters and interpreters of constitutional law-when to every eye and to every understanding the government has abandoned itself and all its great political behests, to the direction of a fanatical and freesoil party -when that party has avowed its obligation and its purpose to extirpate the energy with which we are prethe national sin of slavery has been excluded, and the slave trade has we have been divested of our territories, when our institutions are threatened to be swept away by the irre- his ancestors or of their triumphs sistible torrent of a universal spirit of over oppression, without recurring, ciple, are the elements by which alone the character of all great divided, that the time had not yet arhaving exhausted every other expedidid I say? I trust not lost, but too And thus it is, fellow-citizens, that ent, we ask to retire from the con long and too forbearingly neglected, looms through all time as the noblest colonies were not united, that no co- be triumphantly maintained. A we now stand related to this found-

that it cannot be. We are informed that secession is revolution, we are assured the Union must be preserve ed, even by blood, we are made 18 feel that we are too precious a gem in the federal tiara (not for ornament, but for plundering uses) to be lightly parted with. Nay, it is said that a prosperous independence would of a sovereign State is as impracticable and as unreasonable as a voluntary separation of a slave from his master!

If these things, fellow citizens, be 80, can you give a stronger definition of a despotic government, than a sec-(however stern or exacting) that aggressing, it tolerates, nay it protects, our eastern confederates, not only in their legal and legislative robbery of our property, but in impunity against our reprisals. Yes; let a Southern State enact a law of retaliation against Vermont and Ohio, and we would readily experience how soon the arm of this government

would be extended to avert it.

We have all wondered, perhaps;
how a spirited people in the 18th century, in the midst of arts, science; and letters, could have endured the tyranny of an unadjudicated doom in the bastile, or the unanswerable despotism of a "lettre de catchet." But are our political relations to this Union ameliorated, either in feature of complexion? It was the frank and extorted acknowledgement of the celebrated Mr. Burke, in the British Parliament, "that he knew not how to draw up a bill of indictment against a State or a whole people"-that How stands the matter between us "there were no terms in law, with d this confederacy? What are our | which he was acquainted, for such a mary mode of enforcing, if not a more subtle manner to evade, the forms of criminal jurisprudence. The cannon's mouth, it seems, is to expound the constitution, the sword is to arnal, and a mercenary soldiery the jury to render in the verdict, for resistance to federal aggressions.

In this grave and truthful aspect of our wrongs and our humiliation; what are our duties, our obligations; and our resources? Shall we such cumb, ingloriously crouch and succumb, without a hope and without a struggle? Shall we think to appears the appetite of a wolf for goze by tendering it a sop of our blood? Why, it will but "grow on the things it feeds on." Do we think to satisfy principles for forbearance! Our his-But how comports its practice tory furnishes the most conclusive reply. We have borne the exactions come in all humility, and in the hope which we have alone been enabled to pay the duty.

Happily for us, the great event which has given a world-wide interest and renown to the day which wo have thus assembled to celebrate is before us to imitate, as well as to commemorate. The past points to the future; and the very emotions of patriotism which we feel in contemplating the one herald the spirit and pared to participate in the other-No man can exult in memories of an epoch like this, no man can indulge in the fervor of its all-glorious recollections, no man can jubilate in its festivities, no man can be proud of

Service of the service of